00066473

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 04 April, 2016

A

HISTORY OF THE LITERATURE

OF

ANCIENT GREECE.

By K. O. MÜLLER,

LATE PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN.

CONTINUED AFTER THE AUTHOR'S DEATH BY

JOHN WILLIAM DONALDSON, D.D.,

CLASSICAL EXAMINER IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON;

AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

66473

ac.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

JOHN W. PARKER AND SON, WEST STRAND.

1858.

880.9
Mül/His
66473

CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

SECOND PERIOD—(CONTINUED).

CHAPTER XXVII.

ORIGIN AND STRUCTURE OF THE OLD COMEDY.

PAGE

§ 1. The comic element in Greek poetry due to the worship of Bacchus . . . 1
2. Also connected with the Comus at the lesser Dionysia: Phallic songs . 4
3. Beginnings of dramatic comedy at Megara: Susarion, Chionides, &c . . . 6
4. The perfectors of the old Attic comedy 9
5. The structure of comedy. What it has in common with tragedy 10
6. Peculiar arrangement of the chorus; Parabasis 13
7. Dances, metres, and style 15

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ARISTOPHANES.

§ 1. Events of the life of Aristophanes; the mode of his first appearance . . . 19
2. His dramas: the *Dætaleis*; the *Babylonians* 21
3. The *Acharnians* analyzed 23
4. The *Knights* 29
5. The *Clouds* 32
6. The *Wasps* 36
7. The *Peace* 38
8. The *Birds* 39
9. The *Lysistrata*; *Thesmophoriazusæ* 42
10. The *Frogs* 44
11. The *Ecclesiazusæ*; the *Second Plutus*. Transition to the middle comedy . 46

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE OTHER POETS OF THE OLD COMEDY—THE MIDDLE AND NEW COMEDY.

§ 1. Characteristics of Cratinus 49
2. Eupolis 51
3. Peculiar tendencies of Crates; his connexion with Sicilian comedy . . . 53

PAGE

§ 4. Sicilian comedy originates in the Doric farces of Megara 54
5. Events in the life of Epicharmus; general tendency and nature of his comedy. 56
6. The middle Attic comedy; poets of this class akin to those of the Sicilian comedy in many of their pieces 59
7. Poets of the new comedy the immediate successors of those of the middle comedy. How the new comedy becomes naturalized at Rome 62
8. Public morality at Athens at the time of the new comedy 65
9. Character of the new comedy in connexion therewith 68

CHAPTER XXX.

LYRIC AND EPIC POETRY DURING THIS PERIOD.

§ 1. The Dithyramb becomes the chief form of Athenian lyric poetry. Lasus of Hermione 73
2. New style of the dithyramb introduced by Melanippides. Philoxenus. Cinesias. Phrynis. Timotheus. Polyeidus 74
3. Mode of producing the new dithyramb: its contents and character . . . 77
4. Reflective lyric poetry 80
5. Social and political elegies. The *Lyde* of Antimachus essentially different 80
6. Epic poetry. Panyasis. Chœrilus. Antimachus 82

CHAPTER XXXI.

POLITICAL ORATORY AT ATHENS PREVIOUSLY TO THE INFLUENCE OF RHETORIC.

§ 1. Importance of prose at this period 85
2. Oratory at Athens rendered necessary by the democratical form of government 86
3. Themistocles; Pericles; power of their oratory 87
4. Characteristics of their oratory in relation to their opinions and modes of thought 89
5. Form and style of their speeches 91

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE RHETORIC OF THE SOPHISTS.

§ 1. Profession of the Sophists: essential elements of their doctrines. The principles of Protagoras 93
2. Opinions of Gorgias. Pernicious effects of his doctrines, especially as they were carried out by his disciples 95
3. Important services of the Sophists in forming a prose style: different tendencies of the Sicilian and other Sophists in this respect 97
4. The rhetoric of Gorgias 99
5. His forms of expression 100

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE BEGINNINGS OF REGULAR POLITICAL AND FORENSIC ORATORY AMONG THE ATHENIANS.

PAGE

§ 1. Antiphon's career and employments 103
2. His school-exercises, the Tetralogies 105
3. His speeches before the courts; character of his oratory 107
4, 5. More particular examination of his style 109
6. Andocides; his life and character 113

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE POLITICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THUCYDIDES.

§ 1. The life of Thucydides; his training that of the age of Pericles 116
2. His new method of treating history 118
3, 4. The consequent distribution and arrangement of his materials . . . 120
5. His mode of treating these materials; his research and criticism . . . 124
6, 7. Accuracy and intellectual character of his history 125
8, 9. The speeches considered as the soul of his history 127
10, 11. His mode of expression and the structure of his sentences 132

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE NEW CULTIVATION OF ORATORY BY LYSIAS.

§ 1. Events which followed the Peloponnesian war. The adventures of Lysias. Leading epochs of his life 137
2. The earlier sophistical rhetoric of Lysias 139
3. The style of this rhetoric preserved in his later panegyrical speeches . . 141
4. Change in the oratory of Lysias produced by his own impulses and by his employment as a writer of speeches for private individuals 143
5. Analysis of his speech against Agoratus 144
6. General view of his extant orations 146

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ISOCRATES.

§ 1. Early training of Isocrates; but slightly influenced by Socrates 148
2. School of Isocrates; its great repute; his attempts to influence the politics of the day without thoroughly understanding them 149
3. The form of a speech the principal matter in his judgment 152
4. New development which he gave to prose composition 153
5. His structure of periods 155
6. Smoothness and evenness of his style 157
7. He prefers the panegyrical oratory to the forensic 158

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE NEW BEGINNING OF ATTIC TRAINING—FOUNDATION OF THE SOCRATIC SCHOOLS.

PAGE

§ 1. Socrates; his literary importance 161
2. Aristocratic tendency of Athenian literature during the Peloponnesian war 162
3. How far Socrates was the founder of dialectical reasoning and moral philosophy 166
4. Imperfect Socratic schools; Eucleides and the Megarics 172
5. Antisthenes and the Cynics 174
6. Aristippus and the Cyrenaics 178

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

XENOPHON AND CTESIAS.

§ 1. Life and adventures of Xenophon 183
2. The practical design of his writings 185
3. His Grecian History; its merits and defects 187
4. The *Anabasis* 189
5. The *Memorials* and *Apology* of Socrates 191
6. The *Cyropædia* and *Agesilaus* 193
7. Xenophon's minor tracts 197
8. The leading characteristics of his style 199
9. Ctesias, a contemporary of Xenophon; his works 200

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PLATO.

§ 1. Importance of Plato's writings even in a literary point of view 202
2. Life of Plato 204
3. His political character and conduct 211
4. His literary relations to his contemporaries and predecessors 214
5. Why he wrote in dialogues 217
6. Chronological order and scientific arrangement of his works 219
7. Plato's dialectics 228
8. His ethical system 242
9. His physical speculations 252
10. Peculiarities and excellences of his style 256

CHAPTER XL.

ARISTOTLE.

§ 1. Life of Aristotle 260
2. General view of his writings 273
3. His metaphysics and psychology 278
4. Logic 284

PAGE
§ 5. Rhetoric and criticism 288
6. Moral philosophy 294
7. Politics 299
8. Natural history and general physics 303
9. Miscellanies 307
10. Form and style of his writings 308

CHAPTER XLI.

DEMOSTHENES.

§ 1. Life of Demosthenes 311
2. Harangues to the people, chiefly relating to Philip of Macedon 325
3. Orations on public causes 330
4. Speeches against Æschines 334
5. Speeches in the law courts on private causes 340
6. Style and characteristics of Demosthenes 342

CHAPTER XLII.

ORATORS CONTEMPORARY WITH DEMOSTHENES.

§ 1. The contemporaries of Demosthenes, with the exception of Isæus, may be classed as patriots and Macedonizers 348
2. Orators of the Alexandrian canon. Isæus 349
3. Party of the patriots (*a*) Lycurgus 351
4. (*b*) Hypereides 356
5. Macedonian party (*a*) Æschines 363
6. (*b*) Deinarchus 369

CHAPTER XLIII.

RHETORICAL HISTORIANS AND PROVINCIAL ANTIQUARIES.

§ 1. Connexion between Rhetoric and History. School of Isocrates 372
2. Ephorus 374
3. Theopompus 377
4. Sicilian school: Antiochus 382
5. Philistus 384
6. Writers of the Atthides 388

CHAPTER XLIV.

MEDICAL LITERATURE—WRITINGS ATTRIBUTED TO HIPPOCRATES.

§ 1. Life of Hippocrates 397
2. Origin and growth of medical literature among the Greeks 402
3. Genuine works of Hippocrates 406
4. Doubtful works 408
5. Spurious works 410
6. Publication of the Hippocratic collection 412
7. Style and literary merits of Hippocrates 413

THIRD PERIOD OF GREEK LITERATURE.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA—POETS.

PAGE

§ 1. Alexandria and the Ptolemies 417
2. Alexandrian poets; their proper classification and arrangement . . . 420
3. Philetas in Alexandria, and Aratus in Macedonia 422
4. Callimachus 429
5. Lycophron and the tragedians 435
6. The epic and didactic poets, Apollonius, Rhianus, Euphorion, and Nicander 441
7. The bucolic poets, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus 449
8. The parodists and phlyacographers 462

CHAPTER XLVI.

PROSE WRITERS OF ALEXANDRIA.

§ 1. Classification of the prose writers of Alexandria: Demetrius the Phalerian 466
2. (*a*) Grammarians and critics: Zenodotus of Ephesus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus of Samothrace 469
3. The recension of Homer 475
4. (*b*) Historians and chronologists 478
5. Translations of Egyptian, Chaldean, and Hebrew annals 484
6. (*c*) Pure and applied mathematics: Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius of Perga, Eratosthenes, and Hipparchus 494

ERRATA.

Page 236, line 11, for '*Gorgias*' read 'the *Gorgias*.'
Page 314, lines 23, 24, for 'eight or nine' read 'eighteen.'
Page 387, note 1, line 2, for '*Ἀθανις*' read '*Ἀθωνις*.'

A

HISTORY OF THE LITERATURE

OF

ANCIENT GREECE;

DOWN TO THE DEATH OF ISOCRATES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN MANUSCRIPT OF

K. O. MÜLLER,

LATE PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN;

BY

SIR GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS, BART., M.P.,

LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD;

AND

JOHN WILLIAM DONALDSON, D.D.,

LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

HISTORY

OF THE

LITERATURE OF ANCIENT GREECE.

SECOND PERIOD (CONTINUED).

CHAPTER XXVII.

ORIGIN AND STRUCTURE OF THE OLD COMEDY.

§ 1. The comic element in Greek poetry due to the worship of Bacchus. § 2. Also connected with the Comus at the lesser Dionysia: Phallic songs. § 3. Beginnings of dramatic comedy at Megara: Susarion, Chionides, &c. § 4. The perfectors of the old Attic comedy. § 5. The structure of comedy. What it has in common with tragedy. § 6. Peculiar arrangement of the chorus; Parabasis. § 7. Dances, metres, and style.

§ 1. HAVING followed one species of the drama, *Tragedy*, through its rise, progress, and decay, up to the time when it almost ceases to be poetry, we must return once more to its origin, in order to consider how it came to pass that the other species, *Comedy*, though it sprang from the same causes, and was matured by the same vivifying influences, nevertheless acquired so dissimilar a form.

The opposition between tragedy and comedy did not make its first appearance along with these different species of the drama: it is as old as poetry itself. By the side of the noble and the great, the common and the base always appear in the guise of folly, and thus make the opposed qualities more conspicuous. Nay more, in the same proportion as the mind nurtured and cultivated within itself its conceptions of the perfect order, beauty, and power, reigning in the universe and exhibiting themselves in the life of man, so much the more capable and competent would it become to comprehend the

weak and perverted in their whole nature and manner, and to penetrate to their very heart and centre. In themselves the base and the perverted are certainly no proper subject for poetry: when, however, they are received among the conceptions of a mind teeming with thoughts of the great and the beautiful, they obtain a place in the world of the beautiful and become poetic. In consequence of the conditional and limited existence of our race, this tendency of the mind is always conversant about bare realities, while the opposite one has, with free creative energy, set up for itself a peculiar domain of the imagination. Real life has always furnished superabundant materials for comic poetry; and if the poet in working up these materials has often made use of figures which do not actually exist, these are always intended to represent actual appearances, circumstances, men, and classes of men: the base and the perverted are not invented; the invention consists in bringing them to light in their true form. A chief instrument of comic representation is *Wit*, which may be defined to be,—a startling detection and display of the perverted and deformed, when the base and the ridiculous are suddenly illuminated by the flash of genius. Wit cannot lay hold of that which is really sacred, sublime, and beautiful: in a certain sense, it invariably degrades what it handles; but it cannot perform this office unless it takes up a higher and safer ground from which to hurl its darts. Even the commonest sort of wit, which is directed against the petty follies and mistakes of social life, must have for its basis a consciousness of the possession of that discreet reserve and elegant refinement which constitute good manners. The more concealed the perversity, the more it assumes the garb of the right and the excellent; so much the more comic is it when suddenly seen through and detected, just because it is thus brought most abruptly into contrast with the true and the good.

We must now break off these general considerations, which do not properly belong to the problem we have to solve, and are only designed to call attention to the cognate and corresponding features of tragic and comic poetry. If we return to history, we meet with the comic element even in *epic* poetry, partly in connexion with the heroic epos, where, as might be

expected, it makes its appearance only in certain passages,[1] and partly cultivated in a separate form, as in the Margites. Lyric poetry had produced in the iambics of Archilochus masterpieces of passionate invective and derision, the form and matter of which had the greatest influence on dramatic comedy. It was not, however, till this dramatic comedy appeared, that wit and ridicule attained to that greatness of form, that unconstrained freedom, and, if we may so say, that inspired energy in the representation of the common and contemptible which every friend of antiquity identifies with the name of Aristophanes. At that happy epoch, when the full strength of the national ideas and the warmth of noble feelings were still united with the sagacious, refined, and penetrating observation of human life, for which the Athenians were invariably distinguished among the other Greeks, Attic genius here found the form in which it could not merely point out the depraved and the foolish as they appeared in individuals, but even grasp and subdue them when gathered together in masses, and follow them into the secret places where the perverted tendencies of the age were fabricated.

It was the *worship of Bacchus* again which rendered the construction of these great forms possible. It was by means of it that the imagination derived that bolder energy to which we have already ascribed the origin of the drama in general. The nearer the Attic comedy stands to its origin, the more it has of that peculiar inebriety of mind which the Greeks showed in everything relating to Bacchus; in their dances, their songs, their mimicry, and their sculpture. The unrestrained enjoyments of the Bacchic festivals imparted to all the motions of comedy a sort of grotesque boldness and mock dignity which raised to the region of poetry even what was vulgar and common in the representation: at the same time, this festal jollity of

[1] As in the episode of Thersites and the comic scene with Agamemnon, above, chap. V. § 8.. The *Odyssey* has more elements of the satyric drama (as in the story of Polyphemus) than of the comedy proper. Satyric poetry brings rude, unintellectual, half-bestial humanity into contact with the tragical; it places by the lofty forms of the heroes not human perverseness, but the want of real humanity, whereas comedy is conversant about the deterioration of civilized humanity. With regard to Hesiod's comic vein, see above, chap. XI. § 3.; and for the Margites, the same chap. § 4.

comedy at once broke through the restraints of decent behaviour and morality which, on other occasions, were strictly attended to in those days. 'Let him stand out of the way of our choruses,' cries Aristophanes,[1] 'who has not been initiated into the Bacchic mysteries of the steer-eating Cratinus.' The great comedian gives this epithet to his predecessor in order to compare him with Bacchus himself. A later writer regards comedy as altogether a product of the drunkenness, stupefaction, and wantonness of the nocturnal Dionysia;[2] and though this does not take into account the bitter and serious earnestness which so often forms a background to its bold and unbridled fun, it nevertheless explains how comedy could throw aside the restraints usually imposed by the conventions of society. The whole was regarded as the wild drollery of an ancient carnival. When the period of universal inebriety and licensed frolic had passed away, all recollection of what had been seen and done was dismissed, save where the deeper earnestness of the comic poet had left a sting in the hearts of the more intelligent among the audience.[3]

§ 2. The side of the multifarious worship of Bacchus to which comedy attached itself, was naturally not the same as that to which the origin of tragedy was due. Tragedy, as we have seen, proceeded from the Lenæa, the winter feast of Bacchus, which awakened and fostered an enthusiastic sympathy with the apparent sorrows of the god of nature. But comedy was connected, according to universal tradition, with the *lesser* or *country* Dionysia, (τὰ μικρὰ, τὰ κατ' ἄγρους Διονύσια,) the concluding feast of the vintage, at which an exulting joy over the inexhaustible exuberant riches of nature manifested itself in wantonness and petulance of every kind. In such a feast the *comus* or Bacchanalian procession was a principal ingredient: it was, of course, much less orderly and ceremonious than the comus at which Pindar's Epinician odes were sung, (chap. XV.

---

[1] *Frogs*, v. 356.

[2] Eunapius, *Vitæ Sophist.* p. 32, ed. Boissonade, who explains from this the representation of Socrates in the *Clouds*. During the comic contest the people kept eating and tippling; the choruses had wine given to them as they went on and came off the stage. Philochorus in Athenæus, xi. p. 464 F.

[3] The σοφοί, who are opposed to the γελῶντες. Aristoph. *Ecclesiaz.* 1155.

§ 3. p. 221,) but very lively and tumultuous, a varied mixture of the wild carouse, the noisy song, and the drunken dance. According to Athenian authorities, which connect comedy at the country Dionysia immediately with the comus,[1] it is indubitable that the meaning of the word comedy is 'a comus song,' although others, even in ancient times, describe it as 'a village song,'[2] not badly as far as the fact is concerned, but the etymology is manifestly erroneous.

With the Bacchic comus, which turned a noisy festal banquet into a boisterous procession of revellers, a custom was from the earliest times connected, which was the first cause of the origin of comedy. The symbol of the productive power of nature was carried about by this band of revellers, and a wild, jovial song was recited in honour of the god in whom dwells this power of nature, namely, Bacchus himself, or one of his companions. Such phallophoric or ithyphallic songs were customary in various regions of Greece. The ancients give us many hints about the variegated garments, the coverings for the face, such as masks or thick chaplets of flowers, and the processions and songs of these comus singers.[3] Aristophanes, in his *Acharnians*, gives a most vivid picture of the Attic usages in this respect: in that play, the worthy Dicæopolis, while war is raging around, alone peacefully celebrates the country Dionysia on his own farm; he has sacrificed with his slaves, and now prepares for the sacred procession; his daughter carries the basket as Canephorus; behind her the slave holds the phallus aloft; and, while his wife regards the procession from the roof of the house, he himself begins the phallus song, 'O Phales, boon companion of Bacchus, thou nightly reveller!' with that strange mixture of wantonness and serious piety which was possible only in the elementary religions of the ancient world.

---

[1] See the quotations chap. XXI. § 5. ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοί. The feast of the great or city Dionysia is thus described, but it is obvious that the connexion proceeded from the country Dionysia.

[2] From κώμη. The Peloponnesians, according to Aristotle, *Poet.* c. 3, used this etymology to support their claim to the invention of comedy, because they called villages κώμαι, but the Athenians δῆμοι.

[3] Athenæus, xiv. p. 621, 2, and the lexicographers Hesychius and Suidas, in various articles relating to the subject. Phallophori, Ithyphalli, Autokabdali, Iambistæ, are the different names of these merryandrews.

It belonged especially to the ceremonies of this Bacchic feast that after singing the song in honour of the god who was the leader of the frolic, the merry revellers found an object for their unrestrained petulance in whatever came first in their way, and overwhelmed the innocent spectators with a flood of witticisms, the boldness of which was justified by the festival itself. When the phallophori at Sicyon had come into the theatre with their motley garb, and had saluted Bacchus with a song, they turned to the spectators and jeered and flouted whomsoever they pleased. How intimately these jests were connected with the Bacchic song, and how essentially they belonged to it, may be seen very clearly from the chorus in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. This chorus is supposed to consist of persons initiated at Eleusis, who celebrate the mystic Dionysus Iacchus as the author of festal delights and the guide to a life of bliss in the other world. But this Iacchus is also, as Dionysus, the god of comedy, and the jokes which were suitable to these initiated persons, as an expression of their freedom from all the troubles of this life, also belonged to the country Dionysia, and attained to their highest and boldest exercise in comedy: this justifies the poet in treating *the chorus of the Mystæ as merely a mask for the comic chorus,* and in making it speak and sing much that was suitable to the comic chorus alone, which it resembled in all the features of its appearance.[1] And thus it is quite in the spirit of the old original comedy that the chorus, after having in beautiful strains repeatedly celebrated Demeter and Iacchus, the god who has vouchsafed to them to dance and joke with impunity, directly after, and without any more immediate inducement, attacks an individual arbitrarily selected: 'Will ye, that we join in quizzing Archedemus?' &c.[2]

§ 3. This old lyric comedy, which did not differ much either in origin or form from the Iambics of Archilochus, may have been sung in various districts of Greece, just as it maintained its ground in many places even after the development of the

---

[1] See below, chap. XXVIII. § 10.

[2] When Aristotle says (*Poet.* 4) that comedy originated ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὰ φαλλικά, he alludes to these unpremeditated jokes, which the *leader* of the Phallus song might have produced.

dramatic comedy.[1] By what gradations, however, dramatic comedy was developed, can only be inferred from the form of this drama itself, which still retained much of its original organization, and from the analogy of tragedy: for even the ancients laboured under a great deficiency of special tradition and direct information with regard to the progress of this branch of the drama. Aristotle says that comedy remained in obscurity at the first, because it was not thought serious or important enough to merit much attention; that it was not till late that the comic poet received a chorus from the archon as a public matter; and that previously, the choral-dancers were volunteers.[2] The *Icarians*, the inhabitants of a hamlet which, according to the tradition, was the first to receive Bacchus in that part of the country, and doubtless celebrated the country Dionysia with particular earnestness, claimed the honour of inventing comedy; it was here that Susarion was said, for the first time, to have contended with a chorus of Icarians, who had smeared their faces with wine-lees, (whence their name, τρυγῳδοὶ, or 'lee-singers,') in order to obtain the prize, a basket of figs and a jar of wine. It is worth noticing, that Susarion is said to have been properly not of Attica, but a Megarian of Tripodiscus.[3] This statement is confirmed by various traditions and hints from the ancients, from which we may infer that the Dorians of Megara were distinguished by a peculiar fondness for jest and ridicule, which produced farcical entertainments full of jovial merriment and rude jokes. If we consider, in addition to this, that the celebrated Sicilian comedian Epicharmus dwelt at

[1] The existence of a lyrical tragedy and comedy, by the side of the dramatic, has been lately established chiefly by the aid of Bœotian inscriptions, (*Corpus Inscript. Græcar.* No. 1584,) though it has been violently controverted by others. But though we should set aside the interpretation of these Bœotian monuments, it appears even from Aristotle, *Poet.* 4, (τὰ φαλλικὰ ἃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα,) that the songs, from which the dramatic comedy arose, still maintained their ground, as the *ἰθύφαλλοι* also were danced in the orchestra at Athens in the time of the orators. Hyperides *apud Harpocrat.* τ. Ἰθύφαλλοι. It is clear that the comedies of Antheus the Lindian were also of this kind, according to the expressions of Athenæus, (x. p. 445); 'he composed comedies and many other things in the form of poems, which he sang as leader to his fellow-revellers who bore the phallus with him.'

[2] *Poet.* 5. Comp. above, chap. XXIII. § 1.

[3] See Müller's *Dorians*, Book IV. ch. 7. § 1.

Megara in Sicily, (a colony of the Megarians who lived near the borders of Attica,) before he went to Syracuse, and that the Sicilian Megarians, according to Aristotle, laid claim to the invention of comedy, as well as the neighbours of the Athenians, we must believe that some peculiar sparks of wit were contained in this little Dorian tribe, which, having fallen on the susceptible temperaments of the other Dorians, and also of the common people of Attica, brought the talent for comedy to a speedy development,

SUSARION, however, who is said to have flourished in Solon's time, about Ol. 50, somewhat earlier than Thespis,[1] stands quite alone in Attica; a long time elapses before we hear of any further cultivation of comedy by poets of eminence. This will not surprise us if we recollect that this interval is filled up by the long tyranny of Peisistratus and his sons, who would feel it due to their dignity and security not to allow a comic chorus, even under the mask of Bacchic inebriety and merriment, to utter ribald jests against them before the assembled people of Athens; as understood by the Athenians of those days, comedy could not be brought to perfection save by republican freedom and equality.[2] This was the reason why comedy continued so long an obscure amusement of noisy rustics, which no archon superintended, and which no particular poet was willing to avow: although, even in this modest retirement, it made some sudden advances, and developed completely its dramatic form. Consequently, the first of the eminent poets received it in a definite and tolerably complete form.[3] This poet was CHIONIDES, whom Aristotle reckons the first of the Attic comedians, (omitting Myllus and some other comedians, though they also left their works in writing), and of whom we are credibly informed[4] that he began to bring out plays eight years before the Persian war. (Ol. 73, B.C. 488). He was followed by MAGNES, also born in the Bacchic village Icaria, who for a long time

---

[1] Parian marble. Ep. 39. [2] See above, ch. XX. § 3.

[3] Aristot. *Poet.* 5. ἤδη δὲ σχήματά τινα αὐτῆς ἐχούσης οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῆς ποιηταὶ μνημονεύονται.

[4] Suidas, v. Χιωνίδης. Consequently, Aristotle, *Poet.* 3, (or, according to F. Ritter, a later interpreter,) must be in error when he places Chionides a good deal later than Epicharmus.

delighted the Athenians with his cheerful and multifarious fictions. To the same age of comedy belongs ECPHANTIDES, who was so little removed from the style of the Megarian farce, that he expressly remarked in one of his pieces,—'He was not bringing forward a song of the Megarian comedy; he had grown ashamed of making his drama Megarian.'[1]

§ 4. The second period of comedy comprises poets who flourished just before and during the Peloponnesian war. CRATINUS died Ol. 89, 2. B.C. 423, being then very old; he seems to have been not much younger than Æschylus, and occupies a corresponding place among the comic poets; all accounts of his dramas, however, relate to the latter years of his life; and all we can say of him is, that he was not afraid to attack Pericles in his comedies at a time when that statesman was in the height of his reputation and power.[2] CRATES raised himself, from being an actor in the plays of Cratinus, to the rank of a distinguished poet: a career common to him with several of the ancient comedians. TELECLEIDES and HERMIPPUS also belong to the comic poets of the time of Pericles. EUPOLIS did not begin to bring out comedies till after the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (Ol. 87, 3. B.C. 429); his career terminated with that war. ARISTOPHANES made his first appearance under another name in Ol. 88, 1. B.C. 427, and under his own name, Ol. 88, 4. B.C. 424; he went on writing till Ol. 97, 4. B.C. 388. Among the contemporaries of this great comic poet, we have also PHRYNICHUS (from Ol. 87, 3. B.C. 429); PLATO (from Ol. 88, 1. B.C. 427 to Ol. 97, 1. B.C. 391, or even longer); PHERECRATES (who also flourished during the Peloponnesian war); AMEIPSIAS, who was sometimes a successful rival of Aristophanes; LEUCON, who also frequently contended with Aristophanes; DIOCLES, PHILYLLIUS, SANNYRION, STRATTIS, THEOPOMPUS, who flourished towards the end of the Peloponnesian war and subsequently,

---

[1] Μεγαρικῆς
κωμῳδίας ᾄσμ' οὐ δίειμ'· ᾐσχυνόμην
τὸ δρᾶμα Μεγαρικὸν ποιεῖν.

According to the arrangement of this fragment, (quoted by Aspasius on Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* iv. 2,) by Meineke, *Historia Critica Comicorum Græcorum*, p. 22, which is undoubtedly the correct one.

[2] As appears from the fragments referring to the Odeion and the long walls.

form the transition to the middle comedy of the Athenians.[1]

We content ourselves for the present with this brief chronological view of the comic poets of the time, because in some respects it is impossible to characterize these authors, and in others, this cannot be done till we have become better acquainted with Aristophanes, and are able to refer to the creations of this poet. Accordingly, we will take a comparative glance at some of the pieces of Cratinus, Eupolis, and some others, after we have considered the comedy of Aristophanes: but must remark here beforehand that it is infinitely more difficult to form a conception of a lost comedy from the title and some fragments, than it would be to deal similarly with a lost tragedy. In the latter, we have in the mythical foundation something on which we may depend, and by the conformation of which the edifice to be restored must be regulated; whereas comedy, with its greater originality, passes at once from one distant object to another, and unites things which seem to have no connexion with one another, so that it is impossible to follow its rapid movements merely by the help of some traces accidentally preserved.

§ 5. Before we turn to the works of Aristophanes, we must make ourselves acquainted with comedy in the same way that we have already done with tragedy, in order that the technical forms into which the poet had to cast his ideas and fancies may stand clearly and definitely before our eyes. These forms are partly the same as in the tragic drama,—as the locality and its permanent apparatus were also common to both; in other respects they are peculiar to comedy, and are intimately connected with its origin and development.

To begin with the locality, the stage and orchestra, and, on the whole, their meaning, were *common* to tragedy and comedy.

The stage (*Proscenion*) is, in comedy also, not the inside of

---

[1] According to the researches of Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com. Græcorum*. *Callias*, who lived before Strattis, was likewise a comedian: his γραμματικὴ τραγῳδία could not have been a serious tragedy, but must have been a joke; the object and occasion of it, however, cannot easily be guessed at. The old grammarians must have been joking when they asserted that Sophocles and Euripides imitated this γραμματικὴ τραγῳδία in some piece or other.

a house, but some open space, in the background of which, on the wall of the scene, were represented public and private buildings. Nay, it appeared to the ancients so utterly impossible to regard the scene as a room of a house, that even the *new* comedy, little as it had to do with actual public life, nevertheless for the sake of representation, as we have remarked above, (chap. XXII. § 5,) made the scenes which it represents public: it endeavours, with as little sacrifice of nature as it may, so to arrange all the conversations and events that they may take place in the street and at the house-doors. The generally political subjects of the *old* comedy rendered this much less difficult; and where it was absolutely necessary to represent an inner chamber of a house, they availed themselves of the resource of the Eccyclema.

Another point, *common* to tragedy and comedy, was the limited number of the actors, by whom all the parts were to be performed. According to an authority,[1] (on which, however, we cannot place perfect reliance,) Cratinus raised the number to three, and the scenes in most of the comedies of Aristophanes, as also in the plays of Sophocles and Euripides, can be performed by three actors only. The number of subordinate persons in comedy has made the change of parts more frequent and more varied. Thus, in the *Acharnians*, while the first player acted the part of Dicæopolis, the second and third actors had to undertake now the Herald and Amphitheus, then again the ambassador and Pseudartabas; subsequently the wife and daughter of Dicæopolis, Euripides, and Cephisophon; then the Megarian and the Sycophant, and the Bœotian and Nicarchus.[2] In other pieces, however, Aristophanes seems to have introduced a fourth actor (as Sophocles has done in the *Œdipus at Colonus*); the *Wasps*, for example, could hardly have been performed without four actors.[3]

The use of masks and of a gay and striking costume was also

---

[1] *Anonym. de Comedia*, p. xxxii. Comp. Aristot. *Poet.* 5.

[2] The little daughters, who are sold as pigs, were perhaps puppets; their *koï, koï*, and the other sounds they utter, were probably spoken behind the scenes as a *parascenion*.

[3] In the *Wasps*, Philocleon, Bdelycleon, and the two slaves Xanthias and Sosias, are frequently on the stage at the same time as speaking persons.

common to tragedy and comedy; but the forms of the one and the other were totally different. To conclude from the hints furnished by Aristophanes, (for we have a great want of special information on the subject,) his comic actors must have been still more unlike the *histriones* of the new comedy, of Plautus and Terence; of whom we know, from some very valuable and instructive paintings in ancient manuscripts, that they adopted, on the whole, the costume of everyday life, and that the form and mode of their tunics and palliums were the same as those of the actual personages whom they represented. The costume of Aristophanes' players must, on the other hand, have resembled rather the garb of the farcical actors whom we often see depicted on vases from Magna Græcia, namely, close-fitting jackets and trousers striped with divers colours, which remind us of the modern Harlequin; to which were added great bellies and other disfigurations and appendages purposely extravagant and indecorous, the grotesque form being, at the most, but partially covered by a little mantle: then there were masks, the features of which were exaggerated even to caricature, yet so that particular persons, when such were brought upon the stage, might at once be recognised. It is well known that Aristophanes found great difficulty in inducing the mask-makers (σκευοποιοὶ) to provide him with a likeness of the universally dreaded demagogue, Cleon, whom he introduces in his *Knights*. The costume of the chorus in a comedy of Aristophanes went farthest into the strange and fantastic. His choruses of birds, wasps, clouds, &c., must not of course be regarded as having consisted of birds, wasps, &c. actually represented, but, as is clear from numerous hints from the poet himself, of a mixture of the human form with various appendages borrowed from the creatures we have mentioned;[1] and in this the poet allowed himself to give special prominence to those parts of the mask which he was most concerned about, and for which he had selected the mask: thus, for example, in the *Wasps*, who are designed to represent the swarms of Athenian judges, the sting was the chief attribute, as denoting the

[1] Like the Αἶνοι with beasts' heads (Æsop's fables) in the picture described by Philostratus. *Imagines*, I. 3.

style with which the judges used to mark down the number of their division in the wax-tablets; these waspish judges were introduced humming and buzzing up and down, now thrusting out, and now drawing in an immense spit, which was attached to them by way of a gigantic sting. Ancient poetry was suited, by its vivid plastic representations, to create a comic effect by the first sight of its comic chorus and its various motions on the stage; as in a play of Aristophanes (the Γῆρας), some old men come on the stage, and casting off their age in the form of a serpent's skin (which was also called γῆρας), immediately after conducted themselves in the most riotous and intemperate manner.

§ 6. Comedy had much that was peculiarly its own in the arrangement, the movements, and the songs of the chorus. The authorities agree in stating the number of persons in the comic chorus at twenty-four: it is obvious that the complete chorus of the tragic tetralogy, (consisting of forty-eight persons,) was divided into two, and comedy kept its moiety undivided. Consequently, comedy, though in other respects placed a good deal below tragedy, had, nevertheless, the advantage of a more numerous chorus by this, that comedies were always represented separately, and never in tetralogies; whence it happened also, that the comic poets were much less prolific in plays than the tragic.[1] This chorus, when it appeared in regular order, came on in rows of six persons, and as it entered the stage sang the *parodos*, which, however, was never so long or so artificially constructed as it was in many tragedies. Still less considerable were the *stasima*, which the chorus sings at the end of the scene while the characters are changing their dress: they only serve to finish off the separate scenes, without attempting to awaken that collected thought and tranquillity of mind which the tragic stasima were designed to produce. Deficiencies of this kind in its choral songs, comedy compensated in a very peculiar manner by its *parabasis*.

The parabasis, which was an address of the chorus in the middle of the comedy, obviously originated in those phallic traits,

[1] With all Aristophanes' long career, only 54 were attributed to him, of which four were said to be spurious—consequently, he only wrote half as many plays as Sophocles. Compare above, chap. XXIV. § 2.

to which the whole entertainment was due; it was not originally a constituent part of comedy, but improved and worked out according to rules of art. The chorus, which up to that point had kept its place between the thymele and the stage, and had stood with its face to the stage, made an evolution, and proceeded in files towards the *theatre*, in the narrower sense of the word; that is, towards the place of the spectators. This is the proper *parabasis*, which usually consisted of anapæstic tetrameters, occasionally mixed up with other long verses; it began with a short opening song, (in anapæstic or trochaic verse,) which was called *kommation*, and ended with a very long and protracted anapæstic system, which, from its trial of the breath, was called *pnigos* (also *makron*). In this parabasis the poet makes his chorus speak of his own poetical affairs, of the object and end of his productions, of his services to the state, of his relation to his rivals, and so forth. If the parabasis is complete, in the wider sense of the word, this is followed by a second piece, which is properly the main point, and to which the anapæsts only serve as an introduction. The chorus, namely, sings a lyrical poem, generally a song of praise in honour of some god, and then recites, in trochaic verses, (of which there should, regularly, be sixteen,) some joking complaint, some reproach against the city, some witty sally against the people, with more or less reference to the leading subject of the play: this is called the *epirrhema*, or 'what is said in addition.' Both pieces, the lyrical strophe and the epirrhema, are repeated antistrophically. It is clear, that the lyrical piece, with its antistrophe, arose from the phallic song; and the epirrhema, with its antepirrhema, from the gibes with which the chorus of revellers assailed the first persons they met. It was natural, as the parabasis came in the middle of the whole comedy, that, instead of these jests directed against individuals, a conception more significant, and more interesting to the public at large, should be substituted for them; while the gibes against individuals, suitable to the original nature of comedy, though without any reference to the connexion of the piece, might be put in the mouth of the chorus whenever occasion served.[1]

[1] Such parts are found in the *Acharnians*, v. 1143–1174, in the *Wasps*, 1265–

As the parabasis completely interrupts the action of the comic drama, it could only be introduced at some especial pause; we find that Aristophanes is fond of introducing it at the point where the action, after all sorts of hindrances and delays, has got so far that the crisis must ensue, and it must be determined whether the end desired will be attained or not. Such, however, is the laxity with which comedy treats all these forms, that the parabasis may even be divided into two parts, and the anapæstical introduction be separated from the choral song;[1] there may even be a second parabasis, (but without the anapæstic march,) in order to mark a second transition in the action of the piece.[2] Finally, the parabasis may be omitted altogether, as Aristophanes, in his *Lysistrata*, (in which a double chorus, one part consisting of women, the other of old men, sing so many singularly clever odes,) has entirely dispensed with this address to the public.[3]

§ 7. It is a sufficient definition of the comic style of dancing to mention that it was the *kordax*, i. e. a species of dance which no Athenian could practise sober and unmasked without incurring a character for the greatest shamelessness.[4] Aristophanes takes great credit to himself in his *Clouds* (which, with all its burlesque scenes, strives after a nobler sort of comedy than his other pieces) for omitting the *kordax* in this play, and for having laid aside some indecencies of costume.[5] Everything shows that comedy, in its outward appearance, had quite the character of a farce, in which the sensual, or rather bestial, nature of man was unreservedly brought forward, not by way of permission

---

1291, in the *Birds*, 1470–1493, 1553–1565, 1694–1705. We must not trouble ourselves with seeking a connexion between these verses and other parts. In fact, it needed but the slightest suggestion of the memory to occasion such sallies as these.

[1] Thus in the *Peace*, and in the *Frogs*, where the first half of the parabasis has coalesced with the parodos and the Iacchus-song, (of which see above, § 2.). As Iacchus has been already praised in this first part, the lyrical strophes of the second part (v. 675 foll.) do not contain any invocation of gods, and such like, but are full of sarcasms about the demagogues Cleophon and Cleigenes. We find the same deviation, and from the same reasons, in the second parabasis of the *Knights*.

[2] As in the *Knights*.

[3] The parabasis is wanting in the *Ecclesiazusæ* and the *Plutus*, for reasons which are stated in chap. XXVIII. § 11.

[4] Theophrast. *Charact.* 6. comp. Casaubon.

[5] Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 537 foll.

only, but as a *law* and *rule*. So much the more astonishing, then, is the high spirituality, the moral worth, with which the great comedians have been able to inspire this wild pastime, without thereby subverting its fundamental characteristics. Nay, if we compare with this old comedy the later conformation of the middle and new comedy, with the latter of which we are better acquainted, and which, with a more decent exterior, nevertheless preaches a far laxer morality, and if we reflect on the corresponding productions of modern literature, we shall almost be induced to believe that the old rude comedy, which concealed nothing, and was, in the representation of vulgar life, itself vulgar and bestial, was better suited to an age which meant well to morality and religion, and was more truly based on piety, than the more refined comedy, as it is called, which threw a veil over everything, and, though it made vice ludicrous, failed to render it detestable.[1]

To return, however, to the kordax, and to connect with it a remark on the rhythmical structure of comedy; we learn accidentally that the trochaic metre was also called kordax,[2] doubtless because trochaic verses were generally sung as an accompaniment to the kordax dances. The trochaic metre, which was invented along with the iambic by the old iambographers, had a sort of lightness and activity, but wanted the serious and impressive character of the iambus. It was especially appropriated to cheerful dances;[3] even the trochaic tetrameter, which was not properly a lyrical metre, invited to motions like the dance.[4] The rhythmical structure of comedy was obviously for the most part built upon the foundation of the old iambic poetry, and was merely extended and enlarged much in the same way as the Æolian and Doric lyrical poetry was adapted to tragedy, namely, by lengthening the verses to systems, as they are called, by a frequent repetition of the same rhythm. The *asynartetic* verses, in particular, *i. e.*, loose combinations of rhythms of different

---

[1] Plutarch, in his comparison of Aristophanes and Menander, (of which an epitome has been preserved,) expresses an entirely opposite opinion, but this is only a proof how very often the later writers of antiquity mistook the form for the substance.

[2] Aristotle, quoted by Quintilian, ix. 4. Cicero *Orat.* 57.

[3] Chap. XI. § 8, 22.

[4] Aristophan. *Peace*, 324 foll.

kinds, such as dactylic and trochaic, which may be regarded as forming a verse and also as different verses, belong only to the iambic and comic poetry; and in this, comedy, though it added several new inventions, was merely continuing the work of Archilochus.[1]

That the prevalent form of the dialogue should be the same in tragedy and comedy, namely, the *iambic trimeter*, was natural, notwithstanding the opposite character of the two kinds of poetry; for this common organ of dramatic colloquy was capable of the most various treatment, and was modified by the comic poets in a manner most suitable to their object. The avoidance of spondees, the congregation of short syllables, and the variety of the cæsuras, impart to the verse of comedy an extraordinary lightness and spirit, and the admixture of anapæsts in all feet but the last, opposed as this is to the fundamental form of the trimeter, proves that the careless, voluble recitation of comedy treated the long and short syllables with greater freedom than the tragic art permitted. In order to distinguish the different styles and tunes, comedy employed, besides the trimeter, a great variety of metres, which we must suppose were also distinguished by different sorts of gesticulation and delivery, such as the light trochaic tetrameter so well suited to the dance, the lively iambic tetrameter, and the anapæstic tetrameter, flaunting along in comic pathos, which had been used by Aristoxenus of Selinus, an old Sicilian poet, who lived before Epicharmus.

In all these things comedy was just as inventive and refined as tragedy. Aristophanes had the skill to convey by his rhythms sometimes the tone of romping merriment, at others that of vestal dignity; and often in jest he would give to his verses and his words such a pomp of sound that we lament he is not in earnest. In reading his plays we are always impressed with the finest concord between form and meaning, between the tone of the speech and the character of the persons; as, for example, the old, hot-headed Acharnians admirably express their rude

[1] For the sake of brevity, we merely refer to Hephæstion, cap. xv. p. 83 foll. Gaisf. and Terentianus, v. 2243.

Aristophanis ingens micat sollertia,
Qui sæpe metris multiformibus novis
Archilochon arte est æmulatus musica. Comp. above, chap. XI. § 8.

vigour and boisterous impetuosity in the Cretic metres which prevail in the choral songs of the piece.

But who could with a few words paint the peculiar instrument which comedy had formed for itself from the language of the day? It was based, on the whole, upon the common conversational language of the Athenians,—the Attic dialect, as it was current in their colloquial intercourse; comedy expresses this not only more purely than any other kind of poetry, but even more so than the old Attic prose:[1] but this every day colloquial language is an extraordinarily flexible and rich instrument, which not only contains in itself a fulness of the most energetic, vivid, pregnant, and graceful forms of expression, but can even accommodate itself to the different species of language and style, the epic, the lyric, or the tragic; and, by this means, impart a special colouring to itself.[2] But, most of all, it gained a peculiar comic charm from its parodies of tragedy; here a word, a form slightly altered, or pronounced with the peculiar tragical accent, often sufficed to recal the recollection of a pathetic scene in some tragedy, and so to produce a ludicrous contrast.

---

[1] We only remind the reader that the connexions of consonants which distinguish Attic Greek from its mother dialect the Ionic, ττ for σσ, and ῥῥ for ρς, occur every where in Aristophanes, and even in the fragments of Cratinus, but are not found in Thucydides any more than in the tragedians; although even Pericles is said to have used these un-Ionic forms on the bema. Eustathius on the *Iliad*, x. 385, p. 813. In other respects, too, the prose of Thucydides has far more epic and Ionic gravity and unction than the poetry of Aristophanes,—even in particular forms and expressions.

[2] Plutarch very justly remarks, (*Aristoph. et Menandri comp.* 1,) that the diction of Aristophanes contains all styles, from the tragic and pathetic (ὄγκος) to the vulgarisms of farce, (σπερμολογία καὶ φλυαρία;) but he is wrong in maintaining that Aristophanes assigned these modes of speaking to his characters arbitrarily and at random.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ARISTOPHANES.

§ 1. Events of the life of Aristophanes; the mode of his first appearance. § 2. His dramas; the *Dætaleis;* the *Babylonians;* § 3. the *Acharnians* analyzed; § 4. the *Knights;* § 5. the *Clouds;* § 6. the *Wasps;* § 7. the *Peace;* § 8. the *Birds;* § 9. the *Lysistrata; Thesmophoriazusæ;* § 10. the *Frogs;* § 11. the *Ecclesiazusæ;* the *second Plutus.* Transition to the middle comedy.

§ 1. ARISTOPHANES, the son of Philippus, was born at Athens about Ol. 82. B.C. 452.[1] We should know more about the events of his life had the works of his rivals been preserved; for it is natural to suppose that he was satirized in them, much in the same way as he has attacked Cratinus and Eupolis in his own comedies. As it is, we can only assert that he passed over to Ægina with his family, together with other Attic citizens, as a *Cleruchus* or colonist, when that island was cleared of its old inhabitants, and that he became possessed of some landed property there.[2]

The life of Aristophanes was so early devoted to the comic stage, that we cannot mistake a strong natural tendency on his part for this vocation. He brought out his first comedies at so early an age that he was prevented (if not by law, at all events by the conventions of society) from allowing them to appear under his own name. It is to be observed that at Athens the state gave itself no trouble to inquire who was really the author of a drama: this was no subject for an official examination;

[1] It is clearly an exaggeration when the Schol. on the *Frogs*, 504, calls Aristophanes σχεδὸν μειρακίσκος, *i.e.* about 18 years old, when he first came forward as a dramatist. If such were the case, he would have been at his prime in his 20th year, and would have ceased to compose at the age of 56. In the pieces of Aristophanes we discern indications of advanced age, and we therefore assume that he was at least 25 years old at the time of his first appearance as a comic poet, (B.C. 427.)

[2] See Aristoph. *Acharn.* 652; *Vita Aristoph.* p. 14; Küster, and Theagenes quoted by the Schol. on Plat. *Apol.* p. 93, 8, (p. 331, Bekk.) The *Acharnians* was no doubt brought out by Callistratus; but it is clear that the passage quoted above referred the public to the poet himself, who was already well known to his audience.

but the magistrate presiding over any Dionysian festival at which the people were to be entertained with new dramas,[1] gave any chorus-teacher who offered to instruct the chorus and actors for a new drama the authority for so doing, whenever he had the necessary confidence in him. The comic poets, as well as the tragic, were professedly chorus-teachers, (χοροδιδάσκαλοι, or, as they specially called themselves, κωμῳδοδιδάσκαλοι;) and in all official proceedings, such as assigning and bestowing the prize, the state only inquired who had taught the chorus, and thereby brought the new piece before the public. The comic poets likewise retained for a longer period a custom, which Sophocles was the first to discontinue on the tragic stage, that the poet and chorus-teacher should also appear as the *protagonist* or chief actor in his own piece. This will explain what Aristophanes says in the *parabasis* of the *Clouds*, that his muse at first exposed her children, because, as a maiden, she dared not acknowledge their birth, and that another damsel had taken them up as her own; while the public, which could not be long in recognizing the real author, had nobly brought up and educated the foundlings.[2] Aristophanes handed over his earlier pieces, and some of the later ones too, either to Philonides or to Callistratus, two chorus-teachers, with whom he was intimate, and who were at the same time poets and actors; and these persons produced them on the stage. The ancient grammarians state that he transferred to Callistratus the political dramas, and to Philonides those which related to private life.[3] It was these persons who applied for the chorus from the archon, who produced the piece on the stage, and, if it was successful, received the prize, of which we have several examples in the didascaliæ; in fact, everything was done as if they had been the real authors, although the discriminating public could not have failed to discover whether the real author of the piece was

---

[1] At the great Dionysia, the first archon; (ὁ ἄρχων as he was emphatically called;) at the Lenæa, the *basileus*, or king archon.

[2] Compare the *Knights*, 513, where he says that many considered he had too long abstained from χορὸν αἰτεῖν καθ' ἑαυτόν. In the parabasis of the *Wasps*, he compares himself to a ventriloquist who had before spoken through others.

[3] So the *anonym. de comedia apud Küster*. The *Vita Aristophanis* has the contrary statement, but merely from an error, as is shown by various examples.

the newly-risen genius of Aristophanes or the well-known and hacknied Callistratus.

§ 2. The ancients themselves did not know whether Philonides or Callistratus brought out the Dætaleis, the first of his plays, which was performed in Ol. 88, 1. B.C. 427.[1] The *Feasters*, who formed the chorus in this piece, were conceived as a company of revellers who had banqueted in a temple of Hercules, (in whose worship eating and drinking bore a prominent part,[2]) and were engaged in witnessing a contest between the old frugal and modest system of education and the frivolous and talkative education of modern times, in the persons of two young men, *Temperate* (σώφρων) and *Profligate* (καταπύγων). Brother *Profligate* was represented, in a dialogue between him and his aged father, as a despiser of Homer, as accurately acquainted with legal expressions, (in order, of course, to employ them in pettifogging quibbles,) and as a zealous partizan of the sophist Thrasymachus, and of Alcibiades the leader of the frivolous youth of the day.[3] In his riper years, Aristophanes completed in the *Clouds* what he had attempted in this early play.

The second play of Aristophanes was the *Babylonians*, and was brought out Ol. 88, 2, B.C. 426, under the name of Callistratus. This was the first piece in which Aristophanes adopted the bold step of making the people themselves, in their public functions, and with their measures for ensuring the public good, the subject of his comedy. He takes credit to himself, in the parabasis of the *Acharnians*, for having detected the tricks which the Athenians allowed foreigners, and especially foreign ambassadors, to play upon them, by lending too willing an ear to their flatteries and misrepresentations. He also maintains that he has shown how democratic constitutions fall into the power of demagogues; and that he has thereby gained a great name with the allies, and, as he says, with humorous rhodomontade, at the court of the Great King himself. The name of the piece

---

[1] *Schol.* on the *Clouds*, 531.

[2] Müller's *Dorians*, II. 12. § 10.

[3] In the important fragment preserved by Galen Ἱπποκράτους γλῶσσαι *Proœmium*, which has been recently freed from some corruptions which disfigured it. See Dindorf *Aristoph. Fragmenta. Dœtal.* I.

is obviously connected with this. We infer from the statements of the old grammarians,[1] that the Babylonians who formed the chorus, were represented as common labourers in the mills, the lowest sort of slaves at Athens, who were branded, and were forced to work in the mills by way of punishment; and that they passed themselves off as Babylonians, *i. e.*, as ambassadors from Babylon.

By this it was presumed that Babylon had revolted against the great king, who was constantly at war with Athens; and Aristophanes thought that the credulous Athenians might easily be gulled into the belief of something of the kind. The play would therefore be nearly related to that scene in the *Acharnians*, in which the supposed ambassadors of the Persian monarch make their appearance, though the one cannot be considered as a mere repetition of the other. Of course, these fictitious Babylonians were represented as a cheat practised on the Athenian Demus by the demagogues, who were then (after the death of Pericles) at the head of affairs; and Aristophanes had made Cleon the chief butt for his witty attacks. This comedy was performed at the splendid festival of the great Dionysia, in the presence of the allies and a number of strangers who were then at Athens; and we may see, from Cleon's earnest endeavours to revenge himself on the poet, how severely the powerful demagogue smarted under the attack made upon him. He dragged Callistratus[2] before the council of the Five

[1] See especially Hesychius on the verse: Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος ὡς πολυγράμματος: 'these are the words of one of the characters in Aristophanes,' says Hesychius, 'when he sees the *Babylonians from the mill*, being astonished at their appearance, and not knowing what to make of it.' The verse was clearly spoken by some one, who was looking at the chorus without knowing what they were intended to represent, and who mistook them for Samians branded by Pericles, so that πολυγράμματος contains a direct allusion to the invention of letters by the Samians. That these Babylonians were intended to represent mill-slaves appears to stand in connexion with the fact that *Eucrates*, a demagogue powerful at that very time, possessed mills. (Aristoph. *Knights*, 254.) The piece, however, seems to have been directed chiefly against Cleon.

[2] We say *Callistratus*, because, as χοροδιδάσκαλος and protagonist in the *Acharnians*, he acted the part of Dicæopolis, and because the public could not fail to understand the words αὐτός τ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑπὸ Κλέωνος ἆ 'παθον, ἐπίσταμαι, v. 377 foll., as spoken of the performer himself. In the ποιητὴς of the *parabasis* in the *Acharnians* we do not hesitate to recognise Aristophanes, whose talents could not have remained unknown to the public for three years.

Hundred, (which, as a supreme tribunal, had also the superintendence of the festival amusements,) and overwhelmed him with reproaches and threats. With regard to Aristophanes himself, it is probable that Cleon made an indirect attempt to bring him into danger by an indictment against him for assuming the rights of a citizen without being entitled to them (γραφὴ ξενίας). There is no doubt that the poet successfully repelled the charge, and victoriously asserted his civic rights.[1]

§ 3. In the following year, (Ol. 88, 3. B.C. 425,) at the Lenæa, Aristophanes brought out the *Acharnians*, the earliest of his extant dramas. Compared with most of his plays, the *Acharnians* is a harmless piece: its chief object is to depict the earnest longing for a peaceful country life on the part of those Athenians who took no pleasure in the babbling of the market-place, and had been driven into the city against their will by the military plans of Pericles. Along with this, a few lashes are administered to the demagogues, who, like Cleon, had inflamed the martial propensities of the people, and to the generals, who, like Lamachus, had shown far too great a love for the war. We have also in this play an early specimen of his literary criticism, directed against Euripides, whose overwrought attempts to move the feelings, and the vulgar shrewdness with which he had invested the old heroes, were highly offensive to our poet. In this play we have at once all the peculiar characteristics of the Aristophanic comedy;—his bold and genial originality, the lavish abundance of highly comic scenes with which he has filled every part of his piece, the surprising and striking delineation of character which expresses a great deal with a few master-touches, the vivid and plastic power with which the scenes are arranged, the ease with which he has disposed of all difficulties of space and time. Indeed, the play possesses its author's peculiar characteristics in such perfection and completeness, that it may be proper in this place to give such an analysis of this, *the oldest extant comedy*, as may serve to illustrate not merely the general ideas, which we have already

[1] *Schol. Acharn.* 377. It was on this occasion, according to the author of the *Vita Aristophanis*, that Aristophanes quoted that verse of Homer, (*Odyss.* I. 216,) οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἐὸν γόνον αὐτὸς ἀνέγνω.

given, but also the whole plot and technical arrangement of the drama.

The stage in this play represents sometimes town and sometimes country, and was probably so arranged that both were shown upon it at once. When the comedy begins, the stage gives us a glimpse of the *Pnyx*, or place of public assembly; that is to say, the spectator saw the *bema* for the orator cut out of the rock, and around it some seats and other objects calculated to recal the recollection of the well-known place. Here sits the worthy Dicæopolis, a citizen of the old school, grumbling about his fellow citizens, who do not come punctually to the Pnyx, but lounge idly about the market-place, which is seen from thence; for his own part, although he has no love for a town-life, with its bustle and gossip, he attends the assembly regularly in order to speak for peace. On a sudden the Prytanes come out of the council-house; the people rush in; a well-born Athenian, Amphitheus, who boasts of having been destined by the gods to conclude a peace with Sparta, is dismissed with the utmost contempt, in spite of the efforts of Dicæopolis on his behalf; and then, to the great delight of the war party, ambassadors are introduced, who have returned from Persia, and have brought with them a Persian messenger, 'the Great King's eye,' with his retinue: this forms a fantastic procession, which, as Aristophanes hints, is all a trick and imposture, got up by the demagogues of the war party. Other ambassadors bring a similar messenger from Sitalces, king of Thrace, on whose assistance the Athenians of the day built a great deal, and drag before the assembly a miserable rabble, under the name of picked Odomantian troops, which the Athenians are to take into their service for very high pay. Meanwhile Dicæopolis, seeing that he cannot turn affairs into another channel, has sent Amphitheus to Sparta on his own account; the messenger returns in a few minutes with various treaties, (some for a longer, others for a shorter time,) in the form of wine-jars, like those which were used for pouring out libations on the conclusion of a treaty of peace; Dicæopolis selects a thirty years' truce by sea and land, which does not smell of pitch and tar, like a short armistice, in which there is only just time to calk the ships. All these delightful scenes are possible only in a comedy like that

of the Athenians, which has its outward form for the representation of every relation, every function, and every character; which is able to sketch everything in bold colours by means of grotesque speaking figures, and does not trouble itself with confining the activity of these figures to the laws of reality and the probabilities of actual life.[1]

The first dramatic complication which Aristophanes introduces into his plot, arises from the chorus, which consists of *Acharnians, i.e.*, the inhabitants of a large village of Attica, where the people gained a livelihood chiefly by charcoal-burning, the materials of which were supplied by the neighbouring mountain-forests: they are represented as rude, robust old fellows, hearts of oak, martial by their disposition, and especially incensed against the Peloponnesians, who had destroyed all the vineyards in their first invasion of Attica. These old Acharnians at first appear in pursuit of Amphitheus, who, they hear, has gone to Sparta to bring treaties of peace: in his stead, they fall in with Dicæopolis, who is engaged in celebrating the festival of the country Dionysia, here represented as an abstract of every sort of rustic merriment and jollity, from which the Athenians at that time were debarred. The chorus no sooner learns from the phallus-song of Dicæopolis, that he is the person who has sent for the treaties, than they fall upon him in the greatest rage, refuse to hear a word from him, and are going to stone him to death without the least compunction, when Dicæopolis seizes a charcoal-basket, and threatens to punish it as a hostage for all that the Acharnians do to himself. The charcoal-basket, which the Acharnians needed for their every-day occupations, is so dear to their hearts that they are willing, for its sake, to listen to Dicæopolis; especially as he has promised to speak with his head on a block, on condition that he shall be beheaded at once if he fails in his defence. All this is amusing enough in itself, but becomes additionally ludicrous when we remember that the whole of Dicæopolis's behaviour is an imita-

[1] In all this, comedy does but follow in its own way the spirit of *ancient art* in general, which went far beyond modern art in finding an outward expression for every thought and feeling of the mind, but fell short of that art in keeping up an appearance of consistency in the employment of these forms, as the laws of actual life would have required.

tion of one of the heroes of Euripides, the rhetorical and plaintive Telephus, who snatched the infant Orestes from his cradle and threatened to put him to death, unless Agamemnon would listen to him, and was exposed to the same danger when he spoke before the Achæans as Dicæopolis is when he argues with the Acharnians. Aristophanes pursues this parody still farther, as it furnishes him with the means of exaggerating the situation of Dicæopolis in a very comic manner; Dicæopolis applies to Euripides himself, (who is shown to the spectators by means of an eccyclema, in his garret, surrounded by masks and costumes, such as he was fond of employing for his tragic heroes,) and begs of him the most piteous of his dresses, upon which he obtains the most deplorable of them all, that of Telephus. We pass over other mockeries of Euripides, in which Aristophanes indulges from pure wantonness, and turn to the following scene, one of the chief scenes in the piece, in which Dicæopolis, in the character of a comic Telephus, and with his head over the block, pleads for peace with the Spartans. It is obvious, that however seriously Aristophanes embraced the cause of the peace-party, he does not on this occasion speak one word in serious earnest. He derives the whole Peloponnesian war from a bold frolic on the part of some drunken young men, who had carried off a harlot from Megara, in reprisal for which the Megarians had seized on some of the attendants of Aspasia. As this explanation is not satisfactory, and the chorus even summons to its assistance the warlike Lamachus, who rushes from his house in extravagant military costume,[1] Dicæopolis is driven to have recourse to *argumenta ad hominem*, and he impresses on the old people who form the chorus, that *they* are obliged to serve as common soldiers, while young braggadocios, like Lamachus, made a pretty livelihood by serving as generals or ambassadors, and so wasted the fat of the land. This produces its effect, and the chorus shows an inclination to do justice to Dicæopolis. This catastrophe of the piece is followed by the parabasis, in

[1] Consequently, the house was also represented on the stage; probably the town house of Dicæopolis was in the middle, on the one side that of Euripides, on the other that of Lamachus. On the left was the place which represented the Pnyx; on the right some indication of a country house: this, however, occurs only in the scene of the country Dionysia, all the rest takes place in the city.

the first part of which the poet, with particular reference to his last play, takes credit to himself for being an estimable friend to the people; he says that he does not indeed spare them, but that they need not fear, for that he will be just in his satire.[1] The second part, however, keeps close to the thought which Dicæopolis had awakened in the minds of the chorus; they complain bitterly of the assumption of their rights by the clever, witty, and ready young men, from whom they could not defend themselves, especially in the law-courts.

The second part of the piece, after the catastrophe and parabasis, is merely a description, overflowing with wit and humour, of the blessings which peace has conferred on the sturdy Dicæopolis. At first he opens his free market, which is visited in succession by a poor starving wretch from Megara, (the neighbouring country to Attica, which, poorly gifted by nature, had suffered in the most shocking manner from the Athenian blockade and the yearly devastations of its territory,) and by a stout Bœotian from the fertile land on the shore of the Copaic lake, which was well known to the Athenians for its eels. For want of other wares, the Megarian has dressed up his little daughters like young pigs, and the honest Dicæopolis is willing to buy them as such, though he is strangely surprised by some of their peculiarities;—a purely ludicrous scene, which was based, perhaps, on the popular jokes of the Athenians; a Megarian would gladly sell his children as little pigs, if any one would take them off his hands:—we could point out many jokes of this kind in the popular life, as well of ancient as of modern times. During this, the dealers are much troubled by sycophants, a race who lived by indictments, and were especially active in hunting for violations of 'the customs' laws';[2] they want to seize on the foreign goods as contraband, but Dicæopolis makes short work with them: one of the sycophants he drives away from his market; the other, the little Nicarchus, he binds

[1] v. 655, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μή ποτε δείσηθ' ὡς κωμῳδήσει τὰ δίκαια. When we find such open professions as this, we may at least be certain that Aristophanes *intended* to direct the sting of his comedy against that only which appeared to him to be really bad.

[2] The sycophants, no doubt, derived their names from a sort of φάσις, *i.e.* public information against those who injured the state in any of its pecuniary interests.

up in a bundle, and packs him on the back of the Bœotian, who shows a desire to take him away as a laughable little monkey.

Now begins, on a sudden, the Athenian feast of the pitchers (the Χόες). Lamachus[1] in vain sends to Dicæopolis for some of his purchases, in order that he may keep the feast merrily; the good citizen keeps every thing to himself, and the chorus, which is now quite converted, admires the prudence of Dicæopolis, and the happiness he has gained by it. In the midst of his preparations for a sumptuous banquet, others beg for some share of his peace; he returns a gruff answer to a countryman whose cattle have been harried by the Bœotians; but he behaves a little more civilly to a bride who wants to keep her husband at home. Meanwhile, various messages are brought; to Lamachus, that he must march against the Bœotians, who are going to make an inroad into Attica at the time of the feast of the Choes; to Dicæopolis, that he must go to the priest of Bacchus, in order to assist him in celebrating the feast of the Choes. Aristophanes works out this contrast in a very amusing manner, by making Dicæopolis parody every word which Lamachus utters as he is preparing for war, so as to transfer it to his own festivities; and when, after a short time which the chorus fills up by a satirical song, Lamachus is brought back from the war wounded, and supported by two servants, Dicæopolis meets him in a happy state of intoxication, and leaning on two damsels of easy virtue, and so celebrates his triumph over the wounded warrior in a very conspicuous manner.

To say nothing of the pithy humour of the style, and the beautiful rhythms and happy turns of the choral songs, it must be allowed that this series of scenes has been devised with genial merriment from beginning to end, and that they must have produced a highly comic effect, especially if the scenery, costumes, dances, and music were worthy of the conceptions and language of the poet. The piece, if correctly understood, is nothing but a Bacchic revelry, full of farce and wantonness; for although the conception of it may rest upon a moral founda-

[1] That Lamachus is only a representative of the warlike spirits is clear from his name, Λα-μαχος: otherwise, Phormio, Demosthenes, Paches, and other Athenian heroes might just as well have been substituted for him.

tion, yet the author is, throughout the piece, utterly devoid of seriousness and sobriety, and in every representation, as well of the victorious as of the defeated party, follows the impulses of an unrestrained love of mirth. At most, Aristophanes expresses his own sentiments in the parabasis: in the other parts of the play we cannot safely recognize the opinions of the poet in the deceitful mirror of his comedy.

§ 4. The following year (Ol. 88, 4. B.C. 424) is distinguished in the history of comedy by the appearance of the *Knights* of Aristophanes. It was the first piece which Aristophanes brought out in his own name, and he was induced by peculiar circumstances to appear in it as an actor himself. This piece is entirely directed against Cleon; not, like the *Babylonians*, and at a later period the *Wasps*, against certain measures of his policy, but against his entire proceedings and influence as a demagogue. There is a certain degree of spirit in attacking, even under the protection of Bacchic revelry, a popular leader who was mighty by the very principle of his policy, viz. of advancing the material interests and immediate advantage of the great mass of the people at the sacrifice of everything else; and who had become still more formidable by the system of terrorism with which he carried out his views. This system consisted in throwing all the citizens opposed to him under the suspicion of being concealed aristocrats; in the indictments which he brought against his enemies, and which his influence with the law courts enabled him without difficulty to turn to his own advantage; and in the terrible severity with which he urged the Athenians in the public assembly and in the courts to put down all movements hostile to the rule of the democracy, and of which his proposal to massacre the Mitylenæans is the most striking example. Besides, at the very time when Aristophanes composed the *Knights*, Cleon's reputation had attained its highest pitch, for fortune in her sport had realized his inconsiderate boast, that it would be an easy matter for him to capture the Spartans in Sphacteria; the triumph of having captured these formidable warriors, for which the best generals had contended in vain, had fallen, like an over-ripe fruit, into the lap of the unmilitary Cleon (in the summer of the year 425). That it really was a bold measure to attack the powerful demagogue at this time, may

also be inferred from the statement that no one would make a mask of Cleon for the poet, and still less appear in the character of Cleon, so that Aristophanes was obliged to undertake the part himself.

The *Knights* is by far the most violent and angry production of the Aristophanic Muse; that which has most of the bitterness of Archilochus, and least of the harmless humour and riotous merriment of the Dionysia. In this instance comedy almost transgresses its proper limits; it is almost converted into an arena for political champions fighting for life and death; the most violent party animosity is combined with some obvious traces of personal irritation, which is justified by the judicial persecution of the author of the *Babylonians*. The piece presents a remarkable contrast to the *Acharnians;* just as if the poet wanted to show that a checkered variety of burlesque scenes was not necessary to his comedy, and that he could produce the most powerful effect by the simplest means; and doubtless, to an audience perfectly familiar with all the hints and allusions of the comedian, the *Knights* must have possessed still greater interest than the *Acharnians,* though modern readers, far removed from the times, have not been always able to resist the feeling of tediousness produced by the prolix scenes of the piece. The number of characters is small and unpretending; the whole *dramatis personæ* consist of an old master with three slaves, (one of whom, a Paphlagonian, completely governs his master,) and a sausage-seller. The old master, however, is the *Demus of Athens,* the slaves are the Athenian generals *Nicias* and *Demosthenes,* and the Paphlagonian is *Cleon:* the sausage-seller alone is a fiction of the poet's,—a rude, uneducated, impudent fellow, from the dregs of the people, who is set up against Cleon in order that he may, by his audacity, bawl down Cleon's impudence, and so drive the formidable demagogue out of the field in the only way that is possible. Even the chorus has nothing imaginary about it, but consists of the Knights of the State,[1] *i.e.* of citizens who, ac-

[1] Hardly of actual knights, so that in this case reality and the drama were one and the same. That no *phyle,* but the state paid the expenses of this chorus (if we are so to explain δημοσίᾳ in the didascalia of the piece: see the examples in

cording to Solon's classification, which still subsisted, paid taxes according to the rating of a knight's property, and most of whom at the same time still served as cavalry in time of war:[1] being the most numerous portion of the wealthier and better educated class, they could not fail to have a decided antipathy to Cleon, who had put himself at the head of the mechanics and poorer people. We see that in this piece Aristophanes lays all the stress on the political tendency, and considers the comic plot rather as a form and dress than as the body and primary part of his play. The allegory, which is obviously chosen only to cover the sharpness of the attack, is cast over it only like a thin veil; according to his own pleasure, the poet speaks of the affairs of the Demus sometimes as matters of family arrangement, sometimes as public transactions.

The whole piece has the form of a contest. The sausage-seller (in whom an oracle, which has been stolen from the Paphlagonian while he was sleeping, recognises his victorious opponent) first measures his strength against him in a display of impudence and rascality, by which the poet assumes that of the qualities requisite to the demagogue these are the most essential. The sausage-seller narrates that having, while a boy, stolen a piece of meat and boldly denied the theft, a statesman had predicted that the city would one day trust itself to his guidance. After the parabasis, the contest begins afresh; the rivals, who had in the meantime endeavoured to recommend themselves to the council, come before Demus himself, who takes his seat on the Pnyx, and sue for the favour of the childish old man. Combined with serious reproaches directed against Cleon's whole system of policy, we have a number of joking contrivances, as when the sausage-seller places a cushion under the Demus, in order that he may not gall that which sat by the oar at Salamis.[2] The contest at last turns upon the oracles, to which Cleon used to appeal in his public speeches (and we know

---

Böckh's *Public Economy of Athens*, book iii. § 22, at the end,) is no ground for the former inference.

[1] That Aristophanes considers the knights as a *class* is pretty clear from their known political tendency; as part *of the Athenian army*, he often describes them as sturdy young men, fond of horsemanship, and dressed in grand military costume.

[2] Ἵνα μὴ τρίβῃς τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. v. 785.

from Thucydides[1] how much the people were influenced throughout the Peloponnesian war by the oracles and predictions attributed to the ancient prophets); in this department, too, the sausage-seller outbids his rival by producing announcements of the greatest comfort to the Demus, and ruin to his opponent. As a merry supplement to these long-spun transactions, we have a scene which must have been highly entertaining to eye and ear alike: the Paphlagonian and the sausage-seller sit down as eating-house keepers (κάπηλοι) at two tables, on which a number of hampers and eatables are set out, and bring one article after the other to the Demus with ludicrous recommendations of their excellences;[2] in this, too, the sausage-seller of course pays his court to the Demus more successfully than his rival. After a second parabasis we see the Demus—whom the sausage-seller has restored to youth by boiling him in his kettle, as Medea did Æson—in youthful beauty, but attired in the old-fashioned splendid costume, shining with peace and contentment, and in his new state of mind heartily ashamed of his former absurdities.

§ 5. In the following year we find Aristophanes (after a fresh suit[3] in which Cleon had involved him) bringing out the *Clouds*, and so entering upon an entirely new field of comedy. He had himself made up his mind to take a new and peculiar flight with this piece. The public, and the judges, however, determined otherwise; it was not Aristophanes but the aged Cratinus who obtained the first prize. The young poet, who had believed himself secure against such a slight, uttered some warm reproaches against the public in his next play; he was induced, however, by this decision to revise his piece, and it is this *rifaccimento* (which deviates considerably from the original form) that has come down to us.[4]

---

[1] Thucyd. ii. 54. viii. 1.

[2] The two eating-houses are represented by an eccyclema, as is clear from the conclusion of the scene.

[3] See the *Wasps*, v. 1284. According to the *Vita Aristoph.* the poet had to stand three suits from Cleon touching his rights as a citizen.

[4] The first *Clouds* had, according to a definite tradition, a different *parabasis;* it wanted the contest of the δίκαιος and ἄδικος λόγος, and the burning of the school at the end. It is also probable, from Diog. Laërt. ii. 18, (notwithstanding all the confusions which he has made,) that in the first *Clouds*, Socrates was brought into connexion with Euripides, and was declared to have had a share in the tragedies of the latter.

There is hardly any work of antiquity which it is so difficult to estimate as the *Clouds* of Aristophanes. Was Socrates really, perhaps only in the earlier part of his career, the fantastic dreamer and sceptical sophist which this piece makes him? And if it is certain that he was not, is not Aristophanes a common slanderer, a buffoon, who, in the vagaries of his humour, presumes to attack and revile even what is purest and noblest? Where remains his solemn promise never to make what was right the object of his comic satire?

If there be any way of justifying the character of Aristophanes, as it appears to us in all his dramas, even in this hostile encounter with the noblest of philosophers, we must not attempt, as some modern writers have done, to convert Aristophanes into a profound philosopher, opposed to Socrates; but we must be content to recognise in him, even on this occasion, the vigilant patriot, the well-meaning citizen of Athens, whose object it is by all the means in his power to promote the interests of his native country so far as he is capable of understanding them.

As the piece in general is directed against the new system of education, we must first of all explain its nature and tendency. Up to the time of the Persian war, the school-education of the Greeks was limited to a very few subjects. From his seventh year, the boy was sent to schools in which he learned reading and writing, to play on the lute and sing, and the usual routine of gymnastic exercises.[1] In these schools it was customary to impress upon the youthful mind, in addition to these acquirements, the works of the poets, especially Homer, as the foundation of all Greek training, the religious and moral songs of the lyric poets, and a modest and decent behaviour. This instruction ceased when the youth was approaching to manhood; then the only means of gaining instruction was intercourse with older men, listening to what was said in the market-place, where the Greeks spent a large portion of the day, taking a part in public life, the poetic contests, which were connected with the religious festivals, and made generally known so many works of genius; and, as far as bodily training was concerned, frequenting the gymnasia kept up at the public expense. Such was the

[1] ἐς γραμματιστοῦ, ἐς κιθαριστοῦ, ἐς παιδοτρίβου.

method of education up to the Persian war; and no effect was produced upon it by the more ancient systems of philosophy, any more than by the historical writings of the period, for no one ever thought of seeking the elements of a regular education from Heraclitus or Pythagoras, but whoever applied himself to them did so for his life. With the Persian war, however, according to an important observation of Aristotle,[1] an entirely new striving after knowledge and education developed itself among the Greeks; and subjects of instruction were established, which soon exercised an important influence on the whole spirit and character of the nation. The art of speaking, which had hitherto afforded exercise only to practical life and its avocations, now became a subject of school-training, in connexion with various branches of knowledge, and with ideas and views of various kinds, such as seemed suitable to the design of guiding and ruling men by eloquence. All this taken together, constituted the lessons of the Sophists, which we shall contemplate more nearly hereafter; and which produced more important effects on the education and morals of the Greeks than anything else at that time. That the very principles of the Sophists must have irritated an Athenian with the views and feelings of Aristophanes, and have at once produced a spirit of opposition, is sufficiently obvious: the new art of rhetoric, always eager for advantages, and especially when transferred to the dangerous ground of the Athenian democracy and the popular law-courts, could not fail to be regarded by Aristophanes as a perilous instrument in the hands of ambitious and selfish demagogues; he saw with a glance how the very foundations of the old morality upon which the weal of Athens appeared to him to rest, must be sapped and rooted up by a stream of oratory which had the skill to turn everything to its own advantage. Accordingly, he makes repeated attacks on the whole race of the artificial orators and sceptical reasoners, and it is with them that he is principally concerned in the *Clouds*.

The real object of this piece is stated by the poet himself in the parabasis to the *Wasps*, which was composed in the following year: he says that he had attacked the fiend which, like a night-

[1] Aristot. *Polit.* viii. 6.

mare, plagued fathers and grandfathers by night, besetting inexperienced and harmless people with all sorts of pleadings and pettifogging tricks.[1] It is obvious that it is not the teachers of rhetoric who are alluded to here, but the young men who abused the facility of speaking which they had acquired in the schools by turning it to the ruin of their fellow citizens. The whole plan of the drama depends upon this: an old Athenian, who is sore pressed by debts and duns, first labours to acquire a knowledge of the tricks and stratagems of the new rhetoric, and finding that he is too stiff and awkward for it, sends to this school his youthful son, who has hitherto spent his life in the ordinary avocations of a well-born cavalier. The consequence is, that his son, being initiated into the new scepticism, turns it against his own father, and not only beats him, but proves that he has done so justly. The error of Aristophanes in identifying the school of Socrates with that of the new-fangled rhetoric must have arisen from his putting Socrates on the same footing with sophists like Protagoras and Gorgias, and then preferring to make his fellow-citizen the butt of his witticisms, rather than his foreign colleagues, who paid only short visits to Athens. It cannot be denied that Aristophanes was mistaken. It must indeed be allowed that Socrates, in the earlier part of his career, had not advanced with that security with which we see him invested in the writings of Xenophon and Plato; that he still took more part in the speculations of the Ionian philosophers with regard to the universe,[2] than he did at a later period; that certain wild elements were still mixed up in his theory, and not yet purged out of it by the Socratic dialectic: still it is quite inconceivable that Socrates should ever have kept a school of rhetoric (and this is the real question), in which instruction was given, as in those of the Sophists, how to make the worse appear the better reason.[3] But even this misrepresentation on the part of Aristophanes may have been undesigned: we see

[1] Compare, by way of explanation, also *Acharnians*, 713. *Birds*, 1347. *Frogs*, 147.

[2] τὰ μετέωρα.

[3] The ἥττων or ἄδικος, and the κρείττων or δίκαιος λόγος. Aristophanes makes the former manner of speaking the representative of the assuming and arrogant youth, and the latter of the old respectable education, and personifies them both.

from passages of his later comedies,[1] that he actually regarded Socrates as a rhetorician and declaimer. He was probably deceived by appearances into the belief that the *dialectic* of Socrates, the art of investigating the truth, was the same as the *sophistry* which aped it, and which was but the art of producing a deceitful resemblance of the truth. It is, no doubt, a serious reproach to Aristophanes that he did not take the trouble to distinguish more accurately between the two: but how often it happens that men, with the best intentions, condemn arbitrarily and in the lump those tendencies and exertions which they dislike or cannot appreciate.

The whole play of the *Clouds* is full of ingenious ideas, such as the *chorus of Clouds* itself, which Socrates invokes, and which represents appropriately the light, airy, and fleeting nature of the new philosophy.[2] A number of popular jokes, such as generally attach themselves to the learned class, and banter the supposed subtilties and refinements of philosophy, are here heaped on the school of Socrates, and often delivered in a very comic manner. The worthy Strepsiades, whose homebred understanding and mother-wit are quite overwhelmed with astonishment at the subtle tricks of the school-philosophers, until at last his own experience teaches him to form a different judgment, is from the beginning to the end of the piece a most amusing character. Notwithstanding all this, however, the piece cannot overcome the defect arising from the oblique views on which it is based, and the superficial manner in which the philosophy of Socrates is treated,—at least not in the eyes of any one who is unable to surrender himself to the delusion under which Aristophanes appears to have laboured.

§ 6. The following year (Ol. 89, 2. B.C. 422) brought the

---

[1] See Aristoph. *Frogs*, 1491. *Birds*, 1555. Eupolis had given a more correct picture of Socrates, at least in regard to his outward appearance. Bergk *de rel. com. Atticæ*, p. 353.

[2] That this chorus loses its special character towards the end of the piece, and even preaches reverence of the gods, is a point of resemblance between it and the choruses in the *Acharnians* and the *Wasps*, who at least act rather according to the *general character* of the Greek chorus, which was on the whole the same for tragedy and comedy, than according to the *particular part* which has been assigned to them.

Wasps of Aristophanes on the stage. The *Wasps* is so connected with the *Clouds*, that it is impossible to mistake a similarity of design in the development of certain thoughts in each. The *Clouds*, especially in its original form, was directed against the young Athenians, who, as wrangling tricksters, vexed the simple inoffensive citizens of Athens by bringing them against their will into the law-courts. The *Wasps* is aimed at the old Athenians, who took their seats day after day in great masses as judges, and being compensated for their loss of time by the judicial fees established by Pericles, gave themselves up entirely to the decision of the causes, which had become infinitely multiplied by the obligation on the allies to try their suits at Athens, and by the party spirit in the State itself: whereby these old people had acquired far too surly and snarling a spirit, to the great damage of the accused. There are two persons opposed to one another in this piece; the old *Philocleon*, who has given up the management of his affairs to his son, and devoted himself entirely to his office of judge (in consequence of which he pays the profoundest respect to Cleon, the patron of the popular courts); and his son *Bdelycleon*, who has a horror of Cleon and of the severity of the courts in general. It is very remarkable how entirely the course of the action between these two characters corresponds to that in the *Clouds*, so that we can hardly mistake the intention of Aristophanes to make one piece the counterpart of the other. The irony of fate, which the aged Strepsiades experiences, when that which had been the greatest object of his wishes, namely, to have his son thoroughly imbued with the rhetorical fluency of the Sophists, soon turns out to be the greatest misfortune to him,—is precisely the same with the irony of which the young Bdelycleon is the object in the *Wasps*; for, after having directed all his efforts towards curing his father of his mania for the profession of judge, and having actually succeeded in doing so, (partly by establishing a private dicasterion at home, and partly by recommending to him the charms of a fashionable luxurious life, such as the young Athenians of rank were attached to,) he soon bitterly repents of the metamorphosis which he has effected, since the old man, by a strange mixture of his old-fashioned rude manners with the luxury of the day, allows his dissolute-

ness to carry him much farther than Bdelycleon had either expected or desired.

The *Wasps* is undoubtedly one of the most perfect of the plays of Aristophanes.[1] We have already remarked upon the happy invention of the masks of the chorus.[2] The same spirit of amusing novelty pervades the whole piece. The most farcical scene is the first between two dogs, which Bdelycleon sets on foot for the gratification of his father, and in which not only is the whole judicial system of the Athenians parodied in a ludicrous manner, but also a particular law-suit between the demagogue Cleon and the general Laches appears in a comic contrast, which must have forced a laugh from the gravest of the spectators.

§ 7. We have still a fifth comedy, the *Peace,* which is connected with the hitherto unbroken series; it is established by a didascalia, which has been recently brought to light, that it was produced at the great Dionysia in Ol. 89, 3. B.C. 421. Accordingly, this play made its appearance on the stage shortly before the *peace of Nicias,* which concluded the first part of the Peloponnesian war, and, as was then fully believed, was destined to put a final stop to this destructive contest among the Greek states.

The subject of the *Peace* is essentially the same as that of the *Acharnians,* except that, in the latter, peace is represented as the wish of an individual only, in the former as wished for by all. In the *Acharnians,* the chorus is opposed to peace; in the *Peace,* it is composed of countrymen of Attica, and all parts of Greece, who are full of a longing desire for peace. It must, however, be allowed, that in dramatic interest the *Acharnians* far excels the *Peace,* which is greatly wanting in the unity of a strong comic action. It must, no doubt, have been highly amusing to see how Trygæus ascends to heaven on the back of an entirely new sort of Pegasus—a dung beetle,—and there,

---

[1] We cannot by any means accept A. W. von Schlegel's judgment, that this play is inferior to the other comedies of Aristophanes, and we entirely approve of the warm apology by Mr. Mitchell, in his edition of the *Wasps,* 1835, the object of which has unfortunately prevented the editor from giving the comedy in its full proportions.

[2] Chap. XXVII. § 5.

amidst all kinds of dangers, in spite of the rage of the dæmon of war, carries off the goddess Peace, with her fair companions, Harvesthome and Mayday:[1] but the sacrifice on account of the peace, and the preparations for the marriage of Trygæus with Harvesthome, are split up into a number of separate scenes, without any direct progress of the action, and without any great vigour of comic imagination. It is also too obvious, that Aristophanes endeavours to diminish the tediousness of these scenes by some of those loose jokes which never failed to produce their effect on the common people of Athens; and it must be allowed, in general, that the poet often expresses better rules in respect to his rivals than he has observed in his own pieces.[2]

§ 8. There is now a gap of some years in the hitherto unbroken chain of Aristophanic comedies; but our loss is fully compensated by the *Birds*, which was brought out in Ol. 91, 2. B.C. 414. If the *Acharnians* is a specimen of the youthful vigour of Aristophanes, it appears in the *Birds* displayed in all its splendour, and with a style, in which a proud flight of imagination is united with the coarsest jocularity and most genial humour.

The *Birds* belongs to a period when the power and dominion of Athens had attained to an extent and grandeur which can only be compared to the time about Ol. 81, 1. B.C. 456, before the military power of Athens was overthrown in Egypt. Athens had, by the very favourable peace of Nicias, strengthened her authority on the sea and in the coasts of Asia Minor; had shaken the policy of the Peloponnese by skilful intrigues; had brought her revenues to the highest point they ever attained; and finally had formed the plan of extending her authority by sea and on the coasts, over the western part of the Mediterranean, by the expedition to Sicily, which had commenced under the most favourable auspices. The disposition of the Athenians at this period is known to us from Thucydides: they allowed their de-

[1] So we venture to translate Ὀπώρα and Θεωρία.

[2] It should be added, that according to the old grammarians Eratosthenes and Crates, there were two plays by Aristophanes with this title, though there is no indication that the one which has come down to us is not that which appeared in the year 421.

magogues and soothsayers to conjure up before them the most brilliant visionary prospects; henceforth nothing appeared unattainable; people gave themselves up, in general, to the intoxication of extravagant hopes. The hero of the day was Alcibiades, with his frivolity, his presumption, and that union of a calculating understanding with a bold, unfettered imagination, for which he was so distinguished; and even when he was lost to Athens by the unfortunate prosecution of the Hermocopidæ, the disposition which he had excited still survived for a considerable time.

It was at this time that Aristophanes composed his *Birds*. In order to comprehend this comedy in its connexion with the events of the day, and, on the other hand, not to attribute to it more than it really contains, it is especially necessary to take a rigorous and exact view of the action of the piece. Two Athenians, *Peisthetærus* and *Euelpides*, (whom we may call *Agitator* and *Hopegood*,) are sick and tired of the restless life at Athens, and the number of law-suits there, and have wandered out into the wide world in search of Hoopoo, an old mythological kinsman of the Athenians.[1] They soon find him in a rocky desert, where the whole host of birds assemble at the call of Hoopoo: for some time they are disposed to treat the two strangers of human race as national enemies; but are at last induced, on the recommendation of Hoopoo, to give them a hearing. Upon this, Agitator lays before them his grand ideas about the primeval sovereignty of the birds, the important rights and privileges they have lost, and how they ought to win them all back again by founding a great city for the whole race of birds: and this would remind the spectators of the plan of centralization (*συνοικισμός*), which the Athenian statesmen of the day often employed for the establishment of democracy, even in the Peloponnese. While Agitator undertakes all the solemnities which belonged to the foundation of a Greek city, and drives away the crowd, which is soon collected, of priests, writers of hymns, prophets, land-surveyors, inspectors-general, and legislators—scenes full of satirical reflexion on the

[1] It is said to have been, in fact, the Thracian king Tereus, who had married Pandion's daughter Procne, and was turned into a hoopoo, his wife being metamorphosed into a nightingale.

conduct of the Athenians in their colonies and in allied states,—Hopegood superintends the building of this castle-in-the-air, the *Cloudcuckootown* (Νεφελοκοκκυγία), and shortly after a messenger makes his appearance with a most amusing description of the way in which the great fabric was constructed by the labours of the different species of birds. Agitator treats this description as a lie;[1] and the spectators are also sensible that Cloudcuckootown exists only in imagination, since Iris, the messenger of the gods, flies past without having perceived, on her way from heaven to earth, the faintest trace of the great blockading fortress.[2] The affair creates all the more sensation among men on this account, and a number of swaggerers come to get their share in the promised distribution of wings, without Agitator being able to make any use of those new citizens for his city. As, however, men leave off sacrificing to the gods, and pay honour to the birds only, the gods themselves are obliged to enter into the imposture, and bear a part in the absurdities which result from it. An agreement is made in which Zeus himself gives up his sovereignty to Agitator; this is brought about by a contrivance of Agitator; he has the skill to win over Hercules, who has come as an ambassador from the gods, with the savoury smell of certain birds, whom he has arrested as aristocrats, and is roasting for his dinner. At the end of the comedy Agitator appears with Sovereignty, (Βασίλεια,) splendidly attired as his bride, brandishing the thunder-bolts of Zeus, and in a triumphal hymeneal procession, accompanied by the whole tribe of birds.

In this short sketch we have purposely omitted all the subordinate parts, amusing and brilliant as they are, in order to make sure of obtaining a correct view of the whole piece. People have often overlooked the general scope of the play, and have sought for a signification in the details, which the plan of the whole would not allow. It is impossible that Athens can have been intended under Cloudcuckootown, especially as this

---

[1] v. 1167. ἴσα γὰρ ἀληθῶς φαίνεταί μοι ψεύδεσιν.

[2] Of course we see nothing of the new city on the stage, which throughout the piece represents a rocky place with trees about it, and with the house of the Epops in the centre, which at the end of the play is converted into the kitchen where the birds are roasted.

city of the birds is treated as a mere imagination: moreover, the birds are real birds throughout the play, and if Aristophanes had intended to represent his countrymen under these masks, the characteristics of the Athenians would have been shown in them in a very different way.[1] Besides, it is very difficult to believe that Agitator and Hopegood were intended to represent any Athenian statesmen in particular; the chief rulers of the people at the time could not possibly have shown themselves diametrically opposed, as Agitator does, to the judicial and legislative system, and to the sycophancy of the Athenians. But according to the poet's express declaration, they are Athenians, the genuine offspring of Athens, and it is clear, that in these two characters, he intended to give two perfect specimens of the Athenians of the day; the one is an intriguing projector, a restless, inventive genius, who knows how to give a plausible appearance to the most irrational schemes; the other is an honest credulous fool, who enters into the follies of his companion with the utmost simplicity.[2] Consequently, the whole piece is a satire on Athenian frivolity and credulity, on that building of castles in the air, and that dreaming expectation of a life of luxury and ease, to which the Athenian people gave themselves up in the mass: but the satire is so general, there is so little of anger and bitterness, so much of fantastic humour in it, that no comedy could make a more agreeable and harmless impression. We must, in this, dissent entirely from the opinion of the Athenian judges, who, though they crowned the *Knights*, awarded only the second prize to the *Birds*; it seems that they were better able to appreciate the force of a violent personal attack than the creative fulness of comic originality.

§ 9. We have two plays of Aristophanes which came out in Ol. 92, 1. B.C. 411 (if our chronological data are correct), the

---

[1] That several points applicable to Athens occur in the Cloudcuckootown (the Acropolis, with the worship of Minerva Polias, the Pelasgian wall, &c.) proves nothing but this, that the Athenians, who plan the city, made use of names common at home, as was always the custom in colonies.

[2] We may remark that Euelpides only remains on the stage till the plan of Nephelococcygia is formed: after that, the poet has no further employment for him.

Lysistrata and the *Thesmophoriazusæ*. A didascalia, which has come down to us, assigns the *Lysistrata* to this year, in which, after the unfortunate issue of the Sicilian expedition, the occupation of Decelcia by the Spartans, and their subsidiary treaty with the king of Persia, the war began to press heavily upon the Athenians. At the same time the constitution of Athens had fallen into a fluctuating state, which ended in an oligarchy; a board of commissioners (πρόβουλοι), consisting of men of the greatest rank and consideration, superintended all the affairs of state; and, a few months after the representation of the *Thesmophoriazusæ* began the rule of the Four Hundred. Aristophanes, who had all along been attached to the peace-party, which consisted of the thriving landed proprietors, now gave himself up entirely to his longing for peace, as if all civic rule and harmony in the state must necessarily be restored by a cessation from war. In the *Lysistrata* this longing for peace is exhibited in a farcical form, which is almost without a parallel for extravagant indecency; the women are represented as compelling their husbands to come to terms, by refusing them the exercise of their marital rights; but the care with which he abstains from any direct political satire shows how fluctuating all relations were at that time, and how little Aristophanes could tell whither to turn himself with the vigour of a man who has chosen his party.

In the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, nearly contemporary with the *Lysistrata*,[1] Aristophanes keeps still further aloof from politics,

---

[1] The date assigned to the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, Ol. 92, 1. B.C. 411, rests partly on its relation to the *Andromeda* of Euripides, (see chap. XXV. § 17, note,) which was a year older, and which, from its relation to the *Frogs*, (*Schol. Aristoph. Frogs*, 53,) is placed in Ol. 91, 4. B.C. 412. No doubt the expression ὀγδόῳ ἔτει would also allow us to place the *Andromeda* in 413; and therefore, the *Thesmophoriazusæ* in 412; but this is opposed by the clear mention of the defeat of Charminus in a sea-fight, (*Thesmoph.* 804;) which falls, according to Thucyd. viii. 41, in the very beginning of 411. Without setting aside the *Schol. Frogs*, 53, and some other corresponding notices in the Ravenna scholia on the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, we cannot bring down this comedy to the year 410: consequently, the passage in v. 808 about the deposed councillors, cannot refer to the expulsion of the Five Hundred by the oligarchy of the Four Hundred (Thucyd. viii. 69,) which did not take place till after the Dionysia of the year 411; but to the circumstance that the βουλευταὶ of the year 412, Ol. 91, 4, were obliged to give up a considerable part of their functions to the board of πρόβουλοι (Thucyd. viii. 1).

and plunges into literary criticism (such as before only served him for a collateral ornament), which he helps out with a complete apparatus of indecent jokes. Euripides passed for a woman-hater at Athens: but without any reason; for, in his tragedies, the charming, susceptible mind of woman is as often the motive of good as of bad actions. General opinion, however, had stamped him as a misogynist. Accordingly, the piece turns on the fiction that the women had resolved at the feast of the Thesmophoria, when they were quite alone, to take vengeance on Euripides, and punish him with death; and that Euripides was desirous of getting some one whom he might pass off for a woman, and send as such into this assembly. The first person who occurs to his mind, the delicate, effeminate Agathon —an excellent opportunity for travestying Agathon's manner— will not undertake the business, and only furnishes the costume, in which the aged Mnesilochus, the father-in-law and friend of Euripides, is dressed up as a woman. Mnesilochus conducts his friend's cause with great vigour; but he is denounced, his sex is discovered, and, on the complaint of the women, he is committed to the custody of a Scythian police-slave, until Euripides, having in vain endeavoured, in the guise of a tragic Menelaus and Perseus, to carry off this new Helen and Andromeda, entices the Scythian from his watch over Mnesilochus by an artifice of a grosser and more material kind. The chief joke in the whole piece is that Aristophanes, though he pretends to punish Euripides for his calumnies against women, is much more severe upon the fair sex than Euripides had ever been.

§ 10. The literary criticism, which seems to have been the principal employment of Aristophanes during the last gloomy years of the Peloponnesian war, came out in its most perfect form in the *Frogs*, which was acted Ol. 93, 3. B.C. 405, and is one of the most masterly productions which the muse of comedy has ever conceded to her favourites. The idea, on which the whole is built, is beautiful and grand. Dionysus, the god of the Attic stage, here represented as a young Athenian fop, who gives himself out as a connoisseur of tragedies, is much distressed at the great deficiency of tragic poets after the deaths of Euripides and Sophocles, and is resolved to go and bring up a

tragedian from the other world,—if possible, Euripides.[1] He gets Charon to ferry him over the pool which forms the boundary of the infernal regions (where he is obliged to pull himself to the merry croaking of the marsh frogs),[2] and arrives, after various dangers, at the place where the chorus of the happy souls who have been initiated into the mysteries (*i.e.* those who are capable of enjoying properly the freedom and merriment of comedy) perform their songs and dances: he and his servant Xanthias have, however, still many amusing adventures to undergo at Pluto's gate, before they are admitted. It so happens that a strife has arisen in the subterranean world between Æschylus, who had hitherto occupied the tragic throne, and the newly-arrived Euripides, who lays claim to it: and Dionysus connects this with his own plan by promising to take with him to the upper regions whichever of the two gains the victory in this contest. The contest which ensues is a peculiar mixture of jest and earnest: it extends over every department of tragic art,—the subject-matter and moral effects, the style and execution, prologues, choral songs and monodies, and often, though in a very comic manner, hits the right point. The comedian, however, does not hesitate to support, rather by bold figures than by proofs, his opinion that Æschylus had uttered profound observations, sterling truths, full of moral significance; while Euripides, with his subtle reasonings, rendered insecure the basis of religious faith and moral principles on which the weal of the state rested. Thus, at the end of the play, the two tragedians proceed to weigh their verses; and the powerful sayings of Æschylus make the pointed thoughts of Euripides kick the beam. In his fundamental opinion about the relative merits of these poems, Aristophanes is undoubtedly so far right, that the immediate feeling for and natural consciousness of the right

---

[1] He is chiefly desirous of seeing the *Andromeda* of Euripides, which was exceedingly popular with the people of Abdera also. Lucian. *Quom. conscr. sit. Hist.* 1.

[2] The part of the Frogs was indeed performed by the chorus, but they were not seen, (*i.e.* it was a *parachoregema;*) probably the choreutæ were placed in the *hyposcenium*, (a space under the stage,) and therefore on the same elevation as the orchestra.

and the good which breathes in the works of Æschylus, was far more conducive to the moral strength of mind and public virtue of his fellow-citizens than a mode of reasoning like that in Euripides, which brings all things before its tribunal, and, as it were, makes everything dependent on the doubtful issue of a trial. But Aristophanes is wrong in reproaching Euripides personally with a tendency which exercised such an irresistible influence on his age in general. If it was the aim of the comedian to bring back the Athenian public to that point of literary taste when Æschylus was fully sufficient for them, it would have been necessary for him to be able to lock the wheels of time, and to screw back the machinery which propelled the mind in its forward progress.

We should not omit to mention the political references which occasionally appear by the side of the literary contents of this comedy. Aristophanes maintains his position of opponent to the violent democrats: he attacks the demagogue Cleophon, then in the height of his power: in the parabasis he recommends the people, covertly but significantly enough, to make peace with and be reconciled to the persecuted oligarchs, who had ruled over Athens during the time of the Four Hundred; recognising, however, the inability of the people to save themselves from the ruin which threatens them by their own power and prudence, he hints that they should submit to the mighty genius of Alcibiades, though he was certainly no old Athenian according to the ideal of Aristophanes: this suggestion is contained in two remarkable verses, which he puts into the mouth of Æschylus:—

> 'Twere best to rear no lion in the state,
> But when 'tis done, his will must not be thwarted;—

a piece of advice which would have been more in season had it been delivered ten years earlier.

§ 11. Aristophanes is the only one of the great Athenian poets who survived the Peloponnesian war, in the course of which Sophocles and Euripides, Cratinus and Eupolis, had all died. We find him still writing for the stage for a series of years after the close of the war. His *Ecclesiazusæ* was probably brought out in Ol. 96, 4. B.C. 392: it is a piece of wild

drollery, but based upon the same political creed which Aristophanes had professed for thirty years. Democracy had been restored in its worst features; the public money was again expended for private purposes; the demagogue Agyrrhius was catering for the people by furnishing them with pay for their attendance in the public assembly; and the populace were following to-day one leader, and to-morrow another. In this state of affairs, according to the fiction of Aristophanes, the women resolve to take upon themselves the whole management of the city, and carry their point by appearing in the assembly in men's clothes, principally 'because this was the only thing that had not yet been attempted at Athens;'[1] and people hoped that, according to an old oracle, the wildest resolution which they made would turn out to their benefit. The women then establish an excellent Utopia, in which property and wives are to be in common, and the interests of the ugly of both sexes are specially provided for, a conception which is followed out into all its absurd consequences with a liberal mixture of humour and indecency.

From this combination of a serious thought, by way of foundation, with the boldest creations of a riotous imagination, the *Ecclesiazusæ* must be classed with the works which appeared during the vigour of Attic comedy: but the technical arrangement shows, in a manner which cannot be mistaken, the poverty and thriftiness of the state at this time.[2] The chorus is obviously fitted out very parsimoniously; its masks were easily made, as they represented only Athenian women, who at first appear with beards and men's cloaks; besides, it required but little practice, as it had but little to sing. The whole parabasis is omitted, and its place is supplied by a short address, in which the chorus, before it leaves the stage, calls upon the judges to decide fairly and impartially.

These outward deviations from the original plan of the old comedy are in the *Plutus* combined with great alterations in the internal structure; and thus furnish a plain transition to

---

[1] *Ecclesiaz.* v. 456. ἐδόκει γὰρ τοῦτο μόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει
οὔπω γεγενῆσθαι.

[2] The choregiæ were not discontinued, but people endeavoured to make them less expensive every year. See Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, book iii. § 22.

the *middle comedy*, as it is called. The extant *Plutus* is not that which the poet produced in Ol. 92, 4. B.C. 408, but that which came out twenty years later in Ol. 97, 4. B.C. 388, and was the last piece which the aged poet brought forward himself; for two plays which he composed subsequently, the *Cocalus* and *Æolosicon*, were brought out by his son Araros. In the extant *Plutus*, Aristophanes tears himself away altogether from the great political interests of the state. His satire in this piece is, in part, universally applicable to all races and ages of men, for it is directed against defects and perversities which attach themselves to our everyday life; and, in part, it is altogether personal, as it attacks individuals selected from the mass at the caprice of the poet, in order that the jokes may take a deeper and wider root. The conception on which it is based is of lasting significance: the god of riches has, in his blindness, fallen into the hands of the worst of men, and has himself suffered greatly thereby: a worthy, respectable citizen, *Chremylus*, provides for the recovery of his sight, and so makes many good people prosperous, and reduces many knaves to poverty. From the more general nature of the fable it follows that the persons also have the general character of their condition and employments, in which the piece approximates to the manner of the middle comedy, as it also does in the more decent, less offensive, but at the same time less genial nature of the language. The alteration, however, does not run through the play so as to bring the new species of comedy before us in its complete form; here and there we feel the breath of the old comedy around us, and we cannot avoid the melancholy conviction that the genial comedian has survived the best days of his art, and has therefore become insecure and unequal in his application of it.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE OTHER POETS OF THE OLD COMEDY—THE MIDDLE AND NEW COMEDY.

§ 1. Characteristics of Cratinus. § 2. Eupolis. § 3. Peculiar tendencies of Crates; his connexion with Sicilian comedy. § 4. Sicilian comedy originates in the Doric farces of Megara. § 5. Events in the life of Epicharmus; general tendency and nature of his comedy. § 6. The middle Attic comedy; poets of this class akin to those of the Sicilian comedy in many of their pieces. § 7. Poets of the new comedy the immediate successors of those of the middle comedy. How the new comedy becomes naturalized at Rome. § 8. Public morality at Athens at the time of the new comedy. § 9. Character of the new comedy in connexion therewith.

§ 1. CRATINUS and EUPOLIS, PHERECRATES and HERMIPPUS, TELECLEIDES and PLATO, and several of those who competed with them for the prize of comedy, are known to us from the names of a number of their pieces which have come down to our time, and also from the short quotations from their plays by subsequent authors; these furnish us with abundant materials for an inquiry into the details of Athenian life, public and private, but are of little use for a description like the present, which is based on the contents of individual works and on the characteristics of the different poets.

Of CRATINUS, in particular, we learn more from the short but pregnant notices of him by Aristophanes, than from the very mutilated fragments of his works. It is clear that he was well fitted by nature for the wild and merry dances of the Bacchic Comus. The spirit of comedy spoke out as clearly and as powerfully in him as that of tragedy did in Æschylus. He gave himself up with all the might of his genius to the fantastic humour of this amusement, and the scattered sparks of his wit proceeded from a soul imbued with the magnanimous honesty of the older Athenians. His personal attacks were free from all fear or regard to the consequences. As opposed to Cratinus, Aristophanes appeared as a well educated man, skilled and apt in speech, and not untinged with that very sophistic training of

Euripides, against which he so systematically inveighed: and thus we find it asked in a fragment of Cratinus—'Who art thou, thou hair-splitting orator; thou hunter after sentences; thou petty Euripidaristophanes?'[1]

Even the names of his choruses show, to a certain extent, on what various and bold devices the poems of Cratinus were based. He not only made up a chorus of mere Archilochuses and Cleobulines, *i. e.* of abusive slanderers and gossiping women; he also brought on a number of Ulysseses and Chirons as a chorus, and even Panopteses, *i. e.* beings like the Argos-Panoptes of mythology, who had heads turned both ways, with innumerable eyes,[2] by which, according to an ingenious explanation,[3] he intended to represent the scholars of Hippo, a speculative philosopher of the day, whose followers pretended that nothing in heaven or earth remained concealed from them. Even the riches (πλοῦτοι) and the laws (νόμοι) of Athens formed choruses in the plays of Cratinus, as, in general, Attic comedy took the liberty of personifying whatever it pleased.

The play of Cratinus, with the plot of which we are best acquainted, is the *Pytine*, or 'bottle,' which he wrote in the last year of his life. In his later years Cratinus was undoubtedly much given to drinking, and Aristophanes and the other comedians were already sneering at him as a doting old man, whose poetry was fuddled with wine. Upon this the old comedian suddenly roused himself, and with such vigour and success that he won the prize, in Ol. 89, 1. B.C. 423, from all his rivals, including Aristophanes, who brought out the *Clouds* on the occasion. The piece which Cratinus thus produced was the *Pytine*. With magnanimous candour the poet made himself the subject of his own comedy. The comic muse was represented as the lawful wife of Cratinus, as the faithful partner of his younger days, and she complained bitterly of the neglect with which she was then treated in consequence of her husband having become attached to another lady, the bottle.

---

[1] Τίς δὲ σύ; (κομψός τις ἔροιτο θεατής)
Ὑπολεπτολόγος, γνωμιδιώτης, εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων.
The answer of Aristophanes is mentioned above, chap. XXV. § 7.

[2] Κράνια δισσὰ φορεῖν, ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀριθματοί·

[3] Bergk *de reliquiis Comediæ Atticæ antiquæ*, p. 162.

She goes to the Archons, and brings a plaint of criminal neglect (κάκωσις) against him; if her husband will not return to her she is to obtain a divorce from him. The consequence is, that the poet returns to his senses, and his old love is reawakened in his bosom; and at the end he raises himself up in all the power and beauty of his poetical genius, and goes so far in the drama that his friends try to stop his mouth, lest he should carry away everything with the overflowing of his imagery and versification.[1] In this piece Cratinus does not merit the reproach which has been generally cast upon him, that he could not work out his own excellent conceptions, but, as it were, destroyed them himself.

So early as the time when Cratinus was in his prime (Ol. 85, 1. B.C. 440), a law was passed limiting the freedom of comic satire. It is very probable that it was under the constraint of this law (which, however, was not long in force), that the Ulysses (Ὀδυσσεῖς) of Cratinus was brought out; a piece of which it was remarked by the old literary critics,[2] that it came nearer to the character of the middle comedy: it probably abstained from all personal, and especially from political satire, and kept itself within the circle of the general relations of mankind, in which it was easy for the poet to avail himself of the old mythical story,—Ulysses in the cave of Polyphemus.

§ 2. A Roman poet, who was very careful in his choice of words, and who is remarkable for a certain pregnancy of expression,[3] calls Cratinus 'the bold,' and in the same passage opposes Eupolis to him, as 'the angry.' Although Eupolis is stated to have been celebrated for his elegance, and for the aptness of his witticisms, as well as for his imaginative powers,[4]

---

[1] *Cratini fragmenta coll. Runkel*, p. 50. Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com. Græc.*, vol. I. p. 54, vol. II. p. 116—132.

[2] *Platonius de Comœdia*, p. viii. That the piece contained a caricature (διασυρμόν τινα) of Homer's *Odyssey* is not to be understood as if Cratinus had wished to ridicule Homer.

[3] Audaci quicunque adflate Cratino,
Iratum Eupolidem prægrandi cum sene palles.
Persius I. 124. The *Vita Aristophanis* agrees with this.

[4] Φαντασία, εὐφάνταστος. Platonius also speaks highly of the energy (ὑψηλός) and grace (ἐπίχαρις) of Eupolis. He perhaps exaggerates the latter quality. See Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com. Gr.* vol. I. p. 107.

his style was probably marked by a strong hatred of the prevailing depravity, and by much bitterness of satire. He himself claimed a share in the *Knights* of Aristophanes, in which personal satire prevails more than in any other comedy of that poet. On the other hand, Aristophanes maintains that Eupolis, in his *Maricas*, had imitated the *Knights*, and spoiled it by injudicious additions.[1] Of the *Maricas*, which was produced Ol. 89, 3. B.C. 421, we only know thus much, that under this slave's name he exhibited the demagogue Hyperbolus, who succeeded to Cleon's place in the favour of the people, and who was, like Cleon, represented as a low-minded, ill-educated fellow; the worthy Nicias was introduced in the piece chiefly as the butt of his tricks. The most virulent, however, of the plays of Eupolis was probably the *Baptæ*, which is often mentioned by old writers, but in such terms that it is not easy to gather a clear notion of this very singular drama. The view which appears most probable to the author of these pages is, that the comedy of Eupolis was directed against the club (ἑταιρία) of Alcibiades, and especially against a sort of mixture of profligacy, which despised the conventional morality of the day, and frivolity, and which set at nought the old religion of Athens, and thus naturally assumed the garb of mystic and foreign religions. In this piece Alcibiades and his comrades appeared under the name of *Baptæ* (which seems to have been borrowed from a mystic rite of baptism which they practised), as worshippers of a barbarian deity Cotys or Cotytto, whose wild worship was celebrated with the din of loud music, and was made a cloak for all sorts of debauchery; and the picture given of these rites in the piece, if we may judge from what Juvenal says,[2] must have been very powerful and impressive.

Eupolis composed two plays which obviously had some connexion with one another, and which represented the political condition of Athens at the time, the one in its domestic, the other in its external relations. In the former, which was called the *Demi*, the boroughs of Attica, of which the whole people consisted (οἱ δῆμοι), formed the persons of the chorus; and Myronides, a distinguished general and statesman of the time

[1] Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 553.

[2] Juvenal, II. 91.

of Pericles, who had survived the great men of his own day, and now in extreme old age felt that he stood alone in the midst of a degenerate race, was represented as descending to the other world to restore to Athens one of her old leaders; and he does in fact bring back Solon, Miltiades, and Pericles.[1] The poet contrived, no doubt, to construct a very agreeable plot by a portraiture of these men, in which respect for the greatness of their characters was combined with many merry jests, and by exhibiting on the other side, in the most energetic manner, the existing state of Athens, destitute as she then was of good statesmen and generals. From some fragments it appears that the old heroes felt very uncomfortable in this upper world of ours, and that the chorus had to intreat them most earnestly not to give up the state-affairs and the army of Athens to a set of effeminate and presumptuous young men: at the conclusion of the piece, the chorus offers up to the spirits of the heroes, with all proper ceremonies, the wool-bound olive boughs (εἰρεσιῶναι), by which, according to the religious rites of the Greeks, it had supported its supplications to them, and so honours them as gods. In the *Poleis*, the chorus consisted of the allied or rather tributary cities; the island of Chios, which had always remained true to Athens, and was therefore better treated than the others, stood advantageously prominent among them, and Cyzicus in the Propontis brought up the rear. Beyond this little is known about the connexion of the plot.

§ 3. Among the remaining comic poets of this time, CRATES stands most prominently forward, because he differs most from the others. From being an actor in Cratinus' plays, Crates had risen to the rank of a comic poet; he was, however, anything but an imitator of his master. On the contrary, he entirely gave up the field which Cratinus and the other comedians had chosen as their regular arena, namely, political satire; perhaps because in his inferior position he lacked the courage to attack

[1] That Myronides brings up Pericles is clear from a comparison of Plutarch, *Pericl.* 24, with the passages of Aristides, Platonius, and others, (Raspe *de Eupolid. Δήμοις et Πόλεσιν. Lips.* 1832.) Pericles asks Myronides, 'Why he brings him back to life? are there no good people in Athens? if his son by Aspasia is not a great statesman?' and so forth. From this it is clear that it was Myronides who had conveyed him from the other world.

from the stage the most powerful demagogues, or because he thought that department already exhausted of its best materials. His skill lay in the more artificial design and development of his plots,[1] and the interest of his pieces depended on the connexion of the stories which they involved. Accordingly, Aristophanes says of him,[2] that he had feasted the Athenians at a trifling expense, and had with great sobriety given them the enjoyment of his most ingenious inventions. Crates is said to have been the first who introduced the drunkard on the stage: and PHERECRATES, who of the later Attic comedians most resembled Crates,[3] painted the glutton with most colossal features.

§ 4. Aristotle connects Crates with the Sicilian comic poet EPICHARMUS, and no doubt he stood in a nearer relation to him than the other comedians of Athens. This will be the right place to speak of this celebrated poet, as it would have disturbed the historic development of the Attic drama had we turned our attention at an earlier period to the comedy of Sicily. As we have already remarked (chap. XXVII. § 3), Sicilian comedy is connected with the old farces of Megara, but took a different direction, and one quite peculiar to itself. The Megarian farces themselves did not exhibit the political character which was so early assumed by Attic comedy; but they cultivated a department of raillery which was unknown to the comedy of Aristophanes, that is, a ludicrous imitation of certain classes and conditions of common life. A lively and cheerful observation of the habits and manners connected with certain offices and professions soon enabled the comedian to observe something characteristic in them, and often something narrow-minded and partial, something quite foreign to the results of a liberal education, something which rendered the person awkward and unfitted for other employments, and so opened a wide field for satire and witticisms. In this way MÆSON, an old Megarian

---

[1] Aristot. *Poet.* c. 5. Τῶν δὲ Ἀθήνησι Κράτης πρῶτος ἦρξεν, ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας, καθόλου λόγους ἢ μύθους ποιεῖν· *i.e.* 'Of the Athenian comedians, Crates was the first who gave up personal satire, and began to make narratives or poems on more general subjects.'

[2] *Knights*, 537. Comp. Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com. Græc.* p. 60.

[3] *Anonym. de Comœdia*, p. xxix.

comic actor and poet,[1] constantly employed the mask of a cook or a scullion: consequently such persons were called Mæsones (*μαίσωνες*) at Athens, and their jokes Mæsonian (*μαισωνικά*).[2] A considerable element in such representations would consist of mimicry and absurd gestures, such as the Dorians seem to have been generally more fond of than the Athenians; the amusement furnished by the Spartan *Deicelictæ* (*δεικήλικται*) was made up of the imitation of certain characters taken from common life; for instance, the character of a foreign physician represented in a sort of pantomime dance, and with the vulgar language of the lower orders.[3] The more probable supposition is, that this sort of comedy passed over to Sicily through the Doric colonies, as it is on the western boundaries of the Grecian world that we find a general prevalence of comic dramas in which the amusement consists in a recurrence of the same character and the same species of masks. The Oscan pastime of the *Atellanæ*, which went from Campania to Rome, was also properly designated by these standing characters; and great as the distance was from the Dorians of the Peloponnese to the Oscans of Atella, we may nevertheless discern in the character-masks of the latter some clear traces of Greek influence.[4]

In Sicily, comedy made its first appearance at Selinus, a Megarian colony. ARISTOXENUS, who composed comedies in the Dorian dialect, lived here before Epicharmus; how long before him cannot be satisfactorily ascertained. In fact we know very little about him; still it is remarkable that among the few records of him which we possess there is a verse which was the commencement of a somewhat long invective against sooth-

[1] There can be no doubt that he lived at a time when there existed by the side of the Attic comedy a Megarian drama of the same kind, of which Ecphantides, a predecessor of Cratinus, and other poets of the old comedy, spoke as a rough farcical entertainment. The Megarian comedian Solynus belongs to the same period.

[2] The grammarian Aristophanes of Byzantium, quoted by Athenæus, XIV., p. 659, and Festus, s. v. *Mœson.*

[3] See Müller's *Dorians*, b. iv. ch. 6. § 9.

[4] Among the standing masks of the Atellana was the *Pappus*, whose name is obviously the Greek *πάππος*, and reminds us of the *Παπποσείληνος*, the old leader of the satyrs, in the satyric drama; the *Maccus*, whose name is explained by the Greek *μακκοῦν*; also the *Simus*, (at least in later times: Sueton. *Galba*, 13), which was a peculiar epithet of the Satyrs from their flat noses.

sayers;[1] whence it is clear that he, too, occupied himself with the follies and absurdities of whole classes and conditions of men.

§ 5. The flourishing period of Sicilian comedy was that in which PHORMIS, EPICHARMUS, and DEINOLOCHUS (the son or scholar of the latter), wrote for the stage. Phormis is mentioned as the friend of Gelo and the instructor of his children. According to credible authorities, Epicharmus was a native of Cos, who went to Sicily with Cadmus, the tyrant of Cos, when he resigned his power and emigrated to that island, about Ol. 73, B.C. 488. Epicharmus at first resided a short time at the Sicilian Megara, where he probably first commenced his career as a comedian. Megara was conquered by Gelo (Ol. 74, 1 or 2: B.C. 484, 483), and its inhabitants were removed to Syracuse, and Epicharmus among them. The prime of his life, and the most flourishing period of his art, are included in the reign of Hiero (Ol. 75, 3. to Ol. 78, 2. B.C. 478—467.) These chronological data are sufficient to show that the tendency of Epicharmus' comedy could not be political. The safety and dignity of a ruler like Hiero would have been alike incompatible with such a licence of the stage. It does not, however, follow from this, that the plays of Epicharmus did not touch upon or perhaps give a complete picture of the great events of the time and the circumstances of the country; and in fact we can clearly point out such references to the events of the day in several of the fragments: but the comedies of Epicharmus did not, like those of Aristophanes, take a part in the contests of political factions and tendencies, nor did they select some particular political circumstance of Syracuse to be praised as fortunate, while they represented what was opposed to it as miserable and ruinous. The comedy of Epicharmus has a general relation to the affairs of mankind: it ridicules the follies and perversities which certain forms of education had introduced into the social life of man; and a considerable element in it was a vivid representation of particular classes and persons from common life; a large number of Epicharmus' plays seem to have been comedies of character, such as his

[1] In Hephæstion, *Encheir.* p. 45.

'Peasant,' (Ἀγρωστῖνος,) and 'the Ambassadors to the Festival,' (Θεᾶροι;) we are positively informed that Epicharmus was the first to bring on the stage the Parasite and the Drunkard,—characters which Crates worked up for Athenian comedy. Epicharmus was also the first to use the name of the Parasite,[1] which afterwards became so common in Greek and Roman plays, and it is likely that the rude, merry features with which Plautus has drawn this class of persons may, in their first outlines, be traceable to Epicharmus.[2] The Syracusan poet no doubt showed in the invention of such characters much of that shrewdness for which the Dorians were distinguished more than the other Greek tribes; careful and acute observations of mankind are compressed into a few striking traits and nervous expressions, so that we seem to see through the whole man though he has spoken only a few words. But in Epicharmus this quality was combined in a very peculiar manner with a striving after philosophy. Epicharmus was a man of a serious cast of mind, variously and profoundly educated. He belonged originally to the school of physicians at Cos, who derived their art from Æsculapius. He had been initiated by Arcesas, a scholar of Pythagoras, into the peculiar system of the Pythagorean philosophy; and his comedies abounded in philosophical aphorisms,[3] not merely, as one might at first expect, on notions and principles of

[1] In the Attic drama of Eupolis the parasites of the rich Callias appeared as κόλακες; but the fact that they constituted the chorus rendered it impossible that they could be made a direct object of comic satire. Alexis, of the middle comedy, was the first who brought the *parasite* (under this name) on the stage.

[2] Gelasime, salve.—Non id est nomen mihi.—
Certo mecastor id fuit nomen tibi.—
Fuit disertim; verum id usu perdidi;
Nunc Miccotrogus nomine ex vero vocor.
Plaut. *Stich.* act I. sc. 3.

The name *Miccotrogus*, by which the parasite in the preceding passage calls himself, is not Attic but Doric, and therefore is perhaps derived from Epicharmus.

[3] Epicharmus himself says in some beautiful verses quoted by Diogenes Laertius, III. § 17, that one of his successors would one day surpass all other speculators by adopting his sayings in another form, without metre. It is perhaps not unlikely that the philosophical anthology which was in vogue under the name of Epicharmus, and which Ennius in his *Epicharmus* imitated in trochaic tetrameters, was an excerpt from the comedies of Epicharmus, just as the Gnomology, which we have under the name of Theognis, was a set of extracts from his Elegies.

morality, but also on metaphysical points—God and the world, body and soul, &c.; where it is certainly difficult to conceive how Epicharmus interwove these speculative discourses into the texture of his comedies. Suffice it to say, we see that Epicharmus found means to connect a representation of the follies and absurdities of the world in which he lived, with profound speculations on the nature of things; whence we may infer how entirely different his manner was from that of the Athenian comedy.

With this general ethical and philosophical tendency we may easily reconcile the *mythical* form, which we find in most of the comedies of Epicharmus.[1] Mythical personages have general and formal features, free from all accidental peculiarities, and may therefore be made the best possible basis of the principles and results, the symptoms and criteria of good and bad characters. Did we but possess the comedy of the Dorians, and those portions of the old and middle comedy (especially the latter) which are so closely connected with it, we should be able to discern clearly what we can now only guess from titles and short fragments, that mythology thus treated was just as fruitful a source of materials for comedy as for the ideal world of the tragic drama. No doubt, the whole system of gods and heroes must have been reduced to a lower sphere of action in order to suit them to the purposes of comedy: the anthropomorphic treatment of the gods must necessarily have arrived at its last stage; the deities must have been reduced to the level of common life with all its civic and domestic relations, and must have exhibited the lowest and most vulgar inclinations and passions. Thus the insatiable gluttony of Hercules was a subject which Epicharmus painted in vivid colours;[2] in another place,[3] a marriage feast among the gods was represented as extravagantly luxurious; a third, 'Hephæstus, or the Revellers,'[4] exhibited the quarrel of the fire-god with his mother Hera as a mere family brawl, which is terminated very merrily by Bacchus, who, when the incensed son has left Olympus, invites

[1] Of 35 titles of his comedies, which have come down to us, 17 are borrowed from mythological personages. Grysar, *de Doriensium Comœdia*, p. 274.

[2] In his *Busiris*.

[3] Ἥφαιστος ἢ Κωμασταί.

[4] In the *Marriage of Hebe*.

him to a banquet, makes him sufficiently drunk, and then conducts him back in triumph to Olympus, in the midst of a tumultuous band of revellers. The most lively view which we still have of this mythological comedy is furnished by the scenes in Aristophanes, which seem to have the same tone and feeling: such as that in which Prometheus appears as the malcontent and intriguer in Olympus, and points out the proper method of depriving the gods of their sovereignty; and then the embassy of the three gods, when Hercules, on smelling the roasted birds, forgets the interest of his own party, and the voice of the worst of the three ambassadors constitutes the majority; this shows us what striking pictures for situations of common life and common relations might be borrowed from the supposed condition of the gods. At any rate, we may also see from this how the comic treatment of mythology differed from that in the satyric drama. In the latter, the gods and heroes were introduced among a class of beings in whom a rude, uncultivated mode of life predominated: in the former they descended to social life, and were subject to all the deficiencies and infirmities of human society.

§ 6. The Sicilian comedy in its artistic development preceded the Attic by about a generation; yet the transition to the *middle Attic comedy*, as it is called, is easier from Epicharmus than from Aristophanes, who appears very unlike himself in the play which tends towards the form of the middle comedy. This branch of comedy belongs to a time when the democracy was still moving in unrestrained freedom, though the people had no longer such pride and confidence in themselves as to ridicule from the stage their rulers and the recognised principles of state policy, and at the same time to prevent themselves from being led astray by such ridicule. The unfortunate termination of the Peloponnesian war had damped the first fresh vigour of the Athenian state; freedom and democracy had been restored to the Athenians, and even a sort of maritime supremacy; but their former energy of public life had not been restored along with these things; there were too many weaknesses and defects in all parts of their political condition,—in their finances, in the war-department, in the law-courts. The Athenians, perhaps, were well aware of this, but they were too

indolent and fond of pleasure to set about in earnest to free themselves from these inconveniences. Under such circumstances, satire and ridicule, such as Aristophanes indulged in, would have been quite intolerable, for it would no longer have pointed out certain shadows in a bright and glorious picture, but would have exhibited one dark picture without a single redeeming ray of light, and so would have lacked all the cheerfulness of comedy. Accordingly, the comedians of this time took that general moral tendency which we have pointed out in the Megarian comedy and in all that is connected with it; they represented the ludicrous absurdities of certain classes and conditions in society,[1] and in their diction kept close to the language of common life, which prevails much more uniformly in their plays than in those of Aristophanes, with the exception of some few passages, where it is interrupted by parodies of epic and tragic poetry.[2] These comedians were not altogether without a basis of personal satire; but this was no longer directed against influential men, the rulers of the people;[3] or, if it touched them at all, it was not on account of their political character, or of any principles approved by the bulk of the people. On the contrary, the middle comedy cultivated a narrower field of its own,—the department of literary rivalship. The poems of the middle comedy were rich in ridicule of the Platonic Academy, of the newly-revived sect of the Pythagoreans, of the orators and rhetoricians of the day, and of the tragic and epic poets: they sometimes even took a retrospective view, and subjected to their criticism anything which they thought weak or imperfect in the poems of Homer.

---

[1] A bragging cook, a leading personage in middle comedy, was the chief character in the *Æolosicon* of Aristophanes. We may infer what influence the Megarian and Sicilian comedy had in the formation of regular standing characters, from the fact that Pollux (*Onom.* IV. § 146, 148, 150) names the *Sicilian parasite* and the scullion *Mœson* among the masks of the new comedy, (according to the restoration by Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com. Græc.*, p. 664, comp. above, § 4.)

[2] Hence we see why the Scholiast, in the *Plutus*, 515, recognises the character of the middle comedy in the epic tone of the passage.

[3] On the contrary, these comedians considered ludicrous representations of foreign rulers as quite allowable; thus the *Dionysius* of Eubulus was directed against the Sicilian tyrants, and the *Dionysalexandrus* of the younger Cratinus against Alexander of Pheræ. Similarly, in later times, Menander satirized Dionysius, tyrant of Heraclea, and Philemon king Magas of Cyrene.

This criticism was totally different from that directed by Aristophanes against Socrates, which was founded exclusively upon moral and practical views; the judgments of the middle comedy considered everything in a literary point of view, and, if we may reason from individual instances, were directed solely against the character of the writings of the persons criticised. In the transition from the old to the middle comedy we may discern at once the great revolution which had taken place in the domestic history of Athens, when the Athenians, from a people of politicians, became a nation of literary men; when, instead of pronouncing judgment upon the general politics of Greece, and the law-suits of their allies, they judged only of the genuineness of the Attic style and of good taste in oratory; when it was no longer the opposition of the political ideas of Themistocles and Cimon, but the contest of opposing schools of philosophers and rhetoricians, which set all heads in motion. This great change was not fully accomplished till the time of Alexander's successors; but the middle comedy stands as a guide-post, clearly pointing out the way to this consummation. The frequency of mythical subjects in the comedies of this class[1] has the same grounds as in the Sicilian comedy; for the object in both was to clothe general delineations of character in a mythical form. Further than this, we must admit that our conceptions of the middle comedy are somewhat vacillating and uncertain; this arises from the constitution of the middle comedy itself, which is rather a transition state than a distinct species. Consequently, we find, along with many features resembling the old comedy, also some peculiarities of the new. Aristotle, indeed, speaks only of an old and a new comedy, and does not mention the middle comedy as distinct from the new.

The poets of the middle comedy are also very numerous; they occupy the interval between Ol. 100. B.C. 380, and the reign of Alexander. Among the earliest of them we find the sons of Aristophanes, ARAROS and PHILIPPUS, and the prolific EUBULUS, who flourished about Ol. 101. B.C. 376: then follows ANAXANDRIDES, who is said to have been the first to introduce

[1] Meineke (*Hist. Crit. Com. Græc.*, p. 283, foll.) gives a long list of such mythical comedies.

into comedy the stories of love and seduction, which afterwards formed so large an ingredient in it[1]—so that we have here another reference to the new comedy, and the first step in its subsequent development. Then we have AMPHIS and ANAXILAUS, both of whom made Plato the butt of their wit; the younger CRATINUS; TIMOCLES, who ridiculed the orators Demosthenes and Hyperides; still later, ALEXIS, one of the most productive, and at the same time one of the most eminent of these poets: his fragments, however, show a decided affinity to the new comedy, and he was a contemporary of Menander and Philemon.[2] ANTIPHANES began to exhibit as early as 383 B.C.; his comedies, however, were of much the same kind with those of Alexis: he was by far the most prolific of the poets of the middle comedy, and was distinguished by his redundant wit and inexhaustible invention. The number of his pieces, which amounted to 300, and according to some authorities exceeded that number, proves that the comedians of this time no longer contended, like Aristophanes, with single pieces, and only at the Lenæa and great Dionysia, but either composed for the other festivals, or, what seems to us the preferable opinion, produced several pieces at the same festival.[3]

§ 7. These last poets of the *middle comedy* were contemporaries of the writers of the *new comedy*, who rose up as their rivals, and were only distinguished from them by following their new tendency more decidedly and more exclusively. MENANDER was one of the first of these poets (he flourished at the time immediately succeeding the death of Alexander[4]), and he was also the most perfect of them, which will not surprise us if we consider the middle comedy as a sort of preparation for the

---

[1] The *Cocalus* of Aristophanes (Araros) contains, according to Platonius, a scene of seduction and recognition of the same kind with those in the comedies of Menander.

[2] It appears by the fragment of the *Hypobolimæus*, (*Athen.* XI. p. 502. B. Meineke *Hist. Crit. Com. Græc.* p. 315.)

[3] Concerning Antiphanes, see Clinton, *Philol. Mus.* I. p. 558 foll., and Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com. Gr.* p. 304—40. It appears from the remarks of Clinton, p. 607, and Meineke, p. 305, that the passage attributed by Athenæus IV. p. 156. C., to Antiphanes, in which king Seleucus is mentioned, is probably by another comic poet.

[4] Menander brought out his first piece when he was still a young man (ἔφηβος) in Ol. 114, 3. B.C. 322, and died as early as Ol. 122, 1. B.C. 291.

new.[1] PHILEMON came forward rather earlier than Menander, and survived him many years; he was a great favourite with the Athenians, but was always placed after Menander by those who knew them both.[2] These are followed by PHILIPPIDES, a contemporary of Philemon;[3] by DIPHILUS of Sinope,[4] who was somewhat later; by APOLLODORUS of Gela, a contemporary of Menander, APOLLODORUS of Carystus, who was in the following generation,[5] and by a considerable number of poets, more or less worthy to be classed with these.

Passing here from the middle comedy to the new, we come at once to a clearer region; here the Roman imitations, combined with the numerous and sometimes considerable fragments, are sufficient to give us a clear conception of a comedy of Menander in its general plan and in its details: a person who possessed the peculiar talents requisite for such a task, and had acquired by study the acquaintance with the Greek language and the Attic subtlety of expression necessary for the execution of it, might without much difficulty restore a piece of Menander's, so as to replace the lost original. The comedy of the Romans must not be conceived as merely a learned and literary imitation of the Greek; it formed a living union with the Greek comedy, by a transfer to Rome of the whole Greek stage, not by a mere transmission through books; and in point of time too there is an immediate and unbroken connexion between them. For although the period at which the Greek new comedy flourished followed immediately upon the death of Alexander, yet the first generation was followed by a second, as Philemon the son followed Philemon the father, and comic writing of less merit and reputation most probably continued till a late period to provide by new productions for the amusement of the people; so that

---

[1] According to *Anon. de comœdia*, Menander was specially instructed in his art by Alexis.

[2] Menander said to him, when he had won the prize from him in a dramatic contest, 'Philemon, do you not blush to conquer me?' Aul. Gel. *N. A.* XVII. 4.

[3] According to Suidas he came forward Ol. 111., still earlier than Philemon.

[4] Sinope was at that time the native city of three comedians, Diphilus, Dionysius, and Diodorus, and also of the cynic philosopher Diogenes. It must have been the fashion at Sinope to derive proper names from Zeus, the Zeus Chthonius or Serapis of Sinope.

[5] According to the inferences in Meineke's *Hist. Crit. Com. Græc.*, p. 459, 462.

when Livius Andronicus first appeared before the Roman public with plays in imitation of the Greek (A.U.C. 514. B.C. 240), the only feat which he performed was, to attempt in the language of Rome what many of his contemporaries were in the habit of doing in the Greek language; at any rate, the plays of Menander and Philemon were the most usual gratification which an educated audience sought for in the theatres of Greek states, as well in Asia as in Italy. By viewing the case in this way, we assume at once the proper position for surveying the Latin comedians in all their relations to the Greek, which are so peculiar that they can only be developed under these limited historical conditions. For to take the two cases, which seem at first sight the most obvious and natural; namely, first, that *translations* of the plays of Menander, Philemon, &c., were submitted to the educated classes at Rome; or secondly, that people attempted by *free imitations* to transplant these pieces into a Roman soil, and then to suit them to the tastes and understandings of the Roman people by Romanizing them, not merely in all the allusions to national customs and regulations, but also in their spirit and character: neither of these two alternatives was adopted, but the Roman comedians took a middle course, in consequence of which these plays *became Roman* and yet *remained perfectly Greek*. In other words, in the Greek comedy (or *comœdia palliata*, as it was called) of the Romans, the training of Greece in general, and of Athens in particular, extended itself to Rome, and compelled the Romans, so far as they wished to participate in that, in which all the educated world at that time participated, to acquiesce in the outward forms and conditions of this drama;—in its Greek costume and Athenian locality; to adopt Attic life as a model of social ease and familiarity; and (to speak plainly) to consider themselves for an hour or two as mere barbarians,—and, in fact, the Roman comedians occasionally speak of themselves and their countrymen as *barbari*.[1]

It is necessary that we should premise these observations (however much they may seem chronologically misplaced), in

[1] See Plautus, *Bacchid.* I. 2. 15. *Captivi.* III. 1. 32. IV. 1. 104. *Trinumm. Prol.* 19. Festus v. *barbari* and *vapula*.

order to justify the use which we purpose to make of Plautus and Terence. The Roman comedians prepared the Greek dish for the Roman palate in a different manner according to their own peculiar tastes; for example, Plautus seasoned it with coarse and powerful condiments, Terence, on the other hand, with moderate and delicate seasoning;[1] but it still remained the Attic dish: the scene brought before the Roman public was Athens in the time of those Macedonian rulers who are called the *Diadochi* and *Epigoni*.[2]

§ 8. Consequently, the scene was Athens after the downfall of its political freedom and power, effected by the battle of Chæroneea, and still more by the Lamian war: but it was Athens, still the city of cities, overflowing with population, flourishing with commerce, and strong in its navy, prosperous both as a state and in the wealth of many of its individual citizens.[3] This Athens, however, differed from that of Cimon and Pericles much in the same way as an old man weak in body, but full of a love of life, good-humoured and self-indulgent, differs from the vigorous middle-aged man at the summit of his bodily strength and mental energy. The qualities which were before singularly united in the Athenian character, namely, resolute bravery and subtlety of intellect, were now entirely disjoined and separated. The former had taken up its abode with the homeless bands of mercenaries who practised war as a handicraft, and it was only on impulses of rare occurrence that the people of Athens gave way to a warlike enthusiasm which was speedily kindled and as speedily quenched. But the excellent understanding and mother-wit of the Athenians, so far as they did not ramble in the schools of the philosophers and rheto-

[1] Yet Plautus is more frequently an imitator and a translator of the Attic comedians than many persons have supposed. Not to speak of Terence, Cæcilius Statius has also followed very closely in the steps of Menander.

[2] So much so, that the most peculiar features of Attic law (as in all that related to ἐπίκληροι, or heiresses) and of the political relations of Athens (as the κληρουχία in Lemnos) play an important part in the Roman comedies.

[3] The finances of Athens were to all appearance as flourishing under Lycurgus (*i.e.* B.C. 338—326) as under Pericles. The well-known census under Demetrius the Phalerian (B.C. 317) gives a proof of the number of citizens and slaves at Athens. Even in the days of Demetrius Poliorcetes, Athens had still a great fleet. In a word, Athens did not want *means* at this time to enable her to command the respect even of kings; she only lacked the necessary spirit.

ricians, found an object (now that there was so little in politics which could interest or employ the mind) in the occurrences of social life, and in the charm of dissolute enjoyments.

Dramatic poetry now for the first time centred in *love*,[1] as it has since done among all nations to whom Greek cultivation has descended; but certainly it was not love in those nobler forms to which it has since elevated itself. The seclusion and want of all society in which unmarried women lived at Athens (such as we have before described it, in speaking of the poetry of Sappho)[2] continued to prevail unaltered in the families of the citizens of Athens; according to these customs then, an amour of any continuance with the daughter of a citizen of Athens was out of the question, and never occurs in the fragments and imitations of the comedy of Menander; if the plot of the piece depends on the seduction of an Athenian damsel, this has taken place suddenly and without premeditation, in a fit of drunkenness and youthful lust, generally at one of the *pervigilia*, which the religion of Athens had sanctioned from the earliest times: or some supposed slave or *hetæra*, with whom the hero is desperately in love, turns out to be a well-born Athenian maiden, and marriage at last crowns a connexion entered upon with very different intentions.[3]

The intercourse of the young men with the *hetæræ*, or courtesans, an intercourse which had always been a reproach to them since the days of Aristophanes,[4] had at length become a regular custom with the young people of the better class, whose fathers did not treat them too parsimoniously. These courtesans, who were generally foreigners or freed-women,[5] possessed more or less education and charms of manner, and in proportion to these attractions, bound the young people to them with more or less of constancy and exclusiveness; their lovers found an

[1] Fabula jucundi nulla est sine amore Menandri. Ovid. *Trist.*, II. 369.

[2] Chap. XIII. § 6.

[3] This is the φθορὰ and the ἀναγνώρισις, which formed the basis of so many of Menander's comedies.

[4] See *e. g. Clouds*, 996.

[5] This constitutes the essential distinction between the ἑταίρα and the πόρνη, the latter being a slave of the πορνοβοσκός (ὁ, ἡ, the *leno* or *lena*), although the πόρναι are often ransomed (λύονται) by their lovers, and so rise into the other more honourable condition.

entertainment in their society which naturally rendered them little anxious to form a regular matrimonial alliance, especially as the legitimate daughters of Athenian citizens were still brought up in a narrow and limited manner, and with few accomplishments. The fathers either allowed their sons a reasonable degree of liberty to follow their own inclinations and sow their wild oats, or through parsimony or morose strictness endeavoured to withhold from them these indulgences, in the midst of all which it often happened that the old man fell into the very same follies which he so harshly reproved in his son. In these domestic intrigues the slaves exercised an extraordinary influence: even in Xenophon's time, favoured by the spirit of democracy, and as it seems almost standing on the same footing with the meaner citizens, they were still more raised up by the growing degeneracy of manners, and the licence which universally prevailed. In these comedies, therefore, it often happens that a slave forms the whole plan of operations in an intrigue; it is his sagacity alone which relieves his young master from some disagreeable embarrassment, and helps to put him in possession of the object of his love; at the same time we are often introduced to rational slaves, who try to induce their young masters to follow the suggestions of some sudden better resolution, and free themselves at once from the exactions of an unreasonable *hetæra*.[1] No less important are the *parasites*, who, not to speak of the comic situations in which they are placed by their resolution to eat without labouring for it, are of great use to the comedian in their capacity as a sort of dependent on the family:

[1] As in Menander's *Eunuch*, in the scene of which Persius gives a miniature copy (*Sat.* V. 161). In this passage Persius has Menander immediately in his eye, and not the imitation in Terence's *Eunuch*, act 1, sc. 1, although Terence's Phædria, Parmeno, and Thais, correspond to the Chærestratus, Daos, and Chrysis of Menander. In Menander, however, the young man takes counsel with his slave at a time when the *hetæra* had shut him out, and on the supposition that she would invite him to come to her again: in Terence the lover is already invited to a reconciliation after a quarrel. This results from the adoption by Terence of a practice common with the Latin comedians, and called *contaminatio;* he has here combined in one piece two of Menander's comedies, the *Eunuch* and the *Kolax*. Accordingly he is obliged to take up the thread of the *Eunuch* somewhat later, in order to gain more room for the developement of his double plot. In the same manner the *Adelphi* of Terence is made up from the Γεωργὸς of Menander and the Συναποθνήσκοντες of Diphilus.

they are brought into social relations of every kind, and are ready to perform any service for the sake of a feast. Of the characters who make their appearance less frequently, we will only speak here of the *Bramarbas* or *miles gloriosus*. He is no Athenian warrior, no citizen-soldier, like the heroes of the olden time, but a nameless leader of mercenaries, who enlists men-at-arms, now for king Seleucus, now for some other crowned general; who makes much booty with little trouble in the rich provinces of Asia, and is willing to squander it away in lavish extravagance on the amiable courtesans of Athens; who is always talking of his services, and has thereby habituated himself to continual boasting and bragging: consequently he is a demi-barbarian, over-reached by his parasite, and cheated at pleasure by some clever slave, and with many other traits of this kind which may easily be derived from the Roman comedies, but can only be viewed in their right light by placing the character about one hundred years earlier.[1]

§ 9. This was the world in which Menander lived, and which, according to universal testimony, he painted so truly. Manifestly, the motives here rested upon no mighty impulses, no grand ideas. The strength of the old Athenian principles and the warmth of national feelings had gradually grown fainter and weaker till they had melted down into a sort of philosophy of life, the main ingredients of which were a natural good temper and forbearance, and a sound mother-wit nurtured by acute observation; and its highest principle was that rule of 'live and let live,' which had its root in the old spirit of Attic democracy, and had been developed to the uttermost by the lax morality of subsequent times.[2]

It is highly worthy of observation, as a hint towards appreciating the private life of this period, that *Menander* and *Epi-*

[1] The ἀλάζων of Theophrastus (*Charact.* 23) has some affinity with the Thraso of comedy (as Theophrastus's characters in general are related to those of Menander), but he is an Athenian citizen who is proud of his connexion with Macedon, and not a mercenary soldier.

[2] The aristocratic constitutions at that time in Greece were connected with a stricter superintendence of morals (*censura morum*); the leading principle of the Athenian democracy, on the other hand, was to impose no further restraint on the private life of the citizen than the immediate interests of the state required. However, the writings of the new comedy were not altogether without personal invec-

curus were born in the same year at Athens, and spent their youth together as sharers in the same exercises (συνέφηβοι):[1] and an intimate friendship united these two men, whose characters had much in common. Though we should wrong them both if we considered them as slaves to any vulgar sensuality, yet it cannot be doubted that they were both of them deficient in the inspiration of high moral ideas. The intention with which each of them acted was the same: to make the most of life as it is, and to make themselves as agreeable as they could. They were both too refined and sensible to take any pleasure in vulgar enjoyments; Menander knew so well by experience the deceitfulness of these gratifications, and felt so great a weariness and disgust of their charms, that he had arrived at a sort of passionless rest and moderation;[2] though it is possible that in actual life Menander placed his happiness less in the painless tranquillity which Epicurus sought, than in various kinds of moderate gratification. It is known how much he gave himself up to intercourse with the *hetæræ*, not merely with the accomplished Glycera, but also with the wanton Thais; and his effeminate costume, according to a well-known story,[3] offended even Demetrius of Phalerus, the regent of Athens under Cassander, who however led a sufficiently luxurious life himself.

Such a philosophy of life as this, which places the *summum bonum* in a well-based love of self, could very well dispense with the gods, whom Epicurus transferred to the intermundane regions, because, according to his natural philosophy, he could not absolutely annihilate them. Agreeing entirely with his friend on this point, Menander thought that the gods would have a life of trouble if they had to distribute good and evil for every day.[4] It was on this account that the philosopher

---

tives, and there were still questions with regard to the freedom of the comic stage (Plutarch *Demetr.* 12. Meineke *Hist. Crit. Com. Græc.* p. 436). The Latin comedians also occasionally introduced personal attacks, which were most bitter in the comedies of Nævius.

[1] Strabo XIV. p. 526. Meineke, *Menandri et Philemonis fragm.*, p. xxv.

[2] The reader will find characteristic expressions of this luxurious philosophy in Meineke, *Menandri fragm.* p. 166.

[3] Phædrus, *fab.*, v. 1.

[4] In a fragment which has recently come to light from the commentary of David on Aristotle's *Categories*. See Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com. Græc.*, p. 454.

attributed so much to the influence of *chance* in the creation of the world and the destinies of mankind. Menander also exalts Τύχη (Fortune) as the sovereign of the world;[1] but this no longer implies the saviour daughter of almighty Zeus, but merely the causeless, incalculable, accidental combinations of things in nature and in the life of man.

It was, however, precisely at such a time as this, when all relations were dislocated or merged in licentiousness, that comedy possessed a power, which, though widely different from the angry flashes of the genius of Aristophanes, perhaps produced in its way more durable effects: this power was the power of ridicule, which taught people to dread as folly that which they no longer avoided as vice. This power was the more effective as it confined its operations to the sphere of the actual, and did not exhibit the follies which it represented under the same gigantic and superhuman forms as the old comedy. The old comedy, in its necessity for invention, *created* forms in which it could portray with most prominent features the characteristics of whole classes and species of men; the new comedy *took* its forms, in all their individual peculiarities, from real life, and did not attempt to signify by them more than individuals of the particular class.[2] On this account more importance was attached by the writers of the new comedy to the invention of plots, and to their dramatic complication and solution, which Menander made the leading object in his compositions: for, while the old comedy set its forms in motion in a very free and unconstrained manner, according as the development of the fundamental thought required, the new comedy was subject to the laws of probability as established by the progress of ordinary life, and had to invent a story in which all the views of the persons and all the circumstances of their actions resulted from the characters, manners, and relations of the age. The stretch of attention on the part of the spectator which Aristophanes produced by the continued progression in the development of the comic ideas of his play was effected in the new comedy by the confusion and solution of outward dif-

[1] Meineke, *Menandri fragm.*, p. 168.

[2] Hence the exclamation: ὦ Μένανδρε καὶ βίε.

ficultics in the circumstances represented, and by the personal interest felt for the particular characters by the spectators,—an interest closely connected with the illusion of reality.

In this the attentive reader of these observations will readily have perceived how comedy, thus conducted by Menander and Philemon, only completed what Euripides had begun on the tragic stage a hundred years before their time. Euripides, too, deprived his characters of that ideal grandeur which had been most conspicuous in the creations of Æschylus, and gave them more of human weakness, and therefore of apparent individuality. He also abandoned the foundation of national principles in ethics and religion on which the old popular morality of the Greeks had been built up, and subjected all relations to a dialectical, and sometimes sophistical mode of reasoning, which very soon led to the lax morality and common sense doctrines which prevailed in the new comedy. Euripides and Menander consequently agree so well in their reasonings and sentences, that in their fragments it would be easy to confuse one with the other; and thus tragedy and comedy, these two forms of the drama which started from such different beginnings, here meet as it were in one point.[1] The form of the diction also contributed a great deal to this: for as Euripides lowered the poetic tone of tragedy to the ordinary language of polished society, in the same way comedy, even the middle,[2] but still more the new, relinquished, on the one hand, the high poetic tone which Aristophanes had aimed at, especially in his choral songs, and, on the other hand, the spirit of caricature and burlesque which is essentially connected with the portraiture of his characters: the tone of polished conversation[3] predominates in all the pieces of the new comedy; and in this Menander gave a greater freedom and liveliness to the recitations of his actors by the looser structure of his sentences and the weaker connexion of his periods; whereas Philemon's

[1] Philemon was so warm an admirer of Euripides, that he declared he would at once destroy himself, in order to see Euripides in the other world, provided he could convince himself that departed spirits preserved their life and understanding. See Meineke, *Men. et Philem. Rel.*, p. 410.

[2] According to *Anonymus de Comœdia*, p. xxviii.

[3] This is particularly mentioned by Plutarch (*Aristoph. et Menandri compar.*, c. 2.)

pieces, by their more connected and periodic style, were better suited for the closet than for the stage.[1] The Latin comedians, Plautus, for instance, gave a great deal more of burlesque than they found in their models, availing themselves perhaps of the Sicilian comedy of Epicharmus, as well as of the comedy of their own country. The elevated poetic tone must have been lost with the choruses, of which we have no sure traces even in the middle comedy;[2] the connexion of lyric and dramatic poetry was limited to the employment by the actors of lyric measures of different kinds, and they expressed their feelings at the moment by singing these lyrical pieces, and accompanying them with lively gesticulations: in this the model was rather the monodies of Euripides than the lyrical passages in Aristophanes.

We have now brought down the history of the Attic drama from *Æschylus* to *Menander*, and in naming these two extreme points of the series through which dramatic poetry developed itself, we cannot refrain from reminding our readers what a treasure of thought and life is here unfolded to us; what remarkable changes were here effected, not only in the forms of poetry, but in the inmost recesses of the constitution of the Greek mind; and what a great and significant portion of the history of our race is here laid before us in the most vivid delineations.

---

[1] According to a remark of the so named Demetrius Phaler. *de Elocut.*, § 193.

[2] According to Platonius, the middle comedy had no parabases, because there was no chorus. The *Æolosicon* was quite without choral songs. The new comedians, in imitation of the older writers, wrote ΧΟΡΟΣ at the end of the acts; probably the pause was filled up by the performance of a flute-player. At any rate, such was the custom at Rome. Evanthius (*de Comœd.*, p. lv. in Westerton's *Terence*) seems to mean the same.

CHAPTER XXX.

LYRIC AND EPIC POETRY DURING THIS PERIOD.

§ 1. The Dithyramb becomes the chief form of Athenian lyric poetry. Lasus of Hermione. § 2. New style of the dithyramb introduced by Melanippides. Philoxenus. Cinesias. Phrynis. Timotheus. Polyeidus. § 3. Mode of producing the new dithyramb: its contents and character. § 4. Reflective lyric poetry. § 5. Social and political elegies. The *Lyde* of Antimachus essentially different. § 6. Epic poetry. Panyasis, Chœrilus, Antimachus.

§ 1. THE Drama was so well adapted to reflect the thoughts and feelings of the people of Attica in the mirror of poetry, that other sorts of metrical composition fell completely into the background, and for the public in general assumed the character rather of isolated and momentary gratifications than that of a poetic expression of prevailing sentiments and principles.

However, *Lyric poetry* was improved in a very remarkable manner, and struck out tones which seized with new power upon the spirit of the age. This was principally effected by the *new Dithyramb*, the cradle and home of which was Athens, before all the cities of Greece, even though some of the poets who adopted this form were not born there.

As we have remarked above,[1] LASUS of Hermione, the rival of Simonides, and the teacher of Pindar, in those early days exhibited his dithyrambs chiefly at Athens, and even in his poems the dithyrambic rhythm had gained the greater freedom by which it was from thenceforth characterized. Still the dithyrambs of Lasus were not generically different from those of Pindar, of which we still possess a beautiful fragment. This dithyramb was designed for the vernal Dionysia at Athens, and it really seems to breathe the perfumes and smile with the brightness of spring.[2] The rhythmical structure of the fragment is bold and rich, and a lively and almost violent motion prevails

[1] Chap. XIV. § 14.

[2] See above, chap. XIV. § 7.

in it;[1] but this motion is subjected to the constraint of fixed laws, and all the separate parts are carefully incorporated in the artfully constructed whole. We also see from this fragment that the strophes of the dithyrambic ode were already made very long; from principles, however, which will be stated in the sequel, we must conclude that there were antistrophes corresponding to these strophes.

§ 2. The dithyramb assumed a new character in the hands of MELANIPPIDES of Melos. He was maternal grandson of the older Melanippides, who was born about Ol. 65. B.C. 520, and was contemporary with Pindar;[2] the younger and more celebrated Melanippides lived for a long period with Perdiccas, king of Macedon, who reigned from about Ol. 81, 2. B.C. 454, to Ol. 91, 2. B.C. 414; consequently, before and during the greater part of the Peloponnesian war. The comic poet Pherecrates (who, like Aristophanes, was in favour of maintaining the old simple music as an essential part of the old-fashioned morality) considers the corruption of the ancient musical modes as having commenced with him. Closely connected with this change is the increasing importance of instrumental music; in consequence of which the flute-players, after the time of Melanippides, no longer received their hire as mere secondary persons and assistants, from the poets themselves, but were paid immediately by the managers of the festival.[3]

Melanippides was followed by PHILOXENUS of Cythera, first his slave and afterwards his pupil, who is ridiculed by Aristophanes in his later plays, and especially in the *Plutus*.[4] He lived, at a later period, at the court of Dionysius the elder, and is said to have taken all sorts of liberties with the tyrant, who sometimes indulged in poetry as an amateur; but he had to pay for this dis-

---

[1] The pæonic species of rhythms, to which the ancients especially assign 'the splendid,' (τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές), is the prevailing one in this fragment.

[2] That the younger Melanippides is the person with whom, according to the celebrated verses of Pherecrates, (Plutarch *de Musica*, 30. Meineke, *Fr. Com. Gr.*, vol. II. p. 326), the corruption of music begins, is clear, partly from the direct statement of Suidas, partly from his chronological relation to Cinesias and Philoxenus. The celebrated Melanippides was also the contemporary of Thucydides (Marcellin. *V. Thucyd.* § 29), and of Socrates, (Xenoph. *Mem.*, I. 4, § 3.)

[3] Plutarch, *de Mus.* § 30.

[4] Aristoph. *Plut.* 290; and see *Schol.*

tinction by confinement to the stone-quarries at Syracuse, when the tyrant was in a bad humour. He died Ol. 100, 1. B.C. 380.[1] His Dithyrambs enjoyed the greatest reputation all over Greece, and it is remarkable that while Aristophanes speaks of him as a bold innovator, Antiphanes, the poet of the middle comedy, praises his music as already the genuine style of music, and calls Philoxenus himself, 'a god among men;' whereas he calls the music and lyric poetry *of his own time* a flowery style of composition, which adorns itself with foreign melodies.[2]

In the series of the corrupters of music, Pherecrates, in the passage already quoted, mentions, next to Melanippides, CINESIAS, whom Aristophanes also ridicules about the middle of the Peloponnesian war,[3] on account of his pompous, and at the same time empty diction, and also for his rhythmical innovations. 'Our art,' he there says, 'has its origin in the clouds: for the splendid passages of the dithyrambs must be aerial, and obscure; azure-radiant, and wing-wafted.' Plato[4] designedly brings forward Cinesias as a poet who obviously attached no importance to making his hearers better, but only sought to please the greater number: just as his father *Meles*, who sang to the harp, had wished only to please the common people, but, as Plato sarcastically adds, had done just the reverse, and had only shocked the ears of his audience.

Next to Cynesias, PHRYNIS is arraigned by the personification of Music, who comes forward as the accuser in the lines of Pherecrates, of being one of her worst tormentors, 'who had quite annihilated her with his twistings and turnings, since he had twelve modes on five strings.' This Phrynis was a later offshoot of the Lesbian school; he was a singer to the harp, who was born at Mitylene, and won his first victory at the musical contests which Pericles had introduced at the Panathenæa;[5] he flourished before and during the Peloponnesian war. The

[1] Fifty-five years old. *Marm. Par. ep.* 69.

[2] Athen. XIV. p. 643, D.

[3] *Birds*, 1382. Com. *Clouds*, 332. *Peace*, 832.

[4] *Gorgias*, p. 501, D.

[5] Ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἄρχοντος. *Schol. Clouds*, 976. But no Callias answers to the time when Pericles was agonothetes, and built the Odeium, (about Ol. 84. Plutarch, *Pericl.* 13), and it is probable that we should substitute the archon Callimachus Ol. 83, 3.) for Callias.

alteration in the old nomes of Terpander, which originally formed the conventional basis of harp-music, is attributed to him.[1]

Timotheus of Miletus[2] formed himself after the model of Phrynis; at a later period he gained the victory over his master in the musical contests, and raised himself to the highest rank among dithyrambic poets. He is the last of the musical artists censured by Pherecrates, and died in extreme old age in Ol. 105, 4. B.C. 357.[3] Although the Ephors at Sparta are said to have taken from his harp four of its eleven strings, Greece in general received his innovations in music with the most cordial approbation; he was one of the most popular musicians of his time. The branches of poetry, which he worked out in the spirit of his own age, were in general the same which Terpander cultivated 400 years before, namely, Nomes,[4] Proems, and Hymns. There were still some antique forms which he too was obliged to observe; for instance, the hexameter verse was not quite given up by Timotheus in his nomes; but he recited them in the same manner as the Dithyramb, and mixed up this metre with others.[5] The branch of poetry which he chiefly cultivated, and which gave its colour to all the others, was undoubtedly the Dithyramb.

Timotheus, too, was worsted, if not before the tribunal of impartial judges, at least in the favour of the public, by Polyeidus, whose scholar Philotas also won the prize from Timotheus in a musical contest.[6] Polyeidus was also regarded as one of those whose artificial innovations were injurious to music, but he also gained a great reputation among the Greeks.

---

[1] Plutarch, *de Mus.* 6.

[2] See, besides the better known passages, Aristot. *Metaphys.* A. ἔλαττον, c. 1.

[3] *Marm. Par.* 76. Suidas perhaps places his death most correctly at the age of 97.

[4] Steph. Byz. v. Μίλητος, attributes to him 18 books of νόμοι κιθαρῳδικοί, in 8000 verses; where the expression ἔπη is not to be taken strictly to signify the hexameter, although this metre was mixed up in them.

[5] Plut. *de Mus.* 4. Timotheus's Nome, 'the Persians,' began; Κλεινὸν ἐλευθερίας τεύχων μέγαν Ἑλλάδι κόσμον, Pausan. VIII., 50, § 3.

[6] Athenæus, VIII. p. 352, B. Comp. Plutarch, *de Mus.* 21. It is clear that he is not the same as the tragedian and sophist Polyeidus, mentioned in Aristotle's *Poetic.* Aristotle would hardly have given the name ὁ σοφιστὴς to a dithyrambic poet whose pursuit was chiefly the study of music.

There was nothing which so much delighted the crowded audiences which flocked to the theatres throughout Greece as the Dithyrambs of Timotheus and Polyeidus.[1]

Besides these poets and musicians there was still a long series of others, among whom we may name Ion of Chios, who was also a favourite dithyrambic poet;[2] Diagoras of Melos, the notorious sceptic;[3] the highly-gifted Licymnius of Chios, (whose age is not accurately known); Crexus, also accused of innovations; and Telestes of Selinus, a poetic opponent of Melanippides,[4] who gained a victory at Athens in Ol. 94, 3. B.C. 401.

§ 3. It is far more important, however, to obtain a clear conception of the more recent Dithyramb in all its peculiarities. This we shall be better able to do by first establishing some of the main points of the question.

With regard to the *mode of exhibition*, the Dithyrambs at Athens, during the Peloponnesian war, were still represented by choruses furnished by the ten tribes for the Dionysian festivals; consequently, the dithyrambic poets were also called Cyclic chorus-teachers:[5] but the more liberty they gave to the metre, the more various their rhythmical alterations, so much the more difficult was the exhibition by means of a complete chorus; and so much the more common it became to get the Dithyramb performed by private amateurs.[6] The Dithyramb also entirely gave up the antistrophic repetition of the same metres, and moved on in rhythms which depended entirely on the humour and caprice of the poet;[7] it was particularly characterized by certain runs by way of prelude, which were called ἀναβολαί, and

[1] In a Cretan decree, (*Corp. Inscr. Gr.* N. 305,) one Menecles of Teos is praised for having often played on the harp at Cnossus after the style of Timotheus, Polyeidus, and the old Cretan poets (chap. XII. § 9).

[2] Comp. chap. VI. § 2.

[3] The most important fragments of his lyric poems are given by the Epicurean, Phædrus, in the papyri brought from Herculaneum (*Herculanensia*, *ed.* Drummond et Walpole, p. 164).

[4] Athen. XIV. p. 616, E, relates, in very pretty verses, a contest between the two poets, on the question whether Minerva had rejected the flute-accompaniment.

[5] Aristoph. *Birds*, 1403.

[6] Aristotle speaks of this alteration, *Problem.* 19, 15. Comp. *Rhetor.* III. 9.

[7] ἀπολελυμένα.

which are much censured by strict judges,[1] but doubtless were listened to with avidity by the public in general. In this the poet had nothing to hinder him from passing from one musical note to another, or from combining various rhythms in the same poem; so that at last all the constraints of mere metre seemed to vanish, and poetry in its very highest flight seemed to meet the opposite extreme of prose, as the old critics remark.

At the same time the Dithyramb assumed a descriptive, or, as Aristotle says, a *mimetic* character.[2] The natural phenomena which it described were imitated by means of tunes and rhythms, and the pantomimic gesticulations of the actors, (as in the antiquated Hyporcheme); and this was very much aided by a powerful instrumental accompaniment, which sought to represent with its loud full tones the raging elements, the voices of wild beasts, and other sounds.[3]

With regard to the *contents* or subject of this dithyrambic poetry, in this it was based upon the compositions of Xenocritus, Simonides, and other old poets, who had taken subjects for the Dithyramb from the ancient *heroic mythology*.[4] The Dithyrambs of Melanippides announce this even by their titles, such as *Marsyas*, (in which, by a modification of the legend, Athena invents the flute, and on her throwing it away it is taken up by Marsyas,) *Persephone*, and the *Danaides*. The *Cyclops* of Philoxenus was in great repute; in this the poet, who was well known in Sicily, introduced the beautiful Sicilian story of the love of the Cyclops Polyphemus for the sea-nymph Galatea, who on account of the beautiful Acis rejects his suit, till at last he takes deadly vengeance on his successful rival. From the verses in Aristophanes in which Philoxenus is parodied,[5] we

[1] ἡ μακρὰ ἀναβολὴ τῷ ποιήσαντι κακίστη: an hexameter with a peculiar synizesis.

[2] This is called μεταβολή. The fragments of the dithyrambic poets consequently contain also many pieces in simple Doric rhythms.

[3] Plato (*Resp.* p. 396) alludes to this imitation of storms, roaring torrents, lowing herds, &c., in the Dithyrambs. A parasite wittily observed of one of these storm-dithyrambs of Timotheus, that 'he had seen greater storms, than those which Timotheus made, in many a kettle of boiling water.' Athen. VIII. p. 338, A.

[4] Chap. XIV. § 11. comp. XXI. § 4.

[5] *Plutus*, 290. The songs of the sheep and goats, which the chorus was there to bleat forth to please Carion, refer to the imitations of these animals in the Dithyramb.

may pretty well see in what spirit this subject was treated. The Cyclops was represented as a harmless monster, a good-natured Caliban, who roams about the mountains followed by his bleating sheep and goats as if they were his children, and collects wild herbs in his wallet, and then half-drunk lays himself down to sleep in the midst of his flocks. In his love he becomes even poetical, and comforts himself for his rejection with songs which he thinks quite beautiful; even his lambs sympathize with his sorrows and bleat longingly for the fair Galatea.[1] In this whole poem (the subject of which Theocritus took up at a later period and with better taste formed it into an Idyll[2]) the ancients discerned covert allusions to the connexion of the poet with Dionysius, the poetizing tyrant of Sicily, who is said to have deprived Philoxenus of the object of his love. If we add to this the statement that Timotheus' Dithyramb, 'the travails of Semele,'[3] passed with the ancients for an indecent and unimaginative representation of such a scene,[4] we shall have the means of forming a satisfactory judgment of the general nature of this new Dithyramb. There was no unity of thought; no one tone pervading the whole poem, so as to preserve in the minds of the hearers a consistent train of feelings; no subordination of the story to certain ethical ideas; no artificially constructed system of verses regulated by fixed laws; but a loose and wanton play of lyrical sentiments, which were set in motion by the accidental impulses of some mythical story, and took now one direction, now another; preferring, however, to seize on such points as gave room for an immediate imitation in tones, and admitting a mode of description which luxuriated in sensual charms. Many monodies in the later tragedies of Euripides, such as Aristophanes ridicules in the *Frogs*, have this sensual colouring, and in this want of a firm basis to rest upon have quite the character of the contemporary Dithyramb, of which they perhaps furnish a most vivid picture.

[1] Hermesianax, *Fragm.* v. 74.

[2] Theocrit. *Id.* xi., where the reader should consult the scholia.

[3] Σεμέλης ὠδίς.

[4] Of this the witty Stratonicus said, 'could she have cried out more piteously, if she had been bringing forth not a God, but a common mechanic?' Athen. VIII. p. 352, A. In a similar spirit Polyeidus made Atlas a shepherd in Libya. Tzetz. on Lycophr. 879.

§ 4. From these productions of Euripides which intrude on the domain of lyric poetry, we may also observe that, in addition to this pictorial delineation of sensible impressions, a species of reflexion which set about analysing and dissecting everything, and a sort of transcendental reasoning, had established themselves also in the lyric poetry of the time. The Dithyramb furnished less room for this than the other more tranquil forms of poetry. We call attention especially to the abstract subjects introduced into the encomiastic poetry, which was exhibited under the form of *Pæans*, such as *Health*, and others of the same kind, which were in fashion at the time. We have several verses of a similar poem by LICYMNIUS,[1] most of which are contained in a short pæan on health, by ARIPHRON, which has been preserved, and in which we are told with perfect truth, but at the same time in the most insipid manner, that neither wealth, nor power, nor any other human bliss, can be properly enjoyed without health.[2] The Pæan or scolium on 'Virtue' by the great ARISTOTLE is no doubt lyric in form, but quite as abstract as these in its composition. Virtue, at the beginning of the ode, is ostentatiously represented with all the warmth of inspiration as a young beauty, to die for whom is considered in Hellas as an enviable lot: and the series of mighty heroes who had suffered and died for her is closed by a transition, which, though abrupt, no doubt proceeded from the deepest feelings of Aristotle, to the praise of his noble-minded friend Hermeias, the ruler of Atarneus.

§ 5. The *Elegy* still continued a favourite poetical amusement while Attic literature flourished; it remained true to its original destination, to enliven the banquet and to shed the gentle light of a higher poetic feeling over the convivialities of the feast. Consequently, the fragments of elegies of this time by ION of Chios, DIONYSIUS of Athens, EVENUS the sophist of Paros, and CRITIAS of Athens, all speak much of wine, of the proper mode of drinking, of dancing and singing at banquets, of the cottabus-game, which young people were then so fond of, and of other things of the same kind, and they took as their subject the joys

[1] Sextus Empiricus *adv. Mathematicos*, p. 447 c.

[2] Athen. XV. p. 702, A. Boeckh. *Corp. Inscript.* I. p. 477, *seqq.* Schneidewin *Delectus poes. Gr. eleg. iamb. melicæ*, p. 450.

of the banquet and the right measure to be observed at it. This elegiac poetry proceeds on the principle that we should enjoy ourselves in society, combining the pleasures of the senses with intellectual gratifications, and not forgetting our higher calling in the midst of such enjoyments. 'To drink and sport and be right-minded'—is the expression of Ion.[1] As however the thoughts easily passed from the festal board to the general social and political interests of the time, the elegy had political features also, and statesmen often expressed in this form their opinions on the course to be adopted for Greece in general and for the different republics in particular. This must have been the case with the elegies of DIONYSIUS, who was a considerable statesman of the time of Pericles, and led the Athenians who settled at Thurii, in the great Hellenic migration to that place. The Athenians by way of joke called him 'the man of copper,' because he had proposed the introduction of a copper coinage in addition to the silver money which had been exclusively used before that time. It is to be wished that we had the continuation of that elegy of Dionysius which ran thus: 'Come here, and listen to good intelligence: adjust your cup-battles, give all your attention to me, and listen.'[2] The political tendency appeared still more clearly in the elegies of CRITIAS, the son of Callæschrus, in which he said bluntly that he had recommended in the public assembly that Alcibiades should be recalled and had drawn up the decree.[3] The predilection for Lacedæmon, which Critias had imbibed as one of the Eupatridæ and as a friend of Socrates, declares itself in his commendations of the old customs which the Spartans kept up at their banquets:[4] nevertheless we have no right to suppose in this an early manifestation of the ill-affected and treasonable opinions with regard to the democracy of Athens, which only gradually and through the force of circumstances developed themselves in the character of Critias with the fearful consequences which often convert a single false step of the politician into a disastrous and criminal progress for the rest of his life.

---

[1] πίνειν καὶ παίζειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια φρονεῖν.
[2] Athen. XV. p. 669, B.
[3] Plutarch, *Alcib.* 33.
[4] Athen. X. p. 432, D.

From this elegiac poetry, which was cultivated in the circle of Attic training, we must carefully distinguish the elegies of ANTIMACHUS of Colophon, which we may term a revival of the love-sorrows of Mimnermus. Antimachus, who flourished after Ol. 94, B.C. 404, was in general a reviver of ancient poetry, one who, keeping aloof from the stream of the new-fashioned literature, applied himself exclusively to his own studies, and on that very account found little sympathy among the people of his own time, as indeed appears from the well-known story that, when he was reciting his *Thebais*, all his audience left the room with the single exception of Plato. His elegiac poem was called *Lyde*, and was dedicated to the remembrance of a Lydian maiden whom Antimachus had loved and early lost.[1] The whole work, therefore, was a lamentation for her loss, which doubtless gained life and warmth from the longing and ever-recurring recollections of the poet. It is true that Antimachus, as we are told, availed himself largely of mythical materials in the execution of his poem, but if he had only adorned the general thought, that his love had caused him sorrow, with examples of the similar destiny of others, his poem could not possibly have gained the reputation which it enjoyed in ancient times.

§ 6. Here we must resume the thread of our history of *Epic poetry*, which we dropped with Pisander (chapter IX.). Epic poetry, however, did not slumber in the meantime, but found an utterance in PANYASIS of Halicarnassus, the uncle of Herodotus (fl. Ol. 78, B.C. 468[2]) in CHŒRILUS of Samos, a contemporary of Lysander (about Ol. 94, B.C. 404), and in ANTIMACHUS of Colophon, just mentioned, whose younger days coincide with the old age of Chœrilus:[3] these poets, however, were received by the public with an indifference fully equal to the general attention and admiration which the Homeric poems had excited. The

---

[1] According to the passage in Hermesianax.

[2] This date is given by Suidas; somewhat later, (about Ol. 82,) Panyasis was put to death by Lygdamis, the tyrant of Halicarnassus, whom Herodotus afterwards expelled.

[3] When Lysander was in Samos as the conqueror of Athens, Chœrilus was then with him, and in the musical contests which Lysander established there, Antimachus, son of Niceratus, from Heraclea, then a young man, was one of the defeated poets. Plutarch, *Lysander*, 18.

Alexandrian school was the first to bring them into notice, and the critics of this school placed Panyasis and Antimachus, together with Pisander, in the first rank of epic poets. On this account also we have proportionally few fragments of these poets; most of the citations from them are made only for the sake of learned illustrations; but little has come down to us, which could give us a conception of their general style and art.

Panyasis comprised in his *Hercules* a great mass of mythical legends, and was chiefly occupied with painting in romantic colours the adventures of this hero in the most distant regions of the world. The description of the mighty feats of this hero, of his athletic strength and invincible courage, was no doubt relieved or softened down by pictures of a very different kind; such as those in which Panyasis gave life to a feast where Hercules was present, by recounting the pleasant speeches of the valiant banqueters, or painted in warm colours the thraldom of Hercules to Omphale which brought him to Lydia.

In a great epic poem called *Ionica*, Panyasis took for his subject the early history of the Ionians in Asia Minor, and their wanderings and settlements under the guidance of Neleus and others of the descendants of Codrus.

Chœrilus of Samos formed the grand plan of exalting in epic poetry the greatest, or at least the most joyful event of Greek history, *the expedition of Xerxes, king of Persia, against Greece.* We could not blame this choice, even though we considered the historical epos, properly so called, an unnatural production. But the Persian war was in its leading features an event of such simplicity and grandeur,—the despot of the East leading against the free republics of Greece countless hosts of people who had no will of their own,—and besides this, the subordinate details had been cast into such darkness and obscurity by the infinite multiplication of stories among the Greeks, that it gave room for an absolutely poetic treatment. If Aristotle is right in asserting that poetry is more philosophical than history, because it contains more general truth, it must be admitted that events like the Persian war place themselves on the same footing with poetry, or with a history naturally poetical. Whether Chœrilus, however, conceived this subject in all its grandeur, and considered it with

equal liveliness and vigour in its higher and lower relations, cannot now be determined, as the few fragments refer to particulars only, and generally to subordinate details.[1] It is a bad symptom that Chœrilus should complain, in the first verses of his poem, that the subjects of epic poetry were already exhausted:[2] this could not have been his motive if he had undertaken to paint the greatest deeds of the Greeks. But, in general, a striving after *novelty* seems to have produced marked effects upon his works, both in general and in the details. Aristotle finds fault with his comparisons as far-fetched and obscure;[3] and even the fragments have been sometimes justly censured for their forced and artificial tone.[4]

The *Thebais* of ANTIMACHUS was formed on a wide and comprehensive plan; there was mythological lore in the execution of the details, and careful study in the choice of expressions; but the whole poem was deficient, according to the judgment of the ancient critics, in that natural connexion which arrests and detains the attention, and in that charm of poetic feeling which no laborious industry or elaborate refinement can produce.[5] Hadrian, therefore, remained true to his predilection for everything showy, affected, and unnatural, when he placed Antimachus before Homer, and attempted an epic imitation of the style of the former.[6]

---

[1] It is clear that the Athenians did not pay Chœrilus a golden stater for every verse, as has been inferred from Suidas: it is obvious that this is a confusion with the later Chœrilus, whom Alexander rewarded in so princely a manner. Horat. *Ep.* II. 1, 233.

[2] *Ἀ μάκαρ ὅστις ἔην κεῖνον χρόνον ἴδρις ἀοιδῶν*
Μουσάων θεράπων, ὅτ' ἀκήρατος ἦν ἔτι λειμών.
νῦν δ' ὅτε πάντα δέδασται, ἔχουσι δὲ πείρατα τέχναι,
ὕστατοι αὖτε δρόμου καταλειπόμεθ'· οὐδέ πῃ ἔστιν
πάντῃ παπταίνοντα νεοζυγὲς ἅρμα πελάσσαι.

These verses are preserved in the Scholiast to Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 14, § 4, in Gaisford's *Animadversiones* (Oxon. 1820). Compare Naeke's *Chœrilus*, p. 104.

[3] Aristot. *Topic.* VIII. 1.

[4] A. F. Naeke, *Chœrili Samii quæ supersunt. Lips.* 1817.

[5] *Antimachi Colophonii reliquiæ, ed. Schellenberg*, p. 38, seq.

[6] Spartianus in the Life of Hadrian, c. 15. The title of Hadrian's work is now known to have been *Catachanæ;* the poem probably had some resemblance to the *Catonis Diræ* of Valerius.

CHAPTER XXXI.

POLITICAL ORATORY AT ATHENS PREVIOUSLY TO THE INFLUENCE OF RHETORIC.

§ 1. Importance of prose at this period. § 2. Oratory at Athens rendered necessary by the democratical form of government. § 3. Themistocles; Pericles: power of their oratory. § 4. Characteristics of their oratory in relation to their opinions and modes of thought. § 5. Form and style of their speeches.

§ 1. WE have seen both tragedy and comedy in their latter days gradually sinking into prose; and this has shown us that prose was the most powerful instrument in the literature of the time, and has made us the more curious to investigate its tendency, its progress, and its development.

The cultivation of prose belongs almost entirely to the period which intervened between the Persian war and the time of Alexander the Great. Before this time every attempt at prose composition was either so little removed from the colloquial style of the day, as to forfeit all claim to be considered as a written language, properly so called: or else owed all its charms and splendour to an imitation of the diction and the forms of words found in poetry, which attained to completeness and maturity many hundred years before the rise of a prose literature.

In considering the history of Attic prose, we propose to give a view of the general character of the works of the prose writers, and their relation to the circumstances of the Athenian people, to their intellectual energy and elasticity, and to the mixture of reason and passion which was so conspicuous among them. But it is obvious that it will not be possible to do this without carefully examining the contents, the subjects, and the practical and theoretical objects of these works.

We may distinguish three epochs in the general history of Attic prose, from Pericles to Alexander the Great: the first that of PERICLES himself, ANTIPHON, and THUCYDIDES; the second, that of LYSIAS, ISOCRATES, and PLATO; the third, that of DE-

MOSTHENES, ÆSCHINES, and DEMADES. The sequel will show why we have selected these names.

Two widely different causes co-operated in introducing the first epoch:—*Athenian politics* and *Sicilian sophistry*. We must first take a view of these two causes.

§ 2. Since the time of Solon, the most distinguished statesmen of Athens had formed some general views with regard to the destination of their native city, based upon a profound consideration of the external relations and internal resources of Attica, and the peculiar capabilities of the inhabitants. An extension of the democracy, industry, and trade, and, above all, the sovereignty of the sea, were the primary objects which those statesmen proposed to themselves. Some peculiar views were transmitted through a series of statesmen,[1] from Solon to Themistocles and Pericles, and were from time to time further developed and extended; and though an opposite party in politics (that of Aristides and Cimon) endeavoured to set bounds to this development, the point for which they contended did not affect any one of the leading principles which guided the other party; they only wished to moderate the suddenness and violence of the movement.

This deep reflection on and clear perception of what was needful for Athens,[2] imparted to the speeches of men like Themistocles and Pericles a power and solidity which made a far deeper impression on the people of Athens than any particular proposal or counsel could have done. Public speaking had been common in Greece from the earliest times; long before popular assemblies had gained the sovereign power by the establishment of democracy, the ancient kings had been in the habit of addressing their people, sometimes with that natural eloquence which Homer ascribes to Ulysses, at other times, like

---

[1] See Plutarch, *Themist.* 2. Themistocles studied as a young man under Mnesiphilus, who makes such a distinguished appearance in Herod. VIII. 57, and who had devoted himself to the so called *σοφία*, which, according to Plutarch, consisted in political capacity and practical understanding, and which had descended from Solon.

[2] *Τοῦ δέοντος*, an expression which was very common at Athens in the time of Pericles, and denoted whatever was expedient under the existing circumstances of the state.

Menelaus, with concise but persuasive diction: Hesiod assigns to kings a muse of their own,—Calliope—by whose aid they were enabled to speak convincingly and persuasively in the popular assembly and from the seat of judgment. With the further development of republican constitutions after the age of Homer and Hesiod, public officers and demagogues without number had spoken in the public meetings, or in the deliberative councils and legislative committees of the numerous independent states, and no doubt they often spoke eloquently and wisely; but these speeches did not survive the particular occasion which called them forth: they were wasted on the air without leaving behind them a more lasting effect than would have been produced by a discourse of common life; and in this whole period it seems never to have been imagined that oratory could produce effects more lasting than the particular occurrence which gave occasion for a display of it, or that it was capable of exerting a ruling influence over all the actions and inclinations of a people. Even the lively and ingenious Ionians were distinguished at the flourishing epoch of their literature for an amusing style, adapted to such narratives as might be communicated in private society, rather than for the more powerful eloquence of the public assembly: at least Herodotus, whose history may be considered as belonging to Ionian literature, though he is fond of introducing dialogues and short speeches, never incorporates with his history the popular harangues which are so remarkable in Thucydides. It is unanimously agreed among the ancients that Athens was the native soil of oratory,[1] and as the works of Athenian orators alone have come down to us, so also we may safely conclude that the ruder oratory, not designed for literary preservation, but from which oratory, as a branch of literature, arose, was cultivated in a much higher degree among the Athenians than in all the rest of Greece.

§ 3. THEMISTOCLES, who with equal courage and genius had laid the foundations of the greatness of Athens at the most dangerous and difficult crisis of her history, was not distinguished for eloquence, so much as for the wisdom of his plans, and the energy with which he carried them out; nevertheless,

[1] *Studium eloquentiæ proprium Athenarum*, Cicero, *Brutus*, XIII.

it is universally agreed that he was in the highest degree capable of unfolding his views, and of recommending them by argument.[1] The oratory of PERICLES occupies a much more prominent position. The power and dominion of Athens, though continually assailed by new enemies, seemed at last to have acquired some stability; it was time to survey the advantages which had been gained, and to become acquainted with the principles which had led to their acquisition and might contribute to their increase: the question too arose, what use should be made of this dominion over the Greeks of the islands and the coasts, which it had cost so much trouble to obtain, and of the revenues which flowed into Athens in such abundant streams. It is manifest, from the whole political career of Pericles, that on the one hand he presupposed in his people a power of governing themselves, and on the other hand that he wished to prevent the state from becoming a mere stake to be played for by ambitious demagogues: for he favoured every institution which gave the poorer citizens a share in the government; he encouraged everything which might contribute to extend education and knowledge; and by his astonishing expenditure on works of architecture and sculpture, he gave the people a decided fondness for the grand and beautiful. And thus the appearance of Pericles on the bema (which he purposely reserved for great occasions[2]) was not intended merely to aid the passing of some law, but was at the same time calculated to infuse a noble spirit into the general politics of Athens, to guide the views of the Athenians in regard to their external relations and all the difficulties of their position; and it was the wish of this true friend of the people that all this might long survive himself. This is obviously the opinion of Thucydides, whom we may consider as in many respects a worthy disciple of the school of Pericles; and this is the representation which he has given us of the oratory of that statesman in the three speeches (all of them delivered on important occasions) which he has put into his mouth. This wonderful triad of speeches forms a beautiful

---

[1] Not to mention other authorities, Lysias (*Epitaph.* XLII.) says that he was Ικανώτατος εἰπεῖν καὶ γνῶναι καὶ πρᾶξαι.

[2] Plutarch, *Pericles* VII.

whole, which is perfect and complete in itself. The *first* speech[1] proves the necessity of a war with the Peloponnesians, and the probability that it will be successful: the *second*,[2] delivered immediately after the first successes obtained in the war, under the form of a funeral oration, confirms the Athenians in their mode of living and acting; it is half an apology for, half a panegyric upon Athens: it is full of a sense of truth and of noble self-reliance, tempered with moderation; the *third*,[3] delivered after the calamities which had befallen Athens, rather through the plague than through the war, and which had nevertheless made the people vacillate in their resolutions, offers the consolation most worthy of a noble heart, namely, that up to that time fortune, on which no man can count, had deceived them, but they had not been misled by their own calculations and convictions; and that these would never deceive them if they did not allow themselves to be led astray by some unforeseen accidents.[4]

§ 4. No speech of Pericles has been preserved in writing. It may seem surprising that no attempt was made to write down and preserve, for the benefit of the present and future generations, works which every one considered admirable, and which were regarded as, in some respects, the most perfect specimens of oratory.[5] The only explanation of this that can be offered is, that in those days a speech was not considered as possessing any value or interest, save in reference to the particular practical object for which it was designed: it had never occurred to people that speeches and poems might be placed in one class, and both preserved, without reference to their subjects, on account of the skill with which the subjects were treated, and the general beauties of the form and composition.[6] Only

[1] Thucyd. I., 140—144. [2] Thucyd. II. 35—46. [3] Thucyd. II. 60—64.

[4] A speech of Pericles, in which he took a general survey of the military power and resources of Athens, is given by Thucydides (II. 13,) indirectly and in outline because this was not an opportunity for unfolding a train of leading ideas.

[5] Plato, though not very partial to Pericles, nevertheless considers him as τελεώτατος εἰς τὴν ῥητορικήν, and refers for the cause to his acquaintance with the speculations of Anaxagoras, *Phædr.* 270. Cicero, in his *Brutus* XII., calls him 'oratorem *prope* perfectum,' only to leave something to be said for the other orators.

[6] [All the speeches which have been preserved to us from antiquity have been

a few emphatic and nervous expressions of Pericles were kept in remembrance; but a general impression of the grandeur and copiousness of his oratory long prevailed among the Greeks. We are enabled, partly by this long prevalent impression, which is mentioned even by later writers, and partly by the connexion between Pericles and the other old Attic orators, as also with Thucydides, to form a clear conception of his style of speaking, without drawing much upon our imagination.

The primary characteristic of the oratory of Pericles, and those who most resembled him is, that their speeches are full of thoughts concisely expressed. Unaccustomed to continued abstraction, and unwilling to indulge in trivial reasonings, their powers of reflection seized on all the circumstances of the world around them with fresh and unimpaired vigour, and, assisted by abundant experience and acute observations, brought the light of their clear general conceptions to bear upon every subject which they took up. Cicero characterizes Pericles, Alcibiades, and Thucydides, (for he rightly reckons the two latter among the orators) by the epithets 'subtle, acute, and concise,'[1] and distinguishes between them and the somewhat younger generation of Critias, Theramenes, and Lysias, who had also, he says, retained some of the sap and life-blood of Pericles,[2] but had spun the thread of their discourse rather more liberally.[3]

With regard to the opinions of Pericles, we know that they were remarkable for the comprehensive views of public affairs on which they were based. The majesty for which Pericles

---

preserved by the orators themselves. Pericles appears to have made no record of his speeches; and probably he would have considered it degrading, in his eminent position, to place himself on the footing of a λογογράφος.—*Editor.*]

[1] He says *subtiles, acuti, breves, sententiis magis quam verbis abundantes,* by which he means, 'skilful in the choice of words, and in the distinct expression of every thought' (*subtiles*), 'refined in their ideas' (*acuti*), 'concise' (*breves*), 'and with more thoughts than words.'

[2] *Retinebant illum Periclis succum.*

[3] *De Orator.* II. 22. In the *Brutus,* c. VII., he gives a rather different classification of the old orators. In the latter work he classes Alcibiades along with Critias and Theramenes, and says the style of their oratory may be gathered from Thucydides; he calls them *grandes verbis, crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves, et ob eam causam subobscuri.* Critias is described by Philostratus, *Sophist.* I. 16, and still better by Hermogenes, περὶ ἰδεῶν, (in Walz, *Rhet. Græci.* L. III., p. 388): and we may infer that he stood, in regard to style, between Antiphon and Lysias.

was so distinguished, and which gained for him the appellation of 'the Olympian,' consisted mostly in the skill and ability with which he referred all common occurrences to the general principles and bold ideas, which he had derived from his noble and exalted view of the destiny of Athens. Accordingly, Plato says of Pericles, that in addition to his natural abilities, he had acquired an elevation of mind, and a habit of striving after definite objects.[1] It was on this account, too, that his opinions took such a firm hold of his hearers; according to the metaphor of Eupolis—they remained fixed in the mind, like the sting of the bee.

§ 5. It was because the thoughts of Pericles were so striking, so entirely to the purpose, and at the same time so grand, and we may add it was on this account *alone*, that his speeches produced so deep and lasting an impression. The sole object of the oratory of Pericles was to produce conviction, to give a permanent bias to the mind of the people. It was alien from his intentions to excite any sudden and transient burst of passion by working on the emotions of the heart. The whole history of Attic oratory teaches us that there could not be in the speeches of Pericles the slightest employment of those means by which the orators of a later age used to set in motion the violent and unruly impulses of the multitude. To judge from the descriptions which have been given of the manner of Pericles when he ascended the bema, it was tranquil, with hardly any change of feature, with calm and dignified gestures; his garments were undisturbed by oratorical gesticulations of any kind, and the tone and loudness of his voice were equable and sustained.[1] We may conceive that the frame of mind which this delivery expressed, and which it excited in the hearers, was in harmony and unison with it. Pericles had no wish to gratify the people otherwise than by ministering to their improvement and benefit. He never condescended to flatter them. Great as was his idea of the resources and high destinies of Athens, he never feared in particular cases to tell them even the harshest truths.

---

[1] Plato, *Phædrus*, p. 270: τὸ ὑψηλόνουν τοῦτο καὶ πάντῃ τελεσιουργὸν. . . ὃ Περικλῆς πρὸς τὸ εὐφυὴς εἶναι ἐκτήσατο. The τελεσιουργὸν denotes, according to the context, the striving after a great fixed object.

[1] Plutarch, *Pericl.* V.

When Pericles declaimed against the people, this was thought, according to Cicero, a proof of his affection towards them, and produced a pleasing impression;[1] even when his own safety was threatened, he was content to wait till they had an opportunity of becoming convinced of his innocence, and he never sought to produce this conviction otherwise than by a clear and energetic representation of the truth, studiously avoiding any appeal to transient emotions and feelings. He was just as little anxious to amuse or entertain the populace. Pericles never indulged in a smile while speaking from the bema.[2] His dignity never stooped to merriment.[3] All his public appearances were marked by a sustained earnestness of manner.

Some traditional particulars and the character of the time enable us also to form an opinion of the diction of the speeches of Pericles. He employed the language of common life, the vernacular idiom of Attica, even more than Thucydides:[4] but his accurate discrimination of meanings gave his words a subtlety and pregnancy which was a main ingredient in the nervous energy of his style. Although there was more of reasoning than of imagination in his speeches, he had no difficulty in giving a vivid and impressive colouring to his language by the use of striking metaphors and comparisons, and as the prose of the day was altogether unformed, by so doing, he could not help expressing himself poetically. A good many of these figurative expressions and apophthegms in the speeches of Pericles have been preserved, and especially by Aristotle: as when he said of the Samians, that 'they were like little children who cried when they took their food;' or when at the funeral of a number of young persons who had fallen in battle, he used the beautiful figure, that 'the year had lost its spring.'[5]

---

[1] Cicero, *de Orat.* III. 34.

[2] Plutarch, *Pericl.* 5: προσώπου σύστασις ἄθρυπτος εἰς γέλωτα.

[3] *Summa auctoritas sine omni hilaritate,* Cic. *de Offic.* I. 30.

[4] This appears from the fact mentioned near the end of chap. XXVII.

[5] Aristotle, *Rhetor.* I. 7; III. 4, 10.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE RHETORIC OF THE SOPHISTS.

§ 1. Profession of the Sophists: essential elements of their doctrines. The principles of Protagoras. § 2. Opinions of Gorgias. Pernicious effects of his doctrines, especially as they were carried out by his disciples. § 3. Important services of the Sophists in forming a prose style: different tendencies of the Sicilian and other Sophists in this respect. § 4. The rhetoric of Gorgias. § 5. His forms of expression.

§ 1. THE impulse to a further improvement of the prose style proceeded immediately from the Sophists, who, in general, exercised a greater influence on the culture of the Greek mind than any other class of men, the ancient poets alone excepted.

The Sophists were, as their name indicates, persons who made knowledge their profession, and who undertook to impart it to every one who was willing to place himself under their guidance. The philosophers of the Socratic school reproached them with being the first to sell knowledge for money; and such was the case; for they not only demanded admittance-money from those who came to hear their public lectures (ἐπιδείξεις),[1] but also undertook for a considerable sum fixed beforehand, to give young men a complete sophistical education, and not to dismiss them till they were thoroughly instructed in their art. At that time a thirst for knowledge was so great in Greece,[2] that not only in Athens, but also in the oligarchies of Thessaly, hearers and pupils flocked to them in crowds; the arrival in any city of one of the greater sophists, Gorgias, Protagoras, or Hippias, was celebrated as a festival; and these men acquired riches such as art and science had never before earned among the Greeks.

Not only the outward profession, but also the peculiar doc-

[1] There were wide differences in the amounts paid on these occasions. The admission-fee for some lectures was a drachma, for others fifty drachmæ.

[2] Comp. the remark in chap. XXVII., § 5.

trines of the Sophists were, on the whole, one and the same, though they admitted of certain modifications of greater or less importance. If we consider these doctrines philosophically, they amounted to *a denial or renunciation of all true science.* Philosophy had then just completed the first stage of her career: she had boldly undertaken to solve the abstrusest questions of speculation, and the widely different answers which had been returned to some of those questions, had all produced conviction, and obtained many staunch supporters. The difference between the results thus obtained, although the grounds of this difference had not been investigated, must of itself have awakened a doubt as to the possibility of any real knowledge regarding the hidden nature of things. Accordingly, nothing was more likely than that every flight of speculation should be succeeded by an epoch of scepticism, in which the universality of all science would be doubted or denied. That all knowledge is *subjective,* that it is true only for the individual, was the meaning of the celebrated saying[1] of PROTAGORAS of Abdera, who made his appearance at Athens in the time of Pericles,[2] and for a long time enjoyed a great reputation there, till at last a reaction was caused by the bold scepticism of his opinions, and he was banished from Athens and his books were publicly burnt.[3] Agreeing with Heraclitus in regard to the doctrine of a perpetual motion and of a continual change in the impressions and perceptions of men, he deduced from this that the individual could know nothing beyond these ever varying perceptions; consequently, that whatever *appeared to be, was so* for the individual. According to this doctrine, opposite opinions on the same subject might be equally true; and if an opinion were only supported by a momentary appearance of truth, this was sufficient to make it true for the moment. Hence, it was one of the great feats which Protagoras and the other Sophists professed to perform, to be able to speak with equal plausibility

---

[1] Πάντων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος.

[2] About Ol. 84. B.C. 444, according to the chronology of Apollodorus.

[3] Protagoras was prosecuted for atheism and expelled from Athens, on the accusation of Pythodorus, one of the council of the Four-hundred: this would be in Ol. 92, 1. or 2. B.C. 411, if the event happened during the time of the Four-hundred, but this is by no means established.

for and *against* the same position; not in order to discover the truth, but in order to show the nothingness of truth. It was not, however, the intention of Protagoras to deprive virtue, as well as truth, of its reality: but he reduced virtue to a mere state or condition of the subject,—a set of impressions and feelings which rendered the subject more capable of active usefulness. Of the gods, he said at the very beginning of the book which caused his banishment from Athens: 'With regard to the gods, I cannot determine whether they are or are not; for there are many obstacles in the way of this inquiry—the uncertainty of the matter, and the shortness of human life.'

§ 2. GORGIAS, of Leontini, in Sicily, who visited Athens for the first time in Ol. 88, 2. B.C. 427, as an ambassador from his native town, belonged to an entirely different part of the Hellenic world, had different teachers, and proceeded from an older philosophical school than Protagoras, but yet there was a great correspondence between the pursuits of these two men; and from this we may clearly see how strongly the spirit of the age must have inclined to the form and mode of speculation which was common to them both. Gorgias employed the dialectical method of the Eleatic school, but arrived at an opposite result by means of it: while the Eleatic philosophers directed all their efforts towards establishing the perpetuity and unity of existence, Gorgias availed himself of the methods and even of some of the conclusions, which Zeno and Melissus had applied to such a widely different object, in order to prove that nothing exists: that even if anything did exist, it would not be cognizable, and even if it both existed and were cognizable, it could not be conveyed and communicated by words. The result was, that absolute knowledge was unattainable; and that the proper end of instruction was to awaken in the pupil's mind such conceptions as are suitable to his own purposes and interests. The chief distinction between Gorgias and the other Sophists consisted in the frankness with which he admitted, that he promised and professed nothing else than to make his scholars apt rhetoricians; and the ridicule with which he treated those of his colleagues who professed to teach virtue, a peculiarity which Gorgias shared with all the other Sophists of Sicily. The Sophists in the mother country, on the other hand, endeavoured

to awaken useful thoughts, and to teach the principles of practical philosophy: thus HIPPIAS *of Elis* endeavoured to season his lessons with a display of multifarious knowledge, and may be regarded as the first Polyhistor among the Greeks:[1] and PRODICUS *of Ceos*, perhaps the most respectable among the Sophists, used to present lessons of morality under an agreeable form: such a moral lesson was the well-known allegory of the choice of Hercules.

In general, however, the labours of the Sophists were prejudicial alike to the moral condition of Greece, and to the serious pursuit of knowledge. The national morality which drew the line between right and wrong, though not perhaps according to the highest standard, yet at any rate with honest views, and what was of most importance, with a sort of instinctive certainty, had received a shock from the boldness with which philosophy had handled it: and could not but be altogether undermined by a doctrine which destroyed the distinction between truth and falsehood. And though Protagoras and Gorgias shrank from declaring that virtue and religion were nothing but empty illusions, their disciples and followers did so most openly, when the liberty of speculation was completely emancipated from all the restraints of traditionary opinions. In the course of the Peloponnesian war, a class of society was formed at Athens, which was not without influence on the course of affairs, and whose creed was, that justice and belief in the gods were but the inventions of ancient rulers and legislators, who gave them currency in order to strengthen their hold on the common herd, and assist them in the business of government: they sometimes gave this opinion with this far more pernicious variation, that laws were made by the majority of weaker men for their protection, whereas nature had sanctioned the right of the strongest, so that the stronger party did but use his right when he compelled the weaker to minister to his pleasure as far as he could. These are the doctrines which Plato in his *Gorgias*

[1] Plato often speaks of his acquaintance with physics and astronomy: he also inquired after genealogies, colonies, and 'antiquities in general.' *Hippias. Maj.* p. 285. Some fragments of his treatises on political antiquities have been preserved: probably derived from his Συναγωγή. Böckh. *Præf. ad Pindari Scholia*, p. xxi. His list of the Olympic victors was also a remarkable work.

and in his *Republic*, attributes to CALLICLES, a disciple of Gorgias, and to THRASYMACHUS *of Chalcedon*, who flourished as a teacher of rhetoric during the Peloponnesian war, and which were frequently uttered by Plato's own uncle, the able and politic Critias who has been mentioned more than once in the course of this history.[1]

§ 3. If, however, we turn from this influence of the Sophists on the spirit of their age, and set ourselves to inquire what they did for the improvement of written compositions, we are constrained to set a very high value on their services. The formation of an artificial prose style is due entirely to the Sophists, and although they did not at first proceed according to a right method, they may be considered as having laid a foundation for the polished diction of Plato and Demosthenes. The Sophists of Greece proper, as well as those of Sicily, made language the object of their study, but with this distinction, that the former aimed at *correctness*, the latter at *beauty* of style.[2] Protagoras investigated the principles of accurate composition (ὀρθοέπεια), though practically he was distinguished for a copious fluency, which Plato's Socrates vainly attempts to bridle with his dialectic; and Prodicus busied himself with inquiries into the signification and correct use of words, and the discrimination of synonyms: his own discourses were full of such distinctions, as appears from the humorous imitation of his style in Plato's *Protagoras*.

The principal object which Gorgias proposed to himself was a beautiful, ornamented, pleasing, and captivating style; he was by profession a rhetorician, and had been prepared for his trade by a suitable education. The Sicilian Greeks, and especially the Syracusans, whose lively disposition and natural quickness raised them, more than any other Dorian people, to a level with the Athenians,[3] had commenced, even earlier than the people of Attica, the study of an artificial rhetoric useful for the discus-

[1] As a tragedian, but only with a view to the promulgation of these doctrines, he is mentioned in Chap. XXVI. § 4; as an Elegiac poet in Chap. XXX. § 5; and as an orator, Chap. XXXI. § 4.

[2] This distinction is pointed out by Leonhard Spengel in his useful work, Συναγωγὴ τεχνῶν, *sive artium scriptores*, 1828, p. 63.

[3] Cicero, *Brutus* XII., 46: *Siculi acuta gens et controversa naturâ. Verrin.* IV., 43, 95: *nunquam tam male est Siculis, quin aliquid facile et commode dicant.*

sions of the law-courts. The situation of Syracuse at the time of the Persian war had contributed a good deal to awaken their natural inclination and capacity for such a study; especially by the impulse which the abolition of arbitrary government had given to democratic sentiments (Ol. 78, 3. B.C. 466), and by the complicated transactions which sprung up from the renewal of private claims long suppressed by the tyrants.[1] At this time CORAX, who had been highly esteemed by the tyrant Hiero, came forward in a conspicuous manner, both as a public orator and as a pleader in the law-courts;[2] his great practice led him to consider more accurately the principles of his art; and at last it occurred to him to write a book on the subject:[3] this book, like the innumerable treatises which succeeded it, was called τέχνη ῥητορικὴ, "the art of rhetoric," or simply τέχνη, "the art." Although this work might have been very circumscribed in its plan, and not very comprehensive in its treatment of the subject, it is nevertheless worthy of notice as the first of its kind, not only among the Greeks, but perhaps also in the whole world. For this τέχνη of Corax was not merely the first attempt at a theory of rhetoric, but also the first theoretical book on any branch of art:[4] and it is highly remarkable that while ancient poetry was transmitted through so many generations by nothing but practice and oral instruction, its younger sister began at once with establishing itself in the form of a theory, and as such communicating itself to all who were desirous of learning its principles. All that we know of this τέχνη

[1] Cic. *Brut.* XII., 46 (after Aristotle): *cum sublatis in Sicilia tyrannis res privatæ longo intervallo judiciis repeterentur.* Aristotle is also the authority for the statement in the scholia on Hermogenes, in Reiske's *Oratores Attici.* T. VIII. p. 196. Comp. Montfaucon, *Biblioth. Coislin.*, p. 592.

[2] Or as a composer of speeches for others, for it is doubtful whether there was an establishment of *patroni* and *causidici* at Syracuse, as at Rome; or whether every one was compelled to plead his own cause, as at Athens, in which case he was always able to get his speech made for him by some professed rhetorician.

[3] This is also mentioned by Aristotle, who wrote a history of rhetoric down to his own time, which is now lost: besides the passages referred to above, he mentions the τέχνη of Corax in his *Rhetor.* II., 24.

[4] The old architectural treatises on particular buildings, such as that of Theodorus of Samos on the temple of Juno in that island, and those of Chersiphron and Metagenes on the temple of Diana at Ephesus, were probably only tables of calculations and measurements.

is that it laid down a regular form and regular divisions for the oration; above all, it was to begin with a distant proœmium, calculated to put the hearers in a favourable train, and to conciliate their good will at the very opening of the speech.[1]

§ 4. Tisias was first a pupil and afterwards a rival of Corax; he was also known not only as an orator, but also as the author of a τέχνη. Gorgias, again, was the pupil of Tisias, and followed closely in his steps: according to one account,[2] Tisias was a colleague of Gorgias in the embassy from Leontini mentioned above, though the pupil was at that time infinitely more celebrated than his master. With Gorgias this artificial rhetoric obtained more fame and glory than fell to the share of any other branch of literature. The Athenians, to whom this Sicilian rhetoric was still a novelty, though they were fully qualified and predisposed to appreciate and enjoy its beauties,[3] were quite enchanted with it, and it soon became fashionable to speak like Gorgias. The impression produced by the oratory of Gorgias was greatly increased by his stately appearance, his well-chosen and splendid costume, and the self-possession and confidence of his demeanour. Besides, his rhetoric rested on a basis of philosophy,[4] though, as has just been mentioned, rather of a negative kind; and there is no trace of this in the systems of Corax and Tisias. This philosophy taught, that the sole aim of the orator is to turn the minds of his hearers into such a train as may best consist with his own interests; that, consequently, rhetoric is the agent of persuasion,[5] the art of all arts, because the rhetorician is able to speak well and convincingly on every subject, even though he has no accurate knowledge respecting it.

In accordance with this view of rhetoric, Gorgias took little pains with the subject-matter of his speeches; he only concerned himself about this so far as to exercise himself in treat-

[1] These introductions were called κολακευτικὰ καὶ θεραπευτικὰ προοίμια.

[2] See Pausan. VI., 17, 18. Diodorus, the principal authority, makes no mention of Tisias, XI., 53.

[3] ὄντες εὐφυεῖς καὶ φιλολόγοι, says Diodorus.

[4] This philosophy is contained in a treatise by Gorgias, περὶ φύσεως ἢ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, of which the best account is given by Aristotle in his essay on Melissus, Xenophanes, and Gorgias.

[5] Πειθοῦς δημιουργός.

ing of general topics, which were called *loci communes*, and the proper management and application of which have always helped the rhetorician to conceal his ignorance. The panegyrics and invectives which Gorgias wrote on every possible subject, and which served him for practice, were also calculated to assist him in combating or defending received opinions and convictions, by palliating the bad, and misrepresenting the good. The same purpose was served by his delusive and captious conclusions, which he had borrowed from the Eleatic school, in order to pass with the common herd as a profound thinker, and to confuse their notions of truth and falsehood. All this belonged to the instrument, by virtue of which Gorgias promised, in the language of the day, to make the *weaker argument, i.e.* the worse cause, victorious over the *stronger argument, i.e.* the better cause.[1]

§ 5. But the chief study of Gorgias was directed to the form of expression; and it is true that he was able, by the use of high-sounding words and artfully constructed sentences, to deceive not only the ears but also the mind of the Greeks—alive as they were to the perception of such beauties—to so great an extent that they overlooked for a long time the emptiness and coldness of his declamations. Prose was at this time commencing its career, and had not yet manifested its resources, and shown the beauty of which it was capable: it was natural, therefore, that it should take for its pattern the poetry which had preceded it by so long an interval: the ears of the Greeks, accustomed to poetry, required of prose, if it professed to be more than a mere necessary communication of thoughts, if it aimed at beauty, a great resemblance to poetry. Gorgias complied with this requisition in two ways: in the first place, he employed poetical words, especially rare words, and new compounds, such as were favourites with the lyric and dithyrambic poets.[2] As this poetical colouring did not demand any high flight of ideas, or any great exertion of the imaginative powers,

[1] ἥττων καὶ κρείττων λόγος.

[2] See Aristotle, *Rhetor.* III., 1, 3, and 3, 1. Here the διπλᾶ ὀνόματα are particularly assigned to Gorgias and Lycophron. In the *Poetic.* 22, Aristotle says, that the διπλᾶ ὀνόματα, *i.e.* extraordinary words and novel compounds, occurred most frequently in the Dithyramb.

and as it remained only an outward ornament, the style of Gorgias became turgid and bombastic, and compositions characterized by this fault were said, in the technical language of Greek rhetoric, to *gorgiaze*.[1] In the second place, the prevailing taste for prose at that time seemed to require some substitute for the rhythmical proportions of poetry. Gorgias effected this by giving a sort of symmetry to the structure of the sentences, so that the impression conveyed was, that the different members of the period were parallel and corresponding to one another, and this stamped the whole with an appearance of artificial regularity. To this belonged the art of making the sentences of equal length, of making them correspond to one another in form, and of making them end in the same way:[2] also the use of words of similar formation and of similar sound, *i.e.* almost rhyming with one another:[3] also, the antithesis, in which, besides the opposition of thought, there was a correspondence of all the different parts and individual points; an artifice which easily led the orator to introduce forced and unnatural combinations,[4] and which, in the case of the Sicilian rhetoricians, had already incurred the ridicule of Epicharmus.[5] If we add to this the witty turns, the playful style, the various methods of winning the attention, which Gorgias skilfully interwove with his expressions, we shall have no difficulty in understanding how this artificial prose, which was neither poetry nor yet the language of common life, was so successful on its first appearance at Athens. That such a style was highly suitable to

---

[1] γοργιάζειν. [2] ἰσόκωλα, πάρισα, ὁμοιοτέλευτα.

[3] Παρονομασίαι, παρηχήσεις.

[4] As in the forced but ingenious definition of tragic illusion, namely, that it is an ἀπάτη, or deceit:—

ἦν δ τι ἀπατήσας δικαιότερος τοῦ μὴ ἀπατήσαντος
καὶ ὁ ἀπατηθεὶς σοφώτερος τοῦ μὴ ἀπατηθέντος,

i.e. in which the deceiver does his duty better than the undeceiving, and where the person deceived shows more feeling for art than the person who will not yield to the deception. All these figures occur in abundance in the very important and no doubt genuine fragments of Gorgias' funeral oration, which are preserved in the scholia on Hermogenes: see Foss, *de Gorgia Leontino*, p. 69. Spengel, Συναγωγή, p. 78. Clinton, *F. H.*, Vol. II., p. 464, ed. 3.

[5] In the verse: τόκα μὲν ἐν τήνοις ἐγὼν ἦν, τόκα δὲ παρὰ τήνοις ἐγών, which is an opposition of words rather than of sense, such as naturally resulted from a forced antithetical style: see especially Demetrius, *de Elocutione*, § 24.

66473

the taste of the age as it gradually unfolded itself, is also shown by its rapid extension and further development, especially in the school of Gorgias. We have already spoken of Agathon's parallelisms and antitheses;[1] but Polus *of Agrigentum*, the favourite scholar and devoted partizan of Gorgias, went far beyond all others in his attention to those ornaments of language, and carried this even into the slightest minutiæ of language:[2] similarly, Alcidamas, another scholar of Gorgias, who is often mentioned by Aristotle, exceeded his master in his showy, poetic diction, and in the affectation of his elegant antithesis.[3]

---

[1] Chap. XXVI., § 3.

[2] In the address: ὦ λῶστε Πῶλε, Plato ridicules his fondness for the juxtaposition of words of a similar sound.

[3] The declamations which remain under the name of Gorgias, Alcidamas, and Antisthenes (another scholar of Gorgias), have been justly regarded as imitations of their style by later rhetoricians.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE BEGINNINGS OF REGULAR POLITICAL AND FORENSIC ORATORY AMONG THE ATHENIANS.

§ 1. Antiphon's career and employments. § 2. His school-exercises, the Tetralogies. § 3. His speeches before the courts; Character of his oratory. § 4, 5 More particular examination of his style. § 6. Andocides; his life and character.

§ 1. THE cultivation of the art of oratory among the Athenians is due to a combination of the natural eloquence, displayed by the Athenian statesmen, and especially by Pericles, with the rhetorical studies of the Sophists. The first person in whom the effects of this combination were fully shown was ANTIPHON, the son of Sophilus of Rhamnus. Antiphon was both a practical statesman and man of business, and also a rhetorician of the schools. With regard to the former part of his character, we are told by Thucydides that, though the tyranny of the Four-hundred was ostensibly established by Pisander, it was Antiphon who drew up the plan for it, and who had the greatest share in carrying it into effect; 'he was a man,' says the historian,[1] 'inferior to none of his contemporaries in virtue, and distinguished above all others in forming plans and recommending his views by oratory. He made no public speeches, indeed, nor did he ever of his own accord engage in the litigations of the court; but being suspected by the people from his reputation for powerful speaking,[2] there was yet no one man in Athens who was better able to assist, by his counsels, those who had any contest to undergo either in the law-courts or in the popular assemblies. And in his own case, when, after the downfal of the Four-hundred, he was tried for his life as having been a party to the establishment of the oligarchy, it is acknowledged that the speech which he made in his own defence was the best that had ever been made up to

[1] VIII., 68.

[2] δεινότητι, here used in its wider sense, as implying any power of persuasion.

that time.'[1] But his admirable oratory was of no avail at this crisis, when the effect of his speech was more than counterbalanced by the feelings of the people: the devices of Theramenes completed his ruin; he was executed in Ol. 92, 2. B.C. 411, when nearly seventy years old;[2] his property was confiscated, and even his descendants were deprived of the rights of citizenship.[3]

We clearly see, from the testimony of Thucydides, what use Antiphon made of his oratory. He did not come forward, like other speakers, to express his sentiments in the *Ecclesia*, nor was he ever a public accuser in the law-courts: he never spoke in public save on his own affairs and when attacked: in other cases he laboured for others. With him the business of *speech-writing* first rose into importance, a business which for a long time was not considered so honourable as that of the public speaker; but although many Athenians spoke and thought contemptuously of his profession, it was practised even by the great public-orators along with their other employments; and according to the Athenian institutions was almost indispensable. For in private suits the parties themselves pleaded their cause in open court; and in public indictments, though any Athenian might conduct the prosecution, the accused person was not allowed an advocate, though his defence might be supported by some friends who spoke after him, and endeavoured to complete the arguments in his favour. It is obvious from this, that when the need of an advocate in the law-courts began to be more and more felt, most Athenians would be obliged to apply for professional assistance, and would, with this view, either get assisted in the composition of their own speeches, or commit to memory and deliver, word for word, a speech composed for them by some practised orator. Thus the speech-writers, or

---

[1] It is a great pity that this speech has not been preserved. Harpocration often quotes it under the title ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως. The allusions to the time of the Four-hundred are obvious enough.

[2] *i.e.* if the account is true which places his birth in Ol. 75, 1. B.C. 480. His great age and winning eloquence seem to have gained him the name of *Nestor*, by which he was known among the Athenian people.

[3] The decree according to which he was executed, and the decision of the court, are preserved in the *Vitæ decem oratorum* (in Plutarch's works), Cap. I.

logographi, as they were called,[1] (Antiphon, Lysias, Isæus, and Demosthenes,) rendered services partly analogous to those performed by the Roman *patroni* and *causidici*, or to the legal advocates and counsellors of modern states, although they did not stand nearly so high in public estimation, unless at the same time they took an active part in public affairs.[2] The practice of writing speeches for others probably led to a general habit of committing speeches to writing, and thus placing them within the reach of others besides those to whom they were delivered: at all events, it is certain that Antiphon was the first to do this.[3]

Antiphon also established a *school* of rhetoric, in which the art of oratory was systematically taught, and, according to a custom which had been prevalent since the time of Corax, wrote a *Techne*, containing a formal exposition of his principles. As a teacher of rhetoric Antiphon followed closely in the steps of the Sophists, with whose works he was very well acquainted, although he was not actually a scholar of any one among them:[4] like Protagoras and Gorgias, he discussed general themes, which were designed only for exercises, and had no practical object in view. These may have been partly the most general subjects about which an argument could be held,—the *loci communes*, as they are called;[5] partly, particular cases so ingeniously contrived that the contrary assertions respecting them might be maintained with equal facility, and thus exercise would be afforded to the sophistic art of speaking plausibly on both sides of the question.

§ 2. Of the fifteen remaining speeches of Antiphon, twelve belong to the class of school exercises. They form three

---

[1] They were called λογογράφοι by the common people at Athens.

[2] Thus Antiphon was attacked by Plato the comedian for writing speeches for hire: Photius, *Codex*, 259.

[3] *Orationem primus omnium scripsit*, says Quintilian.

[4] This is shown by the γένος Ἀντιφῶντος: the chronology renders it almost impossible that Antiphon's father could have been a Sophist (*Vitæ* X. *Orat.*, c. 1. Phot., *Codex* 259).—[This is probably a confusion occasioned by the name of Antiphon's father *Sophilus*.—Ed.]

[5] That Antiphon had practised himself in such commonplaces is shown by their occurrence in different orations, in which he inserts them wherever he can. Comp. *de cæde Herod.*, § 14, 87. *Chor.*, § 2, 3.

Tetralogies, so that every four of the orations are occupied with the discussion of the same case, and contain a speech and reply by both plaintiff and defendant.[1] The following is the subject of the first Tetralogy:—A citizen, returning with his slave from an evening banquet, is attacked by assassins, and killed on the spot: the slave is mortally wounded, but survives till he has told the relations of the murdered man that he recognized among the assassins a particular person who was at enmity with his master, and who was about to lose his cause in an important law-suit between him and the deceased. Accordingly, this person is indicted by the family of the murdered man, and the speeches all turn upon an attempt to exaggerate or diminish the probabilities for and against the guilt of the person arraigned. For instance, while the complainant lays the greatest stress on the animosity existing between the accused and the deceased, the defendant maintains that he could certainly have had no hand in the murder, when it was obvious that the first suspicion would fall on himself. While the former sets great value on the evidence of the slave as the only one available for his purpose, the latter maintains that slaves would not be tortured as they were, according to the Greek custom, unless their simple testimony had been considered insufficient. In answer to this the complainant urges, in his second speech, that slaves were tortured on account of theft, for the purpose of bringing to light some transgression which they concealed to please their master; but that, in cases like the one in question, they were emancipated in order that they might be qualified to give evidence;[2] and, in regard to the argument that the accused must have foreseen that he would be suspected, the fear of this suspicion would not have been sufficient to counterbalance the danger resulting from the loss of his cause. The accused, however, gives a turn to the argument from probability, by remarking, among other things, that a freeman would be restrained from giving a false testimony by a fear of endangering his reputation and substance; but that there was nothing to

---

[1] λόγοι πρότεροι καὶ ὕστεροι..

[2] Personal freedom was indispensable for evidence (μαρτυρεῖν) properly so called: slaves were compelled to give evidence by the torture.

hinder the slave at the point of death from gratifying the family of his master, by impeaching his master's old enemy. And after having compared all the arguments from probability, and drawn a balance in his own favour, he concludes aptly enough, by saying that he can prove his innocence, not merely by probabilities[1] but by facts, and accordingly offers all his slaves, male and female, to be tortured according to the custom of Athens, in order to prove that he never left his house on the night of the murder.

We have selected these few points from many other arguments equally acute on both sides of the question, in order to give those readers who are not yet acquainted with Antiphon's speeches, some notion, however faint, of the shrewdness and ingenuity with which the rhetoricians of that time could twist and turn to their own purposes the facts and circumstances which they were called upon to discuss. The sophistic art of strengthening the weaker cause was in Antiphon's school connected with forensic oratory,[2] the professor of which must necessarily be prepared to argue in favour of either of the parties in a law-suit.

§ 3. Besides these rhetorical exercises, we have three of Antiphon's speeches which were actually delivered in court—the accusation of a step-mother charged with poisoning, the defence of the person charged with the murder of Herodes, and another defence of a choregus, one of whose choreutæ had been poisoned while under training. All these speeches refer to charges of murder,[3] and for this reason have been classed with the Tetralogies, the assumed subjects of which are of the same kind: a distribution of the works of Greek orators according to the nature of the different suits was very common among the learned grammarians,[4] and many ancient citations refer to this division; for instance, when speeches referring to the duties of guardians, to money-transactions, or to debts, are quoted as belonging to different classes. In this manner Antiphon's speeches on

---

[1] In § 10, he says with great acuteness: 'While they maintain on grounds of probability that I am guilty, they nevertheless maintain that I am not *probably* but *actually* the murderer.'

[2] τὸ δικανικὸν γένος. [3] φονικαὶ δίκαι.

[4] This occurs frequently in Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

charges of murder have alone been preserved, and the only orations of Isæus which have come down to us, are those on the law of inheritance and wills. In these speeches of Antiphon we see the same ingenuity and shrewdness, and the same legal acumen, as in the Tetralogies, combined with far greater polish and elaboration of style, since the Tetralogies were only designed to display skill in the discovery and complication of arguments.

These more complete speeches may be reckoned among the most important materials that we possess for a history of oratory. In respect to their style, they stand in close connexion with the history of Thucydides and the speeches with which it is interspersed, and confirm the statement of many grammarians,[1] that Thucydides was instructed in the school of Antiphon,—a statement which harmonizes very well with the circumstances of their lives. The ancients often couple Thucydides with Antiphon,[2] and mention these two as the chief masters of the old austere oratory,[3] the nature of which we must here endeavour rightly to comprehend. It does not consist (as might be conjectured from the expressions used in speaking of it,[4] which are justified only by a comparison with the smooth and polished oratory of later days) in any intentional rudeness or harshness, but in the orator's confining himself to a clear and definite expression of what he had clearly and definitely conceived. Although it is not to be denied that the orators of that time were deficient in the fluency which results from practice, they had on that account all the more power and freshness of thought; many reflections, which afterwards became trivial from frequent repetition, and in this way came to be used in a flippant and superficial manner, were then delivered with all the

---

[1] The most important authority is Cæcilius of Calacte, a distinguished rhetorician of Cicero's time, many of whose striking judgments and important remarks are still extant. See the *Vitæ* X. *Orator.*, c. 1. Photius, *Biblioth. Codex*, 259.

[2] When rhetorical studies were still a novelty, Thucydides at the age of twenty might easily have been the scholar of Antiphon, who was eight years his senior.

[3] Dionys. Hal., *de verb. comp.*, p. 150, Reiske. Tryphon, in Walz, *Rhet.*, t. VIII., p. 750.

[4] *αὐστηρὸς χαρακτήρ, αὐστηρὰ ἁρμονία, austerum dicendi genus;* see Dionys. Hal., *de compos. verborum*, p. 147, seqq.

energetic earnestness of real feeling; and, without taking into consideration the value and importance of their works as products of human genius, we find in writers like Antiphon and Thucydides, a continual liveliness, an inexhaustible vigour of mind, which, not to go farther, places them above even Plato and Demosthenes, notwithstanding their better training and wider experience.

§ 4. We shall arrive at a clearer conception of the train of thought in these writers by considering, first the words, and then the syntactical combinations by which their style was distinguished. Great accuracy in the use of expressions[1] is a characteristic as well of Antiphon as of Thucydides. This is manifested, among other things, by an attempt to make a marked distinction between synonyms and words of similar sound: this originated with Prodicus, and both in this Sophist and in the authors of whom we are speaking occasionally gave an air of extravagance and affectation to their style.[2] Not to speak of individual words, the luxuriance of grammatical forms in the Greek language and the readiness with which it admitted new compounds, enabled these authors to create whole classes of expressions indicating the most delicate shades of meaning, such as the neuter participles.[3] In regard to the grammatical forms and the connecting particles, the old writers did not strive after that regular continuity which gives an equable flow to the discourse, and enables one to see the whole connexion from any part of it: they considered it of more importance to express the finer modifications of meaning by changes in the form of words, even though this might produce abruptness and difficulty in the expressions.[4] With respect to the

---

[1] ἀκριβολογία ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, Marcellin., *vita Thucyd.*, § 36.

[2] As when Antiphon says (*de cæd. Herod.*, § 94, according to the probable reading): 'You are now scrutineers (γνωρισταὶ) of the evidence; then you will be judges (δικασταί) of the suit: you are now only guessers (δοξασταί), you will then be deciders (κριταί) of the truth.' See the similar examples in §§ 91, 92.

[3] As when Antiphon says (*Tetral.* I., γ. § 3): 'The danger and the disgrace which had greater influence than the quarrel, were sufficient to subdue the passion that was boiling in his mind' (σωφρονίσαι τὸ θυμούμενον τῆς γνώμης). Thucydides, who is as partial as Antiphon to this mode of expression, also uses the phrase, τὸ θυμούμενον τῆς γνώμης, VIII. 68.

[4] As an example, we may mention Antiphon's common practice of passing from

connexion of the sentences with one another, the language of Antiphon and Thucydides stands half-way between the[1] consecutive but unconnected diction of Herodotus[1] and the periodic style of the school of Isocrates. We shall consider in one of the following chapters how the period, which conveys an idea of a style finished and rounded off, was first cultivated in that later school: here it will be sufficient to mention the total want of such a finished periodic completeness in the writings of Antiphon and Thucydides. There are, indeed, plenty of long sentences in these authors, in which they show a power of bringing thoughts and observations into the right connexion with each other. But these long sentences appear as a heaping together of thoughts without any necessary rule or limit, such that if the author had known any further circumstances likely to support his argument, he might have added or incorporated those circumstances,[2] and not as a whole of which all the subordinate particulars were necessary integral parts. The only structure of sentences which was cultivated to any great extent at this period was that in which the different members are not related to one another as principal or subordinate, but merely as consecutive sentences, *i. e.* the copulative, adversative, and disjunctive sentences;[3] and these were consistently and artfully carried out in all their parts. It is indeed very worthy of remark, how skilfully an orator like Antiphon arranged his thoughts so that they always produced those binary combinations of corresponding or opposed members; and how laboriously he strove to exhibit on every side this symmetrical relation, and, like an architect, carried the symmetry through all the details of his work. To take an example, the orator has scarcely opened his mouth to speak on the murder of Herodes when he falls into a system of parallelisms such as we have

---

the copulative to the adversative. He often begins with *καὶ*, but substitutes a *δὲ* for the corresponding *καὶ* which should follow. This represents the two members as at first corresponding parts of a whole, and thus the opposition of the second to the first is rendered more prominent and striking.

[1] *λέξις εἰρομένη.*

[2] This structure of sentences, which occurs principally in narrative, will be discussed more at length when we come to Thucydides.

[3] The sentences with *καὶ* (*τε*) —*καὶ*, with *μὲν* —*δὲ*, with *ἤ* (*πότερον*)—*ἤ*. In general, this constitutes the *ἀντικειμένη λέξις.*

just described: 'Would that my oratorical skill and knowledge of affairs, O judges, were equal to my unhappy condition and the misfortunes which I have suffered. As it is, however, I have more of the latter than I ought to have; whereas the former fails me more than is expedient for me. For where I was in bodily peril on account of an unjust accusation, there my knowledge of affairs was of no avail; and now that I have to save my life by a true statement of the case, I am injured by my inability to speak;' and so forth. It is clear that this symmetrical structure of sentences[1] must have had its origin in a very peculiar bias of mind; namely, in the habitual proneness to compare and discriminate, to place the different points of a subject in such connexion that their likeness or dissimilitude might appear in the most marked manner; in a word, this mode of writing presumes that peculiar combination of ingenuity and shrewdness for which the old Athenians were so pre-eminently distinguished. At the same time it cannot be denied that the habit of speaking in this way had something misleading in it, and that this parallelism of the members of a sentence was often carried much farther than the natural conditions of thought would have prescribed; especially as a mere formal play with sounds united itself with this striving after an opposition of ideas and a counterpoise of thoughts, the object being to make this relation of the thoughts significant to the ear also; but this was pursued so eagerly that the real object was often overlooked.

The figures of speech, which were mentioned while we were speaking of Gorgias,—the *Isocola, Homœoteleuta, Parisa, Paronomasiæ,* and *Parechescis,*—were admirably suited to this symmetrical architecture of the periods. The ornaments of diction are all found in Antiphon, but not in such numbers as in Gorgias, and they are treated with Attic taste and discernment. But Antiphon also makes his antitheses of equal numbers of like-sounding words balanced against one another.[2]

---

[1] This is the ἐναρμόνιος σύνθεσις of Cæcilius of Calacte (Photius, *Cod.* 259), the *concinnitas* of Cicero.

[2] As *e. g.*, in *de cæd. Herod.*, § 73: 'There must be more in your power to save me justly, than in my enemies' wish to destroy me unjustly'—τὸ ὑμέτερον δυνάμενον ἐμὲ δικαίως σώζειν ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλόμενον ἀδίκως ἐμὲ ἀπολλύναι.

Antiphon, too, is fond of opposing words of similar sound in order to call attention to their contrasted significations,[1] and his diction has something of that precision and constrained regularity which reminds us of the stiff symmetry and parallelism of attitudes in the older works of Greek sculpture.

§ 5. Though Antiphon by the use of these artifices, which the old rhetoricians called 'figures of diction,'[2] was enabled to trick out his style with a sort of antique ornaments, he did not, according to the judicious remark of one of the best rhetoricians,[3] make any use of the 'figures of thought.'[4] These turns of thought, which interrupt its equable expression, proceed for the most part from passion and feeling, and give language its pathos; they consist of the sudden burst of indignation, the ironical and sarcastic question, the emphatic and vehement repetition of the same idea under different forms,[5] the gradation of weight and energy,[6] and the sudden breaking off in the midst of a sentence, as if that which was still to be said transcended all power of expression.[7] But there is often as much of artful design as of violent emotion in these figures of thought: thus the orator will sometimes seek about for an expression as if he could not find the right one, in order that he may give the proper phrase with greater force after he has discovered it:[8] sometimes he will correct what he has said, in order to convey an idea of his great scrupulousness and accuracy;[9] he will suggest an answer in the mind of his adversary, as if it was obvious and inevitable;[10] or he will pervert the other party's words, so as to give them an entirely different signification; and so forth. All these forms of speech are foreign to the old Attic oratory, for reasons which lie deeper than in the history

[1] We have an example of this Paronomasia in *de cæd. Herod.*, § 91: 'If some error must be committed, it is more consonant to piety to acquit unjustly, than to condemn contrary to justice.'—ἀδίκως ἀπολῦσαι ὁσιώτερον ἂν εἴη τοῦ μὴ δικαίως ἀπολέσαι.

[2] σχήματα τῆς λέξεως.

[3] Cæcilius of Calacte (apud Phot., *Cod.* 259, p. 485 Bekker), who adds with great judgment, 'that he will not assert that the figures of thought never occur in Antiphon, but that when they occur, they are not *designed* (κατ' ἐπιτήδευσιν), and that they are of rare occurrence.'

[4] σχήματα τῆς διανοίας.

[5] *Polyptoton.*

[6] *Climax.*

[7] *Aposiopesis.*

[8] *Aporia.*

[9] *Epidiorthosis*, also called *Metanœa.*

[10] *Anaclasis.*

of the rhetorical schools, viz. in the developement and progressive change of the Athenian character. These figures rest, as has just been shown, partly on a violence of passion which lays aside all claim to tranquillity and self-control; partly in a sort of crafty dissimulation which employs every artifice in order to make the appearances all on its own side.[1] These two qualities—vehemence of passion and tricky artifice—did not become the prominent features of the Athenian character till a later period, and though they grew stronger and stronger after the shock given to the morality of Greece by the speculations of the Sophists, and at the same time by the party-spirit which the Peloponnesian war engendered, and which, according to Thucydides,[2] nurtured the prevailing tendency to intrigue, yet it was some time before the art of speaking arrived at that stage of developement which necessitated or admitted these peculiar figures of speech. In Antiphon, as well as in Thucydides, the old equable and tranquil style is still prevalent: all the efforts of the orator are directed to the invention and opposition of the ideas which his argument requires him to bring forward: all that is unreal or delusive consists in the thoughts themselves, not in any obscurity produced by the excitements of passion. On the few occasions when Antiphon spoke, he must have spoken, like Pericles, with unmoved countenance, and in a tone of the most tranquil self-command, although his contemporary Cleon, whose style of speaking was very far removed from the artificial oratory of the day, used to run backwards and forwards on the bema, throwing his mantle aside and smiting his thigh with violent and excited gesticulations.[3]

§ 6. ANDOCIDES, who stands next to Antiphon in point of time, and some of whose speeches have come down to us, is a more interesting person in reference to the history of Athens at this period than in regard to the cultivation of rhetoric. Sprung from a noble family which furnished the heralds for the

[1] Πανουργία. On this account the σχήματα τῆς διανοίας are called by Cæcilius τροπὴν ἐκ τοῦ πανούργου καὶ ἐνάλλαξιν.

[2] Thucyd. III., 82.

[3] This is mentioned by Plutarch (*Nic.* VIII., *Tib. Gracch.* II.) as the first offence ever committed against the decency (κόσμος) of public speaking.

Eleusinian mysteries,[1] we find him employed at an early age as general and ambassador, until he was involved in the legal proceedings about the mutilation of the Hermæ and the profanation of the mysteries; he escaped by denouncing the guilty, whether truly or falsely, but was obliged to leave Athens. From this time he occupied himself with commercial transactions, which he carried on chiefly in Cyprus, and with endeavours to get recalled from banishment; until, on the downfall of the thirty tyrants, he returned to his native city under the protection of the general amnesty which the opposing parties had sworn to observe. Though he was not without molestation on account of the old charge, we find him still engaged in public affairs, till at last, being sent as ambassador to Sparta in the course of the Corinthian war, in order to negotiate a peace, he was again banished by the Athenians because the result of his negotiations was unsatisfactory.

We have three remaining speeches by Andocides: the first relating to his return from exile, and delivered after the restoration of the democracy by the overthrow of the Four Hundred Counsellors; the second relating to the mysteries, and delivered in Ol. 95, 1. B.C. 400, in which Andocides endeavours to confute the continually reviving charge with respect to the profanation of the mysteries, by going back to the origin of the whole matter; the third on the peace with Lacedæmon, delivered in Ol. 97, 1. B.C. 392, in which the orator urges the Athenian assembly to conclude peace with the Spartans. The genuineness of the last speech is doubted even by the old grammarians: but the speech against Alcibiades, the object of which is to get Alcibiades ostracized instead of the orator, is undoubtedly spurious. If the speech were genuine it could not have been written by Andocides consistently with the well-known circumstances relating to the ostracism of Alcibiades: in that case it must be assigned to Phæax, who shared with Alcibiades in the danger of ostracism; and this is the opinion of a modern critic:[2] but the contents and form of the speech prove beyond

---

[1] τὸ τῶν κηρύκων τῆς μυστηριωτίδος γένος.

[2] Taylor (*Lectiones Lysiacæ*, c. VI.), who has not been refuted by Ruhnken and Valckenaer.—[See Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, III., p. 463.—ED.]

all power of confutation that it is an imitation by some later rhetorician.[1]

Although Andocides has been included in the list of the ten celebrated orators, he is very inferior to the others in talent and art.[2] He exhibits neither any particular acuteness in treating the great events which are referred to in his speeches, nor that precision in the connexion of his thoughts which marks all the other writers of this time: yet we must give him credit for his freedom from the mannerism into which the more distinguished men of the age so easily fell, and also for a sort of natural liveliness; which may together be considered as reliques of the austere style, as it appears in Antiphon and Thucydides.[3]

---

[1] According to Meier, *de Andocidis quæ vulgo fertur oratione in Alcibiadem*, a series of programmes of the University of Halle.

[2] It is surprising that Critias was not rather enrolled among the Ten, but perhaps his having been one of the Thirty stood in his way. Comp. Chap. XXXI. § 4.

[3] The ἀντικειμένη λέξις prevails in Andocides also, but without any striving after symmetry of expression.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE POLITICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THUCYDIDES.

§ 1. The life of Thucydides: his training that of the age of Pericles. § 2. His new method of treating history. § 3. The consequent distribution and arrangement of his materials, as well in his whole work as, § 4, in the introduction. § 5. His mode of treating these materials; his research and criticism. § 6. Accuracy and, § 7, intellectual character of his history. §§ 8, 9. The speeches considered as the soul of his history. §§ 10, 11. His mode of expression and the structure of his sentences.

§ 1. THUCYDIDES, an Athenian of the demus of Alimus, was born in Ol. 77, 2. B.C. 471, nine years after the battle of Salamis.[1] His father Olorus, or Orolus, has a Thracian name, although Thucydides himself was an Athenian born: his mother Hegesipyle bears the same name as the Thracian wife of the Great Miltiades, the conqueror at Marathon; and through her Thucydides was connected with the renowned family of the Philaidæ. This family from the time of the older Miltiades, who left Athens during the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ and founded a principality of his own in the Thracian Chersonese, had formed alliances with the people and princes of that district; the younger Miltiades, the Marathonian victor, had married the daughter of a Thracian king named Orolus; the children of this marriage were Cimon and the younger Hegesipyle, the latter of whom married the younger Orolus, probably a grandson of the first, who had obtained the rights of citizenship at Athens through his connexions; the son of this marriage was Thucydides.[2]

---

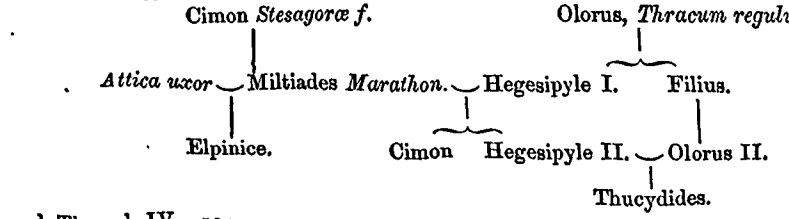
[1] According to the well known statement of Pamphila (a learned woman of Nero's time), cited by Gellius, *N. A.* XV., 23. This statement is not impugned by what Thucydides says himself (V., 26), that he was of the right age to observe the progress of the Peloponnesian war. He might well say this of the period between the 40th and 67th years of his life; for though the ἡλικία in reference to military service was different, it seems that the ancients placed the age suitable to literary labours at a more advanced point than we do.

[2] This is the best way of reconciling the statements of Marcellinus (*vita Thucy-*

In this way Thucydides belonged to a distinguished and powerful family, possessed of great riches, especially in Thrace. Thucydides himself owned some gold-mines in that country, namely, at *Scapte-Hyle* (or *Wald-rode*, as it would have been called in the Harz), in the same district from which Philip of Macedon afterwards derived those resources by which he established his power in Greece. This property had great influence on the destiny of Thucydides, especially in regard to his banishment from Athens, the chief particulars of which we learn from himself.[1] In the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war (Ol. 89, 1. B.C. 423) the Spartan general, Brasidas, was desirous of taking Amphipolis on the Strymon. Thucydides, the son of Olorus, lay off Thasos with a small fleet of seven ships, probably on his first command, which he had merited by his services in some subordinate military capacity. Brasidas feared even this small fleet, because he knew that the admiral possessed gold-mines in the district and had great influence with the most powerful inhabitants of the country, so that he would have no difficulty in getting together a body of native troops to reinforce the garrison of Amphipolis. Accordingly, Brasidas granted the Amphipolitans a better capitulation than they expected, in order to gain possession of the place speedily, and Thucydides having come too late to raise the siege, was obliged to content himself with the defence of Eion, a fortified city near the coast. The Athenians, who were in the habit of judging their generals and statesmen according to the success of their plans, condemned him for neglect of duty;[2] and he was compelled to go into exile, in which state he continued for twenty years, living principally at Scapte-Hyle. He was not permitted to return

---

didis) and Suidas with the well-known historical data. The following is the whole genealogy:—



[1] Thucyd. IV., 104, seqq.

[2] The charge against him was probably a γραφὴ προδοσίας.

after the peace between Sparta and Athens, but was only recalled by a special decree when Thrasybulus had restored the democracy. After this he must have lived some years at Athens, as his history clearly evinces; but not so long as nature would have permitted: and there is much probability in the statement that he lost his life by the hand of an assassin.[1]

From this account of the career of Thucydides it appears that he spent only the first part of his life, up to his forty-eighth year, in intercourse with his countrymen of Athens. After this period he was indeed in communication with all parts of Greece, and he tells us that his exile had enabled him to mix with Peloponnesians, and to gain accurate information from them:[2] but he was out of the way of the intellectual revolution which took place at Athens between the middle and end of the Peloponnesian war: and when he returned home he found himself in the midst of a new generation, with novel ideas and an essentially altered taste, with which he could hardly have amalgamated so thoroughly in his old age as to change his own notions in accordance with them. Thucydides, therefore, is altogether an old Athenian of the school of Pericles; his education, both real and formal, is derived from that grand and mighty period of Athenian history; his political principles are those which Pericles inculcated; and his style is, on the one hand, a representative of the native fulness and vigour of Periclean oratory, and on the other hand an offshoot of the antique, artificial rhetoric taught in the school of Antiphon.[3]

§ 2. As an historian, Thucydides is so far from belonging to the same class as the Ionian logographi, of whom Herodotus was the chief, that he may rather be considered as having commenced an entirely new class of historical writing. He was

---

[1] We have passed over in silence unimportant and doubtful points, as well as manifest errors, especially those introduced into the old biographies of the historian by the confusion between him and the more celebrated statesman, Thucydides, the son of Melesias.

[2] Thucyd. V., 26.

[3] The relation between Thucydides and Pericles is recognized by Wyttenbach, who, in the preface to his *Eclogæ Historicæ*, justly remarks: *Thucydides ita se ad Periclis imitationem composuisse videtur, ut, quum scriptum viri nullum exstet, ejus eloquentiæ formam effigiemque per totum historiæ opus expressam posteritati servaret.* On the teaching of Antiphon, see Chap. XXXIII. § 3.

acquainted with the works of several of these Ionians (whether or not with that of Herodotus is doubtful[1]), but he mentions them only to throw them aside as uncritical, fabulous, and designed for amusement rather than instruction. Thucydides directed his attention to the public speeches delivered in the public assemblies and the law-courts of Greece: this was the foundation of his history, in regard both to its form and its materials. While the earlier historians aimed at giving a vivid picture of all that fell under the cognizance of the senses by describing the situation and products of different countries, the peculiar customs of different nations, the works of art found in different places, and the military expeditions which were undertaken at different periods; and, while they endeavoured to represent a superior power ruling with infinite authority over the destinies of people and princes, the attention of Thucydides was directed to *human action* as it is developed from the character and situations of the individual, as it operates on the condition of the world in general. In accordance with this object, there is a *unity of action* in his work; it is an historical drama, a great law-suit, the parties to which are the belligerent republics, and the object of which is the Athenian domination over Greece. It is very remarkable that Thucydides, who created this kind of history, should have conceived the idea more clearly and vigorously than any of those who followed in his steps. His work was destined to be only the history of the Peloponnesian war, not the history of Greece during the Peloponnesian war: consequently, he had excluded everything pertaining either to the foreign relations or the internal policy of the different states which did not bear upon the great contest for the *Hegemony*, or chief power in Greece: but, on the other hand, he has admitted everything, to whatever part of Hellas it referred, which was connected with this strife of nations. From the first, Thucydides had considered this war as a great event

[1] The supposed references to Herodotus in I. 20, II. 8, 97, are not quite clear; in the history of the murder of Hipparchus, which Thucydides refers to twice (I. 20., VI. 54—59), in order to correct the false opinions of his contemporaries, Herodotus agrees almost entirely with him, and is free from those false opinions: see Herodotus, V. 55, VI. 123. Thucydides would probably have written differently on several points had he been acquainted with the work of Herodotus, especially the passages I. 74, II. 8. Comp. above Chap. XIX. § 3.

in the history of the world, as one which could not be ended without deciding the question, whether Athens was to become a great empire, or whether she was to be reduced to the condition of an ordinary Greek republic, surrounded by many others equally free and equally powerful: he could not but see that the peace of Nicias, which was concluded after the first ten years of the war, had not really put an end to it; that it was but interrupted by an equivocal and ill-observed armistice, and that it broke out afresh during the Sicilian expedition: with the zeal of an interested party, and with all the power of truth, he shows that all this was one great contest, and that the peace was not a real one.[1]

§ 3. Thucydides has distributed and arranged his materials according to this conception of his subject. The war itself is divided according to the mode in which it was carried on, and which was regulated among the Greeks, more than with us, by the seasons of the year: the campaigns were limited to the summer; the winter was spent in preparing the armaments and in negotiation. As the Greeks had no general æra, and as the calendar of each country was arranged according to some peculiar cycle, Thucydides takes his chronological dates from the sequence of the seasons, and from the state of the corn-lands, which had a considerable influence on the military proceedings; such expressions as, "when the corn was in ear," or "when the corn was ripe,"[2] were sufficient to mark the coherence of events with all needful accuracy. In his history of the different campaigns, Thucydides endeavours to avoid interruptions to the thread of his narrative: in describing any expedition, whether by land or sea, he tries to keep the whole together, and prefers to violate the order of time, either by going back or by anticipating future events, in order to escape the confusion resulting from continually breaking off and beginning again. That long and protracted affairs, like the sieges of Potidæa and Platæa, must recur in different parts of the history is unavoidable; indeed it could not be otherwise, even if the distribution into summers and winters could have been given up.[3] For trans-

[1] Thucyd. V. 26.

[2] περὶ ἐκβολὴν σίτου, ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, &c.

[3] This is in answer to the censures of Dionysius, *de Thucydide judicium*, c. IX., p. 826, Reiske.

actions like the siege of Potidæa cannot be brought to an end in a luminous and satisfactory manner without a complete view of the position of the belligerent powers, which prevented the besieged from receiving succour. The careful reader of Thucydides will never be disturbed by any violent break in the history: and the event which, considered as one, was the most momentous in the whole war, and which the author has invested with the most lively interest,—namely, the Athenian expedition to Sicily, with its happy commencement and ruinous termination, —is told with but few (and those short) digressions.[1] The whole work, if it had been completed, would resolve itself into three nearly equal divisions: I. The war up to the peace of Nicias, which from the forays of the Spartans under Archidamus is called the Archidamian war; II. The restless movements among the Greek states after the peace of Nicias, and the commencement of the Sicilian expedition; III. The renewed war with the Peloponnesus, called by the ancients the Decelean war, down to the fall of Athens. According to the division into books, which, though not made by Thucydides, proceeded from an arrangement by some intelligent grammarians, the first third is made up of books II. III. IV.; the second of books V. VI. VII.; of the third, Thucydides himself has completed only one book, the VIIIth.

§ 4. In discussing the manner in which Thucydides distributed and arranged his materials, we have still to speak of the 1st book; indeed this demands a more particular consideration, because its arrangement depends less upon the subject itself than upon Thucydides' peculiar reflections. The author begins with asserting that the Peloponnesian war was the greatest event that had happened within the memory of man, and establishes this by a retrospective survey of the more ancient history of Greece, including the Persian war. He goes through the oldest period, the traditions of the Trojan war, the centuries immediately following that event, and, finally, the Persian invasion, and shows that all previous undertakings wanted the

[1] How happily even these digressions are interwoven with the narrative of the Sicilian expedition; *e.g.*, the calamities produced at Athens by the occupation of Decelea, and the horrible massacre at Mycalessus by the Thracian mercenaries (Thucyd. VII. 27—30).

external resources which were brought into play during the Peloponnesian war, because they were deficient in two things,—money and a navy,[1]—which did not arise among the Greeks till a late period, and developed themselves only by slow degrees. In this way Thucydides applies historically the maxims which Pericles had practically impressed upon the Athenians, that money and ships, not territory and population, ought to be made the basis of their power; and the Peloponnesian war itself appeared to him a great proof of this position, because the Peloponnesians, notwithstanding their superiority in extent of country and in the number of their free citizens, so long fought with Athens at a disadvantage till their alliance with Persia had furnished them with abundant pecuniary resources, and thus enabled them to collect and maintain a considerable fleet.[2] Having shown by this comparison the importance of his subject, and having given a short account of the manner in which he intended to treat it, the historian proceeds to discuss the causes which led to the war. He divides these into two classes; —the immediate causes, or those which lay on the surface, and those which lay deeper and were not alleged by the parties.[3] The first consisted of the negotiations between Athens and Corinth on the subject of Corcyra and Potidæa, and the consequent complaint of the Corinthians in Sparta, by which the Lacedæmonians were induced to declare that Athens had broken the treaty. The second lay in the fear which the growing power of Athens had inspired, and by which the Lacedæmonians were compelled to make war as the only pledge of security to the Peloponnese. This leads the historian to point out the origin of this power, and to give a general view of the military and political occurrences by which Athens, from being the chosen leader of the insular and Asiatic Greeks against the Persians, became the absolute sovereign of all the Archipelago

[1] χρήματα καὶ ναυτικόν.

[2] Thucydides' reasoning is obviously a correct one in reference to the policy of a state which, like Athens, was desirous of founding its power on the sovereignty of the coasts of the Mediterranean: but states which, like Macedon and Rome, strengthened themselves by a conquest of inland nations and great masses of the continent before they proceeded to contest the sovereignty of the coasts of the Mediterranean, had γῆ καὶ σώματα for the basis of their power, and the χρήματα καὶ ναυτικὸν afterwards accrued to them naturally. [3] αἰτίαι φανεραί.—ἀφανεῖς.

and its coasts. Connecting these remarks on the causes of the war with the preceding discussion, we clearly see that Thucydides designed to give a concise sketch of the history of Greece, at least of that part which seemed the most important to him, namely the developement of the power depending on money and shipping; in order that the causes of the great drama of the Peloponnesian war, and the condition and circumstances of the states which play the principal part in it, may be known to the reader. But Thucydides directs all his efforts to a description of the war itself, and in this aims at a true conception of its causes, not a mere delineation of its effects; accordingly, he arranges these antecedent events according to general ideas, and to these he is willing to sacrifice the chronological steps by which the more deeply rooted cause of the war (*i. e.* the growth of the Athenian power) connected itself with the account of the weakness of Greece in the olden time, given in the first part of the book.

The third part of the first book contains the negotiations of the Peloponnesian confederacy with its different members and with Athens, in consequence of which it was decided to declare war; but even in this part we may discern the purpose of Thucydides,—though he has partially concealed his object,—to give the reader a clear conception of the earlier occurrences on which depended the existing condition of Greece, and especially the dominion of Athens. In these negotiations, among other things, the Athenians call upon the Lacedæmonians to liberate themselves from the pollution which they had incurred by putting Pausanias to death in the temple of Pallas; upon this the historian relates the treasonable undertaking of Pausanias and his downfal: with which he connects, as a mere episode, an account of the last days of Themistocles. The fact that Themistocles was involved in the ruin of Pausanias is not sufficient to justify the insertion of this episode; but the object of Thucydides is to present the reader with the last and least known occurrences in the life of this great man, who was the author of the naval power and peculiar policy of Athens; and in this to take an opportunity of paying the full tribute of just appreciation to the greatness of his intellectual character.[1]

[1] See Thucyd., I. 138.

§ 5. Thus much may suffice for the general distribution and plan of the work; we now turn to the manner in which he has treated his materials. The history of Thucydides is not a compilation from books, but is drawn immediately from the life, from the author's own observation, and from oral communications; it is the first written record of an eye-witness, and bears the stamp of fresh and living truth, which can only appear in a history of this kind. Thucydides, as he tells us himself, foresaw what kind of a war it would be, and commenced his descriptions with the war itself:[1] in its progress, he set down the different events as they occurred, either from his own experience or from careful information, which he derived, not without much trouble and expense, from persons of both parties;[2] and he laboured at his history partly in Athens before his banishment, and partly in Scapte-Hyle during his exile. At the latter place the plane-tree under which Thucydides used to write was shown long after his death. All that he wrote in this way, during the course of the war, was only a preliminary labour, of the nature of our *Memoirs*;[3] he did not commence the actual arrangement of his materials till after the end of the war, when he was again residing in his native country. This is shown partly by the frequent references to the duration, the issue, and the general connexion of the war;[4] but especially by the fact that the history was left unfinished; whence we may conclude, that the memoirs which Thucydides had written during the war, and which necessarily extended to the surrender of Athens, were not so complete as to supply the defects of the work. There is much plausibility, too, in the statement, that of the work, as it has come down to us, the last book was left incomplete at the death of the author, and was expanded by the copyist and first added to the others by a daughter of Thucydides, or by Xenophon: only we must not seek to raise any doubt as to the genuineness of the VIIIth book; all that we are

---

[1] I. 1. ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου.

[2] See Thucyd., V. 26; VII. 44. Comp. Marcellinus, § 21.

[3] These are called by the ancients, ὑπομνήματα, or *commentarii rerum gestarum*.

[4] See Thucyd., I. 13, 93; II. 65; V. 26. The tone of many passages, too, is such that we may clearly see that the historian is writing in the time of the new Spartan hegemony: this applies particularly to I. 77.

entitled to do is to explain, on this hypothesis, certain differences in the composition, and to infer from this that the work wants the last touches of the master's hand.[1]

§ 6. We cannot form any opinion as to the manner in which Thucydides collected, compared, examined, and put together his materials, for the oral traditions of the time are lost: but, if perfect clearness in the narrative; if the consistency of every detail as well with other parts of the history as with all we know from other sources of the state of affairs at that time; if the harmony of all that he tells with the laws of nature and with the known characters of the persons of whom he writes; if all this furnishes a security for the truth and fidelity of an historian, we have this guarantee in its most ample form in the work of Thucydides. The ancients, who were very strict in estimating the characters of their own historians, and who had questioned the veracity of most of them, are unanimous in recognizing the accuracy and trustworthiness of Thucydides, and the plan of his work, considered in the spirit of a rhetorician of the time, fully justifies his principle of keeping to a statement of the truth: even the singular reproach that he has chosen too melancholy a subject, and that he has not considered the glory of his countrymen in this selection, becomes, when properly considered, an encomium on his strict historical fidelity. The deviations of later historians, especially Diodorus and Plutarch, upon close scrutiny, confirm the accuracy of Thucydides;[2] and, in all the points of contact between them, in characterizing the statesmen of the day and in describing the position of Athens at different times, Thucydides and Aristophanes have all the agreement which we could expect between the bold caricatures of the comedian and the accurate pictures of the historian. Indeed we will venture to say, that there is no period of history which stands before us with the same distinctness with which the first twenty-one years of the Peloponnesian war are presented to us in the work of Thucydides,

[1] On the speeches wanting in this book, see below, § 11.

[2] Diodorus, in the history of the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, though he adopts the annalistic mode of reckoning, is far from being as exact as Thucydides, who only gives a few notes of time. All that we can use in Diodorus is his leading dates, successions of kings, years of the deaths of individuals, &c.

where we are led through every circumstance in all its essential details, in its grounds and occasion, in its progress and results, with the utmost confidence in the guiding hand of the historian. The only thing similar to it in Roman history is Sallust's account of the Jugurthan war and of the Catilinarian conspiracy. The remains of Tacitus' contemporary history (the *Historiæ*), although equally complete in the details, are very inferior in clear and definite narratives of fact. Tacitus hastens from one exciting occurrence to another, without waiting to give an adequate account of the more common events connected with them.[1] Thucydides himself designed his work for those who wish to learn the truth of what has happened, and to know what is most for their interest in reference to the similar cases, which, according to the course of human affairs, must again occur; for such persons Thucydides bequeaths his book as a lasting study.[2] In this there is an early indication of the tendency to *pragmatical history*, in which the chief object was the training of generals and statesmen,—in a word, the *practical* application of the work; while the narration of events was regarded as merely a means to an end: such a pragmatical history we shall find in the later ages of ancient literature.

§ 7. Thucydides would never have been able to attain this truth and clearness in his history had he contented himself with merely setting down the simple testimonies of eye-witnesses, who described what they saw and felt, and had only inserted here and there his own views and reasonings. Its credibility rests mainly on the circumstance, that Thucydides, as well by education as by his natural abilities, was capable of inferring, from the conduct of the persons who figure in his history, the motives which actuated them on every occasion. It is only in particular cases, where he expressly mentions his doubts, that Thucydides leaves us in the dark with regard to the motives of the persons whose actions he describes; and he give us these

---

[1] For instance, it is extremely difficult to get an entirely clear conception of the war in Upper-Italy, between the partisans of Otho and Vitellius.

[2] This is the meaning of the celebrated κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί, I. 22: it does not mean an everlasting memorial or monument. Thucydides opposes his work, which people were to keep by them and read over and over again, to a composition which was designed to gratify an audience on one occasion only.

motives, not as a matter of supposition and conjecture, but as matter of fact. As an honest and conscientious man, he could not have done this unless he had been convinced that these views and considerations, and these alone, had guided the persons in question. Thucydides very seldom delivers his own opinion, as such; still more rarely does he pronounce sentence on the morality or immorality of a given action. Every person who appears in this history has a strongly marked character, and the more significant his share in the main action, so much the more clearly is he stamped with the mark of individuality; and though we cannot but admire the skill and power with which Thucydides is able to sum up in a few words the characters of certain individuals, such as Themistocles, Pericles, Brasidas, Nicias, Alcibiades, yet we must admire still more the nicety with which he has kept up and carried out all the characters, in every feature of their actions, and of the thoughts and opinions which guided them.[1]

§ 8. The most decided and the boldest proof which Thucydides has given of his intention to set forth the events of the war in all their secret workings, is manifested in that part of his history which is most peculiarly his own—the *speeches*. It is true that these speeches, given in the words of the speakers, are much more natural to an ancient historian than they would be to one at the present day. Speeches delivered in the public assembly, in federal meetings, or before the army, were often, by virtue of the consequences springing from them, important events, and at the same time so public, that nothing but the infirmities of human memory could prevent them from being preserved and communicated to others. Hence it came to pass, that the Greeks, who in the greater liveliness of their disposition were accustomed to look to the form as well as to the substance of every public communication, in relating the circumstance were not content with giving an abstract of the subject of the speech, or the opinions of the speaker in their own words, but introduced the orator himself as speaking. As in such a case, the narrator supplied a good deal from his

[1] Marcellinus calls Thucydides δεινὸς ἠθογραφῆσαι, as Sophocles, among the poets, was also renowned for the ἠθοποιεῖν.

own head, when his memory could not make good the deficiency; so Thucydides does not give us an exact report of the speeches which he introduces, because he could not have recollected perfectly even those which he heard himself. He explains his own intention in this matter, by telling us that he endeavoured to keep as closely as possible to the true report of what was actually said; but, when this was unattainable, he had made the parties speak what was most to the purpose in reference to the matter in hand.[1] We must, however, go a step further than Thucydides, and concede to him greater freedom from literal tradition than he was perhaps conscious of himself. The speeches in Thucydides contain a sum of the motives and causes which led to the principal transactions; namely, the opinions of individuals and of the different parties in a state, from which these transactions sprung. Speeches are introduced whenever he thinks it necessary to introduce such a developement of causes: when there is no such necessity, the speeches are omitted; though perhaps just as many were actually delivered in the one case as in the other. Accordingly, the speeches which he has given contain, in a summary form, much that was really spoken on various occasions; as, for instance, in the *second* debate in the Athenian assembly about the mode of treating the conquered Mitylenæans, in which the decree that was really acted on was passed by the people; in this the opinions of the opposing parties—the violently tyrannical, and the milder and more humane party—are pourtrayed in the speeches of Cleon and Diodotus, though Cleon had, the day before, carried the first inhuman decree against the Mitylenæans,[2] and in so doing had doubtless said much in support of his motion which Thucydides has probably introduced into his speech in the second day's debate.[3] In one passage, Thucydides gives us

[1] τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα, Thucyd. I. 22.

[2] Thucyd. III. 36.

[3] The speeches often stand in a relation to one another which could not have been justified by existing circumstances. Thus, the speech of the Corinthians in I. 120, seqq., is a direct answer to the speech of Archidamus in the Spartan assembly, and to that of Pericles at Athens, although the Corinthians did not hear either of them. The reason of this relation is, that the speech of the Corinthians expresses the hopes of victory entertained by one portion of the Peloponnesians, while Archidamus and Pericles view the unfavourable position of the Peloponnese with equal clearness, but from different points of view. Compare also the remarks on the speeches of Pericles in Chap. XXXI.

a dialogue instead of a speech, because the circumstances scarcely admitted of any public harangue: this occurs in the negotiations between the Athenians and the council of Melos, before the Athenian attack upon this Dorian island, after the peace of Nicias: but Thucydides takes this opportunity of stating the point at which the Athenians had arrived in the grasping, selfish, and tyrannical policy, which guided their dealings with the minor states.[1]

§ 9. It is unnecessary to mention that we must not look for any mimic representation in the speeches of Thucydides, any attempt to depict the mode of speaking peculiar to different nations and individuals; if he had done this, his whole work would have lost its unity of tone and its harmony of colouring. Thucydides goes into the characteristics of the persons whom he introduces as speaking, only so far as the general law of his history permits. In setting forth the views of his speakers, he has regard to their character, not only in the contents and subject of the speeches which he assigns to them, but also in the mode in which he developes and connects their thoughts. To take the first book alone, we have admirable pictures of the Corcyræans, who only maintain the mutual *advantages* resulting from their alliance with Athens; of the Corinthians, who rely in some degree on moral grounds; of the discretion, mature wisdom, and noble simplicity of the excellent Archidamus; and of the haughty self-confidence of the Ephor Sthenelaidas, a Spartan of the lower order: the tone of the composition agrees entirely with the views and fundamental ideas of their speeches; as, for instance, the searching copiousness of Archidamus and the cutting brevity of Sthenelaidas. The chief concern of Thucydides in the composition of these speeches was to exhibit the principles which guided the conduct of the persons of whom he is writing, and to allow their opinions to exhibit, confirm, and justify or exculpate themselves. This is done with such intrinsic truth and consistency, the historian identifies himself so entirely with the characters which he describes, and gives

[1] Dionysius says (*de Thucyd. judic.*, p. 910), that the principles unfolded in this dialogue are suited to barbarians and not to Athenians, and blames Thucydides most violently for introducing them: but these were really the principles on which the Athenians acted.

such support and plausibility to their views and sentiments, that we may be sure that the persons themselves could not have pleaded their own cause better under the immediate influence of their interests and passions. It must indeed be allowed, that this wonderful quality of the historian is partly due to the sophistical exercises, which taught the art of speaking for both parties, for the bad as well as the good; but the application which Thucydides made of this art was the best and most beneficial that could be conceived; and it is obvious, that there can be no true history unless we presume such a faculty of assuming the characters of the persons described, and giving some kind of justification to the most opposite opinions, for without this the force of opinions can never be adequately represented. Thucydides developes the principles which guided the Athenians in their dealings with their allies with such a consistent train of reasoning, that we are almost compelled to assent to the truth of the argument. In a series of speeches, occurring in very different parts of the history, but so connected with one another that we cannot fail to recognise in them a continuation of the same reasoning and a progressive confirmation of those principles, the Athenians show that they did not gain their power by violence, but were compelled by the force of circumstances to give it the form of a protectorate; that in the existing state of things they could not relinquish this protectorate without hazarding their own existence; that as this protectorate had become a tyranny, it must be maintained by vigour and severity; that humanity and equity could only be appealed to in dealings with an equal, who had an opportunity of requiting benefits conferred upon him;[1] till at last, in the dialogue with the Melians, the Athenians assert the right of the stronger as a law of nature, and rest their demand, that the Melians should become subject to them, on this principle alone. 'We desire and do,' say they, 'only what is consistent with all that men conceive of the gods and desire for themselves. For as we believe it of the gods, so we clearly perceive in the case of men,

[1] Thucyd. III. 37. 40. This is said by Cleon, who, in the case in question, was defeated by the more humane party of Diodotus; but this exception, made in the case of the Mitylenæans, remained an exception in favour of humanity; as a general rule, the spirit of Cleon predominated in the foreign policy of Athens.

that all who have the power are constrained by a necessity of nature to govern and command. We did not invent this law, nor were we the first to avail ourselves of it; but since we have received it as a law already established and in full force, and since we shall leave it as a perpetual inheritance to those who come after us, we intend, on the present occasion, to act in accordance with it, because we know that you and all others would act in the same manner if you possessed the same power.'[1] These principles, according to which no doubt Greeks and other men had acted before them, though perhaps under some cloak or disguise of justice, are so coolly propounded by the historian in this dialogue, he has delivered them so calmly and dispassionately, so absolutely without any expression of his own opinion to the contrary, that we are almost led to believe that Thucydides recognised the right of the strongest as the only rule of politics. But there is clearly a wide difference between the modes of thinking and acting which Thucydides describes with such indifference as prevailing in Athens, and his own convictions as to what was for the advantage of mankind in general and of his own countrymen in particular. How little Thucydides, as an honest man, approved of the maxims of Athenian policy established in his own time, is clear from his striking and instructive picture of the changes which took place in the political conduct of the different states after the first years of the war, in consequence chiefly of the domestic strife of factions—changes which Thucydides never intended to represent as beneficial, for he says of them, that 'simplicity of character, which is the principal ingredient in a noble nature, was in those days ridiculed and banished from the world.'[2] The panegyric on the Athenian democracy, and on their mode of living, which occurs chiefly in the funeral oration of Pericles, is modified considerably by the assertion of Thucydides, that the government of the Five-thousand was the best administered constitution which the Athenians had enjoyed in his time;[3] and also by the incidental remark that the Lacedæmonians and Chians alone, so far as he knew, were the only people who had been able to

[1] Thucyd. V. 105, according to Dr. Arnold's correct interpretation.

[2] III. 83: τὸ εὐήθες, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει, καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη.

[3] Thucyd. VIII. 97.

unite moderation and discretion with their good fortune.[1] And thus, in general, we must draw a distinction between the sound and serious morality of Thucydides, and the impartial love of truth, which led him to paint the world as it was; and we must not deny him a deep religious feeling, because his plan was to describe human affairs according to their relation of cause and effect; and because, while he took account of the belief of others, as a motive of their actions, he does not obtrude his own belief on the subject. Religion, mythology, and poetry, are subjects which Thucydides, with a somewhat partial view of the matter,[2] sets aside as foreign to the business of a historian; and we may justly regard him as the Anaxagoras of history, for he has detached the workings of Providence from the chain of causes which influence the life of man as distinctly and decidedly as the Ionian philosopher separated the νοῦς from the powers which operate on the material world.[3]

§ 10. The style and peculiar diction of Thucydides are so closely connected with the character of his history, and are so remarkable in themselves, that we cannot but make an attempt, notwithstanding the necessary brevity of the sketch, to set them before the reader in their main features.

We think we have already approximated to a right conception of this peculiar style, in the remark, that in Thucydides the concise and pregnant oratory of Pericles was combined with the antique and vigorous but artificial style of Antiphon's rhetoric.

In the use of words, Thucydides is distinct and precise, and every word which he uses is significant and expressive. Even in him this degenerates, in some passages, into an attempt to make distinctions, after the manner of Prodicus, in the use of nearly synonymous words.[4]

This definiteness of expression is aided by great copiousness

---

[1] Thucyd. VIII. 24.

[2] It would be easy to show that Thucydides sets too low a value on the old civilization of Greece; and, in general, the first part of the first book, the introduction properly so called, as it is written to establish a general proposition for which Thucydides pleads as an advocate, does not exhibit those unprejudiced views for which the main part of the work is so peculiarly distinguished.

See Vol. I., p. 247.

[4] I. 69; II. 62; III. 16. 39.

of diction, and in this, Thucydides, like Antiphon, uses a great number of antique, poetical words, not for the mere purpose of ornament, as is the case with Gorgias, but because the language of the day sanctioned the use of these pithy and expressive phrases.[1] In his dialect, Thucydides kept closer to the old Attic forms than his contemporaries among the comic poets.[2]

Similarly, the constructions in Thucydides are marked by a freedom, which, on the whole, is more suitable to antique poetry than to prose; and this has enabled him to form connexions of ideas, without an admixture of superfluous words, which disturb the connexion, and, consequently, with greater distinctness than would be possible with more limited and regular constructions. An instance of this is the liberty of construing verbal-nouns in the same way as the verbs from which they are derived.[3] These, and other things of the same kind, produce that *rapidity of description*, as the ancients call it,[4] which hits the mark at once.

In the order of the words, too, Thucydides takes a liberty which is generally conceded to poets alone; inasmuch as he sometimes arranges the ideas rather according to their real connexion or contrast than according to the grammatical construction.[5]

In the connexion of his sentences there is sometimes an inequality and harshness,[6] very different from the smooth and polished style of later times. Moreover he does not avoid using different grammatical forms (cases and moods) in the

---

[1] These expressions, which had become obsolete in the mean time, were called in later times γλῶσσαι; hence, Dionysius complains of the γλωσσηματικὸν in the style of Thucydides.

[2] See chap. XXVII. at the end.

[3] This is the origin of such expressions as the following: ἡ οὐ περιτείχισις, 'the circumstance that a hostile city was not surrounded by walls of circumvallation;' τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπὸ ἁπάντων ἰδίᾳ δόξασμα, 'the case in which every individual, each for himself, entertains the same opinion;' ἡ ἀκινδύνως δουλεία (not the same as ἀκίνδυνος), 'a state of slavery in which one can live comfortably and free from all apprehensions.'

[4] τάχος τῆς σημασίας.

[5] As in III. 39: μετὰ τῶν πολεμιωτάτων ἡμᾶς στάντες διαφθεῖραι, where the first words are placed together for the sake of contrast.

[6] ἀνωμαλία, τραχυτής.

corresponding members of the sentence,[1] or allowing rapid changes in the grammatical structure, which are often not expressly indicated but tacitly introduced, an expression required by the sentence being supplied from another similar one.[2]

§ 11. The structure of periods in Thucydides, like that of Antiphon, stands half-way between the loose connexion of sentences in the Ionian writers and the periodic style which subsequently developed itself at Athens. The greater power and energy in the combination of thoughts is manifested by the greater length of the sentences. In Thucydides there are two species of periods, which are both of them equally characteristic of his style. In one of them, which may be termed *the descending period,* the action, or result, is placed first, and is immediately followed by the causes or motives expressed by causal-sentences, or participles, which are again confirmed by similar forms of speech.[3] The other form, *the ascending period,* begins with the primary circumstances, developing from them all sorts of consequences, or reflexions referring to them, and concludes, often after a long chain of consequences, with the result, the determination, or the action itself.[4] Both descriptions of periods produce a feeling of difficulty, and require to be read twice in order to be understood clearly and in all respects; it is possible to make them more immediately intelligible, more convenient and pleasant to read, by breaking them up into the smaller clauses suggested by the pauses in the sentence; but then we shall be forced to confess that when the difficulty is

---

[1] *e. g.*, when he connects by *καὶ* two different constructions of cases, as the grounds of an action, or when, after the same final or conditional particle, he places first the conjunctive, and then the optative, in which the distinction is obvious.—[See Arnold's *Thucydides,* III. 22.—Ed.]

[2] The *σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον,* also the *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ,* is very common in Thucydides.

[3] Examples, I. 1: *Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψε κ.τ.λ.* I. 25: *Κορίνθιοι δὲ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον —ἦρχοντο πολεμεῖν·* and everywhere.

[4] Examples, I. 2: *τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας κ.τ.λ.* I. 58: *Ποτιδαιᾶται δὲ πέμψαντες κ.τ.λ.* IV. 73: *οἱ γὰρ Μεγαρῆς—ἔρχονται.* It is interesting to observe how Dionysius (*de Thucyd. judic.,* p. 872) subjects these ascending periods to his criticism, and resolves them into more intelligible and pleasing, but less vigorous forms, by taking out of the middle a number of the subordinate clauses and adding them, by way of appendix, at the end. Antiphon resembles Thucydides in this particular also; *e. g.* in the sentence (*Tetral.* I. *a.* § 6): *ἐκ παλαιοῦ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*

once overcome, the form chosen by Thucydides conveys the strongest impression of a unity of thought and a combined working of every part to produce one result.

This mode of constructing the sentence is peculiar to the historical style of Thucydides: but he resembles the other writers of the age in the symmetrical structure which prevails in his speeches, in separating and contrasting the different ideas, in comparing and discriminating, in looking backwards and forwards at the same time, and so producing a sort of equilibrium both in the diction and in the thoughts. As we have already said, in speaking of Antiphon, this antithetical style is not mere mannerism; it is a natural product of the acuteness of the people of Attica; but at the same time it is not to be denied, that under the influence of the sophistical rhetoric it degenerated into a sort of mannerism; and Thucydides himself is full of artifices of such a nature that we are sometimes at a loss whether we are to admire his refined discrimination, or wonder at his antique and affected ornaments,—especially when the outward graces of *Isocola, Homœoteleuta, Parecheses,* &c., are superadded to the real contrasts of thoughts and ideas.[1]

On the other hand, Thucydides, even more than Antiphon, is free from all those irregularities of diction which proceed from passion or dissimulation; he is conspicuous for a sort of equable tranquillity, which cannot be better described than by comparing it to that sublime serenity of soul which marks the features of all the gods and heroes sculptured by Phidias and his school. It is not an imperfection of language, it is rather a mark of dignity, which predominates in every expression, and which, even in the most perilous straits which necessarily called into play every passion and emotion—fear and anguish, indignation and hatred—even in these cases, bids the speaker maintain a tone of moderation and reflexion, and, above all, constrains him to content himself with a plain and impressive

[1] As when Thucydides says (IV. 61): *οἵ τ' ἐπίκλητοι εὐπρεπῶς ἄδικοι ἐλθόντες, εὐλόγως ἄπρακτοι ἀπίασιν* i. e., 'and thus those who with specious pretexts came here on an unjust invitation, will be sent away on good grounds without having effected their object.' We have other examples in I. 77. 144; III. 38. 57. 82; IV. 108. The old rhetoricians often speak of these *σχήματα τῆς λέξεως* in Thucydides; Dionysius thinks them *μειρακιώδη, puerilia.* Compare Aulus Gellius, *N. A.*, XVIII. 8.

statement of the affair which he has in hand. What passionate declamation a later rhetorician would have put into the mouths of the Theban and Platæan orators, when the latter are pleading for life and death against the former before the Spartans, and yet Thucydides introduces only one burst of emotion: 'Have you not done a dreadful deed?'[1]

It will readily be imagined, on the slightest comparison between these speeches and those of Lysias, how strange this style and this eloquence—with its fulness of thoughts, its terse and nervous diction, and its connexions of sentences not to be understood without the closest attention—must have appealed to the Athenians, even at the time when the work of Thucydides first began to attract notice. In reference to the speeches, Cratippus—a continuer of the history—was perhaps right when he assigned, as a reason for the omission of speeches in the VIIIth book, that Thucydides found them no longer suited to the prevailing taste.[2] Even at that time these speeches must have produced much the same effect upon the Attic taste as that which Cicero, at a later period, endeavoured to convey to the Romans, by comparing the style of Thucydides with old, sour, and heavy Falernian.[3] Thucydides was scarcely easier to the later Greeks and Romans than he is to the Greek scholars of the present time; nay, when Cicero declares that he finds the speeches in his history almost unintelligible, modern philologers may well congratulate themselves that they have surmounted all these difficulties, and left scarcely anything in them unexplained or misunderstood.

---

[1] Πῶς οὐ δεινὰ εἰργασθε; III. 66. There is a good deal more liveliness and cheerfulness (probably intended to characterize the speaker) in the oration of Athenagoras, the leader of the democratic party at Syracuse. (Thucyd. VI. 38, 39.)

[2] Cratippus, *apud Dionys. de Thucyd. judic.*, c. XVI., p. 847: τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὀχληρὰ εἶναι.

[3] Cicero, *Brutus* 83. § 288.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE NEW CULTIVATION OF ORATORY BY LYSIAS.

§ 1. Events which followed the Peloponnesian war. The adventures of Lysias. Leading epochs of his life. § 2. The earlier sophistical rhetoric of Lysias. § 3. The style of this rhetoric preserved in his later panegyrical speeches. § 4. Change in the oratory of Lysias produced by his own impulses and by his employment as a writer of speeches for private individuals. § 5. Analysis of his speech against Agoratus. § 6. General view of his extant orations.

§ 1. THE Peloponnesian war, terminating, as it did, after enormous and unexampled military efforts, in the downfall of the power of Athens, was succeeded by a period of exhaustion and repose. Freedom and democracy were indeed restored by Thrasybulus and his party, but Athens had ceased to be the capital of a great empire, the sovereign of the sea and of the coasts; and it was only by the prudence of Conon that she recovered even a part of her former supremacy. The fine arts which, in the time of Pericles, had been carried to such perfection by Phidias and his school, were checked in their further progress; and did not resume their former vigour till a generation later (Ol. 102. B.C. 372), when they sprung up into new life in the later Attic school of Praxiteles. Poetry, in the later tragedy and in the dithyramb, degenerated more and more into rhetorical casuistry or empty bombast. That higher energy, which results from a consciousness of real greatness, seemed to have vanished from the arts, as it did from the active life of man.

And yet it was at this very time that prose literature, freed from the fetters which had bound it hitherto, began a new career, which led to its fairest development. Lysias and Isocrates (the two young men whom Socrates opposes one to another in Plato's *Phædrus*, bitterly reproaching the former, and forming the most brilliant expectations with regard to the latter) gave an entirely new form to oratory by the happy alterations

which they, in different ways, introduced into the old prose style.

Lysias was descended from a family of distinction at Syracuse. His father, Cephalus, was persuaded by Pericles to settle at Athens, where he lived 30 years:[1] he is introduced in Plato's *Republic*, about the year Ol. 92, 2. B.C. 411,[2] as a very old man, respected and loved by all about him. When the great colony of Thurii was founded by an union of nearly all Greece (Ol. 84, 1. B.C. 444), Lysias went thither, along with his eldest brother Polemarchus, in order to take possession of the lot assigned to his family; at that time he was only 15 years old. At Thurii he devoted himself to rhetoric, as taught in the school of the Sicilian Sophists: his instructors were the well-known Tisias, and another Syracusan, named Nicias. He did not return to Athens till Ol. 92, 1. B.C. 412, and lived there some few years in the house of his father Cephalus, till he set up for himself as a professed Sophist.[3] Although he did not enjoy the rights of citizenship at Athens, but was merely a resident alien,[4] he and his whole family were warmly engaged in favour of the democracy. On this account, the Thirty compelled his brother Polemarchus to drink the cup of hemlock, and Lysias only escaped the rage of the tyrants by flying to Megara. He was thus all the more ready to aid Thrasybulus and the other champions of freedom at Phyle with the remains of his property, and forwarded with all his might the restoration of democracy at Athens.[5]

He was now once more settled at Athens as proprietor of a shield-manufactory, also teaching rhetoric after the manner of the Sophists, when a new career was opened to him by an

[1] See Lysias, *in Eratosth.*, § 4.

[2] According to the date of the *Republic*, as fixed by Böckh in two Programmes of the University of Berlin for the years 1838 and 1839.

[3] Λυσίας ὁ σοφιστής is mentioned in the speech against Neæra (p. 1352 Reiske), and there is no doubt that the orator is meant.

[4] Μέτοικος. Thrasybulus wished to have made him a citizen, but circumstances did not favour his design, and the orator remained an *ἰσοτελής*, one of a privileged class among the μέτοικοι. As *ἰσοτελεῖς* the family had, before the time of the Thirty, served as choregi, like the citizens.

[5] With an obvious manifestation of personal interest, Lysias (in his funeral oration, § 66) commemorates the strangers, *i. e.* the resident aliens, who fell fighting in the Peiræus by the side of the liberators of Athens.

event which touched him very nearly. Eratosthenes, one of the Thirty, wished to avail himself of the advantage granted to the Thirty Tyrants under the general amnesty, namely, that it should extend to them also, if they would submit to a public inquiry, and so clear themselves of all guilt. Eratosthenes relied on having belonged to the more moderate party of Theramenes, who, on account of his greater leniency, had fallen a victim to the more energetic and violent Critias. And yet it was this very Eratosthenes who had, in accordance with a decree of the Thirty, arrested Polemarchus in the open street, carried him off to prison, and accomplished his judicial murder. When his conduct was submitted to public investigation,[1] Lysias came forward in person as his accuser, although, as he says himself, he had never before been in court, either on his own business or on that of any other person.[2] He attacks Eratosthenes, in the first instance, on account of his participation in the death of Polemarchus and the other misfortunes which he had brought upon his family; and then enters on the whole career and public life of Eratosthenes, who had also belonged to the Four-hundred, and was one of the Five Ephori whom the *Hetæriæ*, or secret associations, got elected after the battle of Ægospotami: and in this he maintains, that Theramenes, whose leniency and moderation had been so much extolled, had, by his intrigues, been a principal cause of all the calamities that had befallen the state. The whole speech is pervaded by a feeling of the strongest conviction, and by that natural warmth which we should expect in the case of a subject so immediately affecting the speaker. He concludes with a most vehement appeal to the judges: 'I shall desist from any further accusations; ye have heard, seen, and experienced:—ye know!—decide then!'

§ 2. This speech forms a great epoch in the life of Lysias, in his employments and studies, in the style of his oratory, and we may add, in the whole history of Attic prose. Up to that time, Lysias had practised rhetoric merely as a Sophist of the Sicilian school, instructing the young and composing school-exercises. The peculiarity and mannerism, which must have

---

[1] εὐθύνη. [2] οὔτ' ἐμαυτοῦ πώποτε οὔτε ἀλλότρια πράγματα πράξας, Eratosth. § 3.

naturally resulted from such an application of eloquence, were the less likely to be escaped in the case of Lysias, as he was entirely under the influence of the school which had produced Gorgias. Lysias shared with Gorgias in the endeavour to evince the power of oratory, by giving probability to the improbable, and credibility to the incredible; hence resulted a love of paradox, and an unnatural and forced arrangement of the materials, excessive artifice of ornament in the details, and a total want of that natural earnestness which springs from conviction and a feeling of truth. The difference between these teachers of rhetoric consisted in this one feature: that Gorgias, who had naturally a taste for smart and glittering ornaments, went much farther than Lysias in the attempt to charm the ear with euphonies, to captivate the imagination with splendid diction, and to blind the understanding with the magic of oratory; whereas Lysias (who was, at the bottom, a man of good, plain common sense, and who had imbibed the shrewdness and refinement of an Attic mind by his constant intercourse with the Athenians, having belonged to their party even at Thurii),[1] combined, with the usual arts of sophistic oratory, more of his own peculiarities—more of subtle novelty in the conception, and more of terseness and vigour in the expression.

We derive this notion of the earlier style of Lysias principally from Plato's *Phædrus*, one of the earliest works of that great philosopher,[2] the object of which is to exalt the genuine love of truth high above that sporting with thoughts and words to which the Sophists confined themselves. The dialogue introduces us to Phædrus, a young friend of Socrates, whom an essay of Lysias has filled with enthusiastic admiration. This essay he reads to Socrates at his request, and partly by serious argument, partly by a more sportive vein of reasoning, is led to recognise the nothingness of this sort of oratory. It is probable that Plato did not borrow the essay in question immediately from Lysias, but composed it himself, in order to give a

[1] Lysias left Thurii when, after the failure of the Sicilian expedition, the Lacedæmonian party there got the upper hand, and domineered over the Athenian colonists.

[2] According to the old tradition, it was written before the death of Socrates (Ol. 95, 1. B.C. 399).

comprehensive specimen of the faults which he wished to point out. Its theme is, to persuade a beautiful youth that he should bestow his affections upon one who loved him not, rather than upon a lover. As the subject of the essay is quite of a sophistic nature, so the essay itself is merely the product of an inventive genius, totally devoid of spirit and earnestness. The arguments are brought forward one after the other with the greatest exactness, but there is no unity of thought, no general comprehension of ideas, no necessary connexion of one part with the other; nor are the different members grouped and massed together so as to form one consistent whole: hence, the wearisome monotony of conjunctions by which the sentences are linked together.[1] The prevalent collocation is the antithesis tricked out with all its old-fashioned ornaments, the *Isocola*, *Homœoteleuta*, &c.[2] The diction is free from the poetic ostentation of Gorgias; but it is so carefully formed, and with so many artificial turns, that we are at once struck with the labour which such a school-exercise must have cost the writer.

§ 3. In the extant collection of the works of Lysias we have no school-exercise (*μελέτη*) of this kind, and generally, no speech anterior in date to the accusation of Eratosthenes: we have only those works which he composed in his riper years, and which exhibit the more matured taste of their author.[3] Among these, however, there is one which presents traces of his earlier declamation; the reason of which is to be sought in the difference of subject. The *Funeral Oration* for the Athenians who fell in the Corinthian war, which was written by Lysias after Ol. 96, 3. B.C. 394, but could hardly have been delivered in public, belongs to a class of speeches formally dis-

---

[1] In this short essay, three sentences begin with *ἔτι δὲ . . .*, and four with *καὶ μέν δὴ . . .*

[2] In the passages (p. 233): *ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ καὶ* (a) *ἀγαπήσουσι, καὶ* (b) *ἀκολουθήσουσι, καὶ* (c) *τὰς θύρας ἥξουσι, καὶ* (*α*) *μάλιστα ἡσθήσονται, καὶ* (*β*) *οὐκ ἐλαχίστην χάριν εἴσονται, καὶ* (*γ*) *πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ αὐτοῖς εὕξονται*, the sentences *α*, *β*, *γ* are manifestly divided into three only for the sake of an equipoise of *homœoteleuta*.

[3] With the exception, as it seems, of the singular little speech, *πρὸς τοὺς σύνουσιαστὰς κακολογιῶν*, which is neither a judicial speech nor yet a mere *μελέτη*. It seems to be based upon real occurrences, but is altogether sophistical in the execution. It is a tract in which Lysias renounces the friendship of those with whom he had been on terms of intimacy and friendship.

tinguished from the deliberative[1] and judicial[2] orations; because it was not designed to produce any practical result. On this very account, the sort of speeches to which we refer, and which are called 'speeches for display,' 'show-speeches,'[3] were removed from the influence of the impulses which imparted a freer and more natural movement to orations of the practical kind. They were particularly cultivated by the Sophists, who professed to be able to praise and blame everything; and, even after the time of the Thirty, they retained their sophistic form. Such a work is the *Epitaphius* of Lysias. This oration, following the fashion of such 'show-speeches' (ἐπιδείξεις), goes through the historical and mythical ages, stringing together the great deeds of the Athenians in chronological order; dwelling at great length on the mythical proofs of Athenian bravery and humanity, such as their war with the Amazons, their exertions in obtaining the sepulture of the heroes who fell at Thebes, and their reception of the Heracleidæ; then recounting the exploits of the Athenians during the Persian invasion; but passing rapidly over the Peloponnesian war;—in direct contrast to the plan of Thucydides;—and in general laying the greatest stress on those topics which were most adapted for panegyrical declamation.[4] These ideas are worked out in so forced and artificial a manner, that we cannot wonder at those scholars who have failed to recognise in this speech the same Lysias that we find in the judicial orations. The whole essay is pervaded by a regular monotonous parallelism of sentences, the antithesis being often one of words rather than one of thoughts:[5] Polus, or any other pupil of Gorgias, could hardly have revelled more in assonances,[6] and such-like jingling rhetoric.

---

[1] *συμβουλευτικὸν γένος, deliberativum genus.*

[2] *δικανικὸν judiciale genus.*

[3] *ἐπιδεικτικὸν, πανηγυρικὸν γένος.*

[4] The only passage in which he evinces any real interest in his subject is that in which he extols those who put down the tyranny of the Thirty, and among them, the strangers who fought for the democracy on that occasion, and consequently obtained in death the same privileges as the citizens themselves (§ 66).

[5] As when Lysias says (§ 25): 'sacrificing their body, but for virtue's sake setting no value on their life:' where body and life (ψυχὴ), form no real opposition, but only a ψευδὴς ἀντίθεσις, according to the striking remark of Aristotle, *Rhet.* III., 9 *extr.*

[6] παρηχήσεις, such as μνήμην παρὰ τῆς φήμης λάβων, *Epitaph.* § 3.

§ 4. It is probable that Lysias would never have escaped from this forced and artificial style, had not a real feeling of pain and anger, like that which was excited in his bosom by the audacious impudence of the ex-tyrant Eratosthenes, given a more lively and natural flow, both to his spirits and to his speech. Not that we fail to recognise, even in the speech against Eratosthenes, the school in which Lysias had lived up to that time; for the tendency to divide, compare, and oppose, peeps out in the midst of the most violent and energetic declamation. But this tendency is here subordinated to the earnest vehemence with which Lysias unveils the baseness of his opponent.

This occasion convinced Lysias what style of oratory was both the most suited to his own character and also least likely to fail in producing an effect upon the judges. He now began, in the 50th year of his life, to follow the trade of Antiphon, and wrote speeches for such private individuals as could not trust to their own skill in addressing a court. For this object a plain, unartificial style, was the best suited, because the citizens, who called in the aid of the speech writer, were just those who had no skill in speaking and no knowledge of rhetoric:[1] and thus Lysias was obliged to lay himself out for such a style, in which, of course, he became more and more confirmed by habit. The consequence was, that for his contemporaries, and for all ages, Lysias stands forth as the first, and, in many respects, the most perfect pattern of *the plain* (or *homely*) *style*.[2]

Lysias distinguished, with the accuracy of a dramatist, between the different characters into whose mouths he put his speeches, and made every one, the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, speak according to his quality and condition: this is what the ancient critics praise under the name of his *Ethopœia*.[3] The prevalent tone,

[1] See Quinctil., *Instit. Or.* III. 8, § 50, 51: Nam sunt multæ a Græcis Latinisque compositæ orationes, quibus alii uterentur, ad quorum conditionem vitamque aptanda, quæ dicebantur, fuerunt:—ideoque Lysias optime videtur in iis, quæ scribebat indoctis, servasse veritatis fidem.

[2] ὁ ἰσχνὸς, ἀφελὴς χαρακτὴρ, *tenue dicendi genus.*

[3] Dionys. Halic. *de Lysia jud.*, c. 8, 9, p. 467 Reiske. Comp. *de Isæo*, c. 3, p. 589.

however, was that of the average man; accordingly, Lysias adhered to the looser collocation of sentences,[1] which is observed in ordinary conversation, and did not trouble himself with the structure of periods, which were just coming into fashion: although, at the same time, he shows that he understands the art of combining sentences in one whole; and, when the occasion serves, he can group his thoughts together and present them to his hearers with a vivid conception of their unity.[2] The figures of thought, as they are called, which we have mentioned above as interruptions to the natural current of our feelings, are used by Lysias very sparingly; but, at the same time, he altogether neglects the figures of speech, which made up the old-fashioned ornaments of rhetoric, and indeed, the more so in proportion as the tone of the particular speech is plainer and more simple. In the individual words and expressions Lysias keeps strictly to the ordinary language of everyday life, and repudiates all the trickery of poetic diction, compound words, and metaphors. His object is to supply his client with as many convincing arguments as he can deliver before the judges in the short time which the water-clock (*clepsydra*) allowed to the plaintiff and defendant in an action. The proœmium is designed solely to produce a favourable impression, and to conciliate the good will of the judges: the narrative part of the speech, for which Lysias was particularly famous, is always natural, interesting, and lively, and is often relieved by a few mimic touches which give it a wonderful air of reality; the proofs and confutations are distinguished by a clearness of reasoning, and a boldness and confidence of argument, which seem to leave no room for doubt; in a word, the speeches of Lysias are just what they ought to be in order to obtain a favourable decision, which was the only object proposed by their writer; an object in which, as it seems, he often succeeded.

§ 5. The most conspicuous among the speeches of Lysias are

---

[1] Λέξις διαλελυμένη, nearly the same as εἰρομένη.

[2] Ἡ συστρέφουσα τὰ νοήματα καὶ στρογγύλως λέξις, as it is called by Dionys. Hal., *de Lysia jud.*, 6, p. 464. He differs from Thucydides in placing the confirmatory sentences and participles sometimes before and sometimes after the main sentence: *e. g.* the *external* circumstances first, and the *subjective* reasons afterwards.

those which are designed to resent the injuries brought upon Athens and her individual citizens, in the time of their depression, by means of the oligarchical intrigues which preceded the tyranny of the Thirty, and by means of that tyranny itself, and in which Lysias and his family had so grievously suffered. To this class belongs the speech against Agoratus, which, among his extant orations, immediately follows that against Eratosthenes;[1] and, although not delivered in the author's name, presents many points of resemblance to the latter. By suggesting that the party accused is the common enemy of the judges and of the accuser, the proœmium at once conciliates the good will of the judges. It draws the attention of the audience to a highly interesting narrative, in which the fall of the democracy is connected with the ruin of Dionysodorus, whom the accuser seeks to avenge. This narrative, which at the same time unfolds the state of the case, and is premised as the main point in it,[2] begins with the battle of Ægos-potami, and details all the detestable manœuvres by which Theramenes endeavoured to deliver up his native city, unarmed, into the power of her enemies. The fear of Theramenes lest the leaders of the army should detect and thwart his intrigues, led to the guilt of Agoratus; according to the orator's account of the matter, Agoratus willingly undertook to represent the commanders as enemies of the peace, in consequence of which they were apprehended and judicially murdered by the Council, under the Thirty Tyrants. This narrative, which is given in the most vivid colours, and, in its main features, is supported by evidence, concludes, with the same artful and well-contrived simplicity which reigns throughout the speech, in a scene in the dungeon, where Dionysodorus, after disposing of his property leaves it as a sacred duty to be performed by his brother and brother-in-law,

[1] It was delivered Ol. 94, 4. B.C. 401, and is an accusation ἀπαγωγῆς, *i.e.* directed towards an immediate execution of the punishment, because the accuser regards Agoratus as a murderer, who, in defiance of the established law against murderers, still frequented the temples and public assemblies.

[2] The διήγησις is elsewhere used by Lysias as the κατάστασις, or definition of the *status causæ*, and immediately follows the exordium; whereas Antiphon follows up the exordium, without the introduction of any κατάστασις, by a part of the proofs, *e. g.* the direct proof or formal nullification, and then at last introduces the διήγησις to pave the way for other proofs, such as those springing from probability.

the accuser, and all his friends, nay, even by his unborn child, that they should take vengeance for his death on Agoratus, who, according to the Athenian way of viewing the matter, was considered as the chief author of it. The accuser now briefly sketches the mischiefs done by the Thirty—who could not have got their power without the intrigues here referred to; confutes some pleas which Agoratus might bring forward in his justification, by a careful scrutiny of all the circumstances attending his denunciation; then enlarges upon the whole life of Agoratus; the meanness of his family, his usurpation of the rights of citizenship, his dealings with the liberators at Phyle, with whom he sought to identify himself,[1] but was rejected by them as a murderer; then justifies the harsh measure of the summary process (ἀπαγωγή), which the accuser had thought fit to employ against Agoratus; and finally proves, that the amnesty between the two parties at Athens did not apply to Agoratus. The epilogue very emphatically lays before the judges the dilemma in which they were placed, of either condemning Agoratus, or justifying the execution of those persons whose ruin he had effected. The excellence of this brief but weighty speech will be perceived even from this summary of it: it lies open to only one censure, which is generally brought against Lysias by the old rhetoricians—that the proofs of his accusation, which follow the narrative, hang together too loosely, and have not the unity which might easily have been produced by a more accurate attention to a closer connexion of thought.

§ 6. Lysias was, in these and the following years, wonderfully prolific as an orator. The ancients were acquainted with 425 orations which passed under his name; of these, 250 are recognized as genuine: we have 35 of them, which, by the order in which they have come down to us, appear to have belonged to two separate collections.[2] One of these collections originally comprised all the speeches of Lysias arranged according to the causes pleaded in them, a principle of arrangement which we

[1] Here an obscure point remains to be settled—what induced Agoratus to join the exiles at Phyle? The orator gives no reason for this conduct, but only adduces it as a proof of his shameless impudence, § 77.

[2] According to the discovery made by a young friend of the Author, which will probably be soon brought out in a complete and finished state.

have already discovered in the case of Antiphon. Of this collection we have but a mere fragment, containing the last of the speeches on manslaughter, the speeches about impiety, and the first of the speeches about injuries:[1] either from accident or from caprice, the *Funeral Oration* is placed among these. The second collection begins with the important speech against Eratosthenes. It contains no complete class of speeches, but is clearly a selection from the works of Lysias, the choice of speeches being guided by their historical interest. Consequently, a considerable number of these speeches carry us deeply into the history of the time before and after the tyranny of the Thirty, and are among the most important authorities for the events of this period with which we are not sufficiently acquainted from other sources. As might be expected, none of these speeches is anterior in date to the speech against Eratosthenes:[2] nor can we show that any one of them is subsequent to Ol. 98, 2. B.C. 387,[3] although Lysias is said to have lived till Ol. 100, 2 or 3 B.C. 378.[4] The arrangement is neither chronological, nor according to the causes pleaded; but is an arbitrary compound of both.

---

[1] The speech for Eratosthenes is an ἀπολογία φονοῦ, and is followed by the speech against Simon, and the following περὶ τραύματος, which also belong to the φονικοὶ λόγοι; then come the speeches περὶ ἀσεβείας, for Callias, against Andocides, and about the Olive: then follow the speeches κακολογιῶν, to his comrades, for the warriors, and against Theomnestus. The speech about the Olive is cited by Harpocration, v. σηκός, as contained ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀσεβείας, and so his τῶν συμβολαίων λόγοι, ἐπιτροπικοὶ λόγοι, are also quoted.

[2] The speech of Polystratus does not belong to the time of the Four-hundred, but was delivered at the scrutiny (δοκιμασία) which Polystratus had to undergo as an officer of his tribe, and at which he was charged with having belonged to the Four-hundred. The speech δήμου καταλύσεως ἀπολογία was delivered under similar circumstances.

[3] The speech about the property of Aristophanes probably falls under this year.

[4] A speech in the first series (that against Theomnestus) was written later,—Ol. 98, 4, or 99, 1. B.C. 384.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ISOCRATES.

§ 1. Early training of Isocrates; but slightly influenced by Socrates. § 2. School of Isocrates; its great repute; his attempts to influence the politics of the day without thoroughly understanding them. § 3. The form of a speech the principal matter in his judgment. § 4. New developement which he gave to prose composition. § 5. His structure of periods. § 6. Smoothness and evenness of his style. § 7. He prefers the panegyrical oratory to the forensic.

§ 1. IT is very doubtful whether Plato would have accorded to ISOCRATES in his maturer age those high praises which he has bestowed upon him in the earlier years of his life, or would have preferred him so decidedly to Lysias. Isocrates, the son of Theodorus, was born at Athens in Ol. 86, 1. B.C. 436, and was, consequently, about twenty-four years younger than Lysias. He was, no doubt, a well-conducted youth, eager to acquire information; and, to get himself thoroughly educated, became a pupil, not only of the Sophists Gorgias and Tisias, but also of Socrates. In the circle of his friends so strong an impression was created in his favour, that it was believed that 'he would not only in oratory leave all other orators behind him like children, but that a divine instinct would lead him on to still greater things. For that there was an earnest love of wisdom in the heart of the man.' Such is the prophecy concerning him which Plato puts into the mouth of Socrates himself. Notwithstanding this, however, Isocrates seems to have made no use of the great philosopher beyond acquiring from him such a superficial knowledge of moral philosophy as would enable him to give a colouring of science to his professional exertions. Rhetoric was, after all, his main occupation, and no age before his had seen so much care and labour expended on this art. Accordingly, Isocrates essentially belongs to the Sophists, differing from them only in this, that he could not any longer oppose the Socratic philosophy by the bold proposal

of making all things equally true by argument:[1] on the contrary, he considered speech as only a means of setting forth, in as pleasing and brilliant a manner as possible, some opinion, which, though not very profound, was, at any rate, quite praiseworthy in itself. If, however, he was less concerned about enlarging his ideas and getting a deeper insight into the reality of things, or, in general, comprehending the truth with greater clearness and accuracy, than about perfecting the outward form and ornamental finish of his style, it follows that Plato, if he had criticized him when farther advanced in his career, must have classed him among the artizans, who strove after a mere semblance of truth in opposition to the true philosophers.

§ 2. Isocrates had a strong desire to give a political turn to the art of speaking which, with the exception of the panegyrical species, had hitherto been cultivated chiefly for the contests of the courts:[2] but bashfulness and physical weakness prevented him from ascending himself the bema in the Pnyx. Consequently, he set up a school, in which he principally taught political oratory; and so sedulously did he instruct young men in rhetoric, that his industry was fully recognized by his contemporaries, and his school became the first and most flourishing in Greece.[3] Cicero compares this school to the wooden horse of the Trojan war, because a similar number of oratorical heroes proceeded from it. Public speakers and historians were his principal auditors; and the reason of this was, that Isocrates always selected for his exercises such practical subjects as appeared to him both profitable and dignified, and chiefly proposed as a study to his hearers the political events of his own time—a circumstance which he has himself alleged as the main distinction between himself and the Sophists.[4] The orations which Isocrates composed were mostly destined for the school;

---

[1] See the speech *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως*, § 30, where he justly repudiates the charge, that he was corrupting the youth by teaching them to turn right into wrong in the courts of justice. Comp. § 15.

[2] *τὸ δικανικὸν γένος*. Isocrates, in his speech against the Sophists, § 19, blames earlier rhetoricians for making the *δικάζεσθαι* the chief point, and so bringing forward the least agreeable side of rhetoric.

[3] He soon had about 100 hearers, each of whom paid a fee of 1000 drachmæ (one-sixth of a talent).

[4] See especially the panegyric on Helen, § 5, 6.

the law-speeches which he wrote for actual use in the courts were merely a secondary consideration. However, after the name of Isocrates had become famous, and the circle of his scholars and friends extended over all the countries inhabited by Greeks, Isocrates calculated upon a more extended publicity for many of his orations than his school would have furnished, and especially for those which touched on the public transactions of Greece: and their literary circulation, by means of copies and recitations, obtained for him a wider influence than a public delivery from the bema would have done. In this manner, Isocrates might, even from the recesses of his school, have produced a beneficial effect on his native land, which, torn with internal discord, was striving against the powerful Macedonian; and, to say the truth, we cannot but allow that there is an effort to attain this great object in those literary productions which he addressed at different times, to the Greeks in general, to the Athenians, to Philip, or to still remoter princes;[1] nay, we sometimes find in them a certain amount of plain-speaking;[2] but it is quite clear that Isocrates had none of those profound views of policy which could alone have given weight and efficiency to his suggestions. He shows the very best intentions, always exhorts to concord and peace, lives in the hope that every state will give up its extravagant claims, set free its dependent allies, and place itself on an equal footing with them, and that, in consequence of these happy changes, something great will be undertaken against the barbarians. We find nowhere in Isocrates any clear and well-based conception of the principles by which Greece may be guided to this golden age of unity and concord, especially of the rights of the states which would be affected by it, and the claims which would have to be set aside. In the

---

[1] In this manner Isocrates endeavoured to work upon the island of Cyprus, where at that time the Greek state of Salamis had raised itself into importance. His *Evagoras* is a panegyric on that excellent ruler, addressed to his son and successor, Nicocles. The tract *Nicocles* is an exhortation to the Salaminians to obey their new ruler; and his harangue *to Nicocles* is an exhortation addressed to the young ruler, on the duties and virtues of a sovereign.

[2] 'I am accustomed to write my orations with plainness of speech,' says he in his letter to Archidamus (IX.), § 13. This letter is undoubtedly genuine; but the following, that to Dionysius (X.), is, as clearly, the work of a later rhetorician of the Asiatic school.

speech about the peace, which was published during the Social War, he advises the Athenians, in the first part, to grant independence to the rebellious islanders; in the second part, he recommends them to give up their maritime supremacy—judicious and excellent proposals, which would only have the effect of annihilating the power of Athens, and checking every tendency to manly exertion. In his *Areopagiticus* he declares that he sees no safety for Athens, save in the restoration of that democracy which Solon had founded, and Cleisthenes had revived; as if it were possible to restore, without the least trouble in the world, a constitution, which, in the course of time, had undergone such manifold changes, and, with it, the old simplicity of manner, which had altogether disappeared. In his *Panegyricus*, he exhorts all the Greeks to give up their animosities, and to direct their ambition against the barbarians; the two chief states, Athens and Sparta, having so arranged as to divide the hegemony or leadership between them: a plan very sensible at the time, and not altogether impracticable, but requiring a totally different basis from that which Isocrates lays down; for presuming a violent objection on the part of the Lacedæmonians, he proves to them, from the mythical history of early times, that Athens was more deserving of the leadership than Sparta.[1] The only true and correctly conceived part of the speech is that in which he displays the divided condition of Greece, and the facility with which the Greeks, if only united, could make conquests in Asia. Lastly, in his *Philip*, a tract inscribed to the king of Macedon, when this prince, in consequence of the treaty concluded by Æschines, had placed Athens in a disagreeable predicament, he exhorts the Macedonian to come forward as mediator between the dissident states of Greece —the wolf as mediator in the quarrels of the sheep—and then to march along with their united force against the Persians—the very thing which Philip wished to do, but then he desired

[1] What Isocrates says in this speech (written about Ol. 100, 1. B.C. 380): *τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ῥᾴδιον ἐπὶ ταῦτα προαγαγεῖν*, at all events does not accord with the result of the negotiations given in Xenoph., *Hellen.* VI. 5, § 3, 4; VII. 1, § 8 and 14 (Ol. 102, 4. B.C. 369); where Athens renounces the only practical method of sharing the Hegemony, by land and water, which the Lacedæmonians had offered.

to do so in the only possible way by which it could be brought about, namely, as their leader, and, under this name, as the ruler of the free states of Greece.

How strange, then, must have been the feelings of Isocrates, when news was brought to him of the downfal of Athenian power and Greek independence at Chæronea! His benevolent hopes must have been so rudely dashed to the ground by this one stroke, that probably it was disappointment, no less than patriotic grief for the loss of freedom, that induced him to put an end to his life.

§ 3. The manner in which he speaks of them himself makes it evident that his heart was but little affected by the subjects treated of in these speeches. In his *Philip* he mentions that he had treated on the same theme—the exhortation to the Greeks to unite themselves against the barbarians—in his *Panegyricus* also, and dwells on the difficulty of discussing the same subject in two different orations; 'especially since,' to use his own words, 'the first published is so accurately composed that even our detractors imitate it, and tacitly admire it more than those who praise it most extravagantly.'[1] In the *Panathenaicus*, an eulogium on Athens, written by Isocrates when far advanced in age, he says, that he had given up all earlier kinds of rhetoric, and had devoted himself to the composition of speeches which concerned the welfare of the city and of Greece in general; and, consequently, had composed discourses 'full of thoughts, and decked out with not a few antitheses and parisoses, and those other figures which shine forth in the schools of rhetoric and compel the hearers to signify their applause by shouting and clapping;' at the present time, however, being 94 years old, he did not think it becoming in him to use this style, but would speak as every one thought himself capable of speaking if he chose, though no one would be able to do so who had not bestowed upon his style the necessary attention and labour.[2] It is clear, that, while Isocrates pretends to be casting his glance over all Europe and Asia, and to have his soul filled with anxiety for his native land, the object which he really has in his eye is

---

[1] Isocrat. *Philipp.*, § 11. See the similar assertion in the *Panegyricus* itself § 4.

[2] Isocrat. *Panathen.*, § 2.

the approbation of the school and the triumph of his art over all rivals.. So that, after all, these great panegyrical orations belong to the class of school-rhetoric, no less than the *Praise of Helen* and the *Busiris*, which Isocrates composed immediately after the pattern of the Sophists, who frequently selected mythical subjects for their encomiastic or vituperative discourses. In the *Praise of Helen* he blames another rhetorician for writing a defence of this much maligned heroine, after having professed to write her eulogium. In the *Busiris* he shows the Sophist Polycrates how he should have drawn up his encomium of this barbarous tyrant, and also incidentally sets him right with regard to an ill selected topic which he had introduced into an accusation of Socrates, composed by him as a sophistical exercise. Polycrates had given Socrates the credit of educating Alcibiades; 'a fact which no one had remarked, but which redounded rather to the credit than to the discredit of Socrates, seeing that Alcibiades had so far excelled all other men.'[1] In this passage Isocrates merely criticizes Polycrates for an injudicious choice of topics, without expressing any opinion upon the character of Socrates, or the justice of his sentence; which were considerations foreign to the question. Isocrates attempts to pass off his own rhetorical studies for philosophy,[2] but he really had very little acquaintance with the philosophical strivings of his age. Otherwise he would not have included in one class, as 'the contentious philosophers,' the Eleatics Zeno and Melissus, whose sole object was to discover the truth, and the Sophists Protagoras and Gorgias.[3]

§ 4. Little as we may be disposed, after all these strictures, to regard Isocrates as a great statesman or philosopher, he is not only eminent, but constitutes an epoch in himself, as a rhetorician or artist of language. Over and above the great care which he took about the formation of his style, Isocrates

---

[1] *Busiris*, § 5.

[2] *e. g.* in the speech to *Demonicus*, § 3; *Nicocles*, § 1; *Concerning the Peace*, § 5; *Busiris*, § 7; *Against the Sophists*, § 14; *Panathenaicus*, § 263. In his *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως*, § 30, he opposes the *περὶ τὰς δίκας καλινδούμενον* to the *περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διατρίψαντες*.

[3] *Praise of Helen*, § 2—6: *ἡ περὶ τὰς ἔριδας φιλοσοφία*. Similarly in the speech *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως*, § 268, he mixes up the physical speculations of the Eleatics and Pythagoreans with the sophisms of Gorgias.

had a decided genius for the art of rhetoric; and, when we read his periods, we may well believe what he tells us, that the Athenians, alive as they were to beauties of this kind, felt a real enthusiasm for his writings, and friends and enemies vied in imitating their magic elegance. When we read aloud the panegyrical orations of Isocrates, we feel that, although they want the vigour and profundity of Thucydides or Aristotle, there is a power in them which we miss in every former work of rhetoric—a power which works upon the mind as well as upon the ear; we are carried along by a full stream of harmonious diction, which is strikingly different from the rugged sentences of Thucydides and the meagre style of Lysias. The services which Isocrates has performed in this respect reach far beyond the limits of his own school. Without his reconstruction of the style of Attic oratory we could have had no Demosthenes and no Cicero; and, through these the school of Isocrates has extended its influence even to the oratory of our own day.

Isocrates started from the style which had been most cultivated up to his time, namely, the antithetical.[1] In his earlier labours he took as much pains with this symmetrical structure as any Sophist could have done: but in the more flourishing period of his art he contrived to melt down the rigidity and stiffness of the antithesis, by breaking through the direct and immediate opposition of sentences, and by marshalling them in successive groups and in a longer series.

Isocrates has always one leading idea, which is in most cases of suitable importance, fertile in its consequences, and capable of evoking not only thought but feeling; hence his fondness for general political subjects, which furnished him best with such topics. In these leading thoughts he seizes certain points opposed to one another, such as the old and the new times, or the power of the Greeks and that of the barbarians; and expanding the leading idea in a regular series of sequences and conclusions, he introduces at every step in the composition the propositions which contradict it in its details, and in this way unfolds an abundance of variations always pervaded and marked by a recurrence of the original subject; so that, although there is great

[1] ἀντικειμένη λέξις.

variety, the whole may be comprehended at one glance. At the same time, Isocrates is careful that the ear may be cognizant of the antitheses which are presented to the thoughts, and he manages this after the fashion of the older Sophists: but he differs from them, partly in not caring so much about the assonances of individual words, as about the rhythm of whole sentences; partly by seeking to break up the more exact correspondence of sentences into a system less marked by the stiff regularity of its members; and partly by introducing into the longer sets of antithetical sentences, a gradual increase in the force and intensity of his language; this he effected by extending the sentences, especially in the third member and at the end;[1] and thus an entirely new vigour of movement was given to the old antithetical construction.

§ 5. The ancients recognize Isocrates as the author or first introducer of the *circle of language*, as it was called,[2] although the Sophist Thrasymachus, a contemporary of Antiphon, is acknowledged to have been master of 'the diction which concentrates the ideas and expresses them roundly.'[3] It was the same Thrasymachus whose chief aim it was to have the power of either rousing or quieting the anger of his hearers (*e. g.* the judges), and, in general, of working at pleasure on the feelings of men. There was a work of his called 'The Commiseration Speeches' (Ἔλεοι), and it is to be remarked that this tendency of his eloquence must have induced him at the same time to give an easier and more lively flow to his sentences. It was Isocrates, however, above all others, who by a judicious choice of subjects, imparted to his language the harmonious effect which is so closely connected with the *circle of language*, as it is called. By this we understand such a formation and distribution of the periods that the several members follow one another as integral parts of one whole, and the general conclusion

---

[1] 'In composite sentences,' says Demetrius, *de Elocut.*, § 18, 'the last member must be longer than the others.'

[2] κύκλος, *orbis orationis.*

[3] ἡ συστρέφουσα τὰ διανοήματα καὶ στρογγύλως ἐκφέρουσα λέξις. See Theophrastus (*apud Dionys. de Lys. judic.*, p. 464), who lays claim to this art on behalf of Lysias also. What is meant by the στρογγύλον appears clearly from the example which Hermogenes (Walz. *Rhetores* III., p. 704) has given from Demosthenes: ὥσπερ γὰρ, εἴτις ἐκείνων ἐάλω, σὺ τάδε οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψας· οὕτως, ἂν σὺ νῦν ἁλῷς, ἄλλος οὐ γράψει. Such a sentence is like a circle which necessarily returns to itself.

is expected by the hearer in the very place where it occurs, and is, as it were, almost heard before it is uttered.[1] This impression is produced partly by the union of the several sentences in larger masses, partly by the relation of these masses to one another, so that, without counting or measuring, we feel that there is a sort of harmony which a little, either more or less, would utterly destroy. This is not merely true of primary and subordinate sentences, in the proper sense of the word, which are mutually developed by the logical subordination of thoughts to one another,[2] but also holds of the co-ordinate masses of opposed sentences (in that antithetical style[3] to which Isocrates' longer periods mostly belong), if a periodical cadence is introduced into them. The ancients themselves compare a period in which there is a true equilibrium of all parts with a dome[4] in which all the stones tend with equal weight to the middle point. It is obvious that this must be regulated by the rhetorical accent, which is the same in oratory that the grammatical accents are in language, and the *arsis* and *thesis* in rhythm: these accents must regularly correspond to one another, and each fully occupy its own place: an improper omission, and especially a loss of the fuller accent at the end of the period, is most sensibly felt by a fine and correct ear. The ancients, however, like the moderns, rather leave this main point to be fixed by a sort of general feeling, and reserve definite rules for the subordinate details, upon which Isocrates has bestowed most extraordinary pains in his panegyrical speeches. Euphonious combinations of sound, avoidance of hiatus, certain rhythmical feet at the beginning and end of sentences, these are the objects which he aims at with labour far more than proportioned to the effects which they produce on the hearer. This sort of prose has, in these particulars, a great resemblance to tragedy, which also avoided the hiatus more than any other kind of poetic composition.[5]

---

[1] Compare Cicero's admirable remarks, *Orator.* 53, 177, 178.

[2] Such as temporal, causal, conditional, and concessive protases, with their apodoses. [3] ἀντικειμένη λέξις. [4] περιφερὴς στέγη.

[5] The ancients frequently express their well-founded opinion, that the juxtaposition of vowels in words and collocations of words produces a soft (*molle quiddam*, Cicero) and melodious effect (μέλος, is the expression of Demetrius), such as was suitable to epic poetry and the old Ionic prose. The contraction and elision of vowels, on the other hand, make language more plain and compact; and, when

§ 6. Isocrates was justly impressed with the necessity of having a certain class of subjects for the developement of this particular style. He is accustomed to combine the substance and form of his oratory, as when he reckons himself among those 'who wrote no speeches about private matters, but Hellenic, political, and panegyrical orations, which, as all persons must allow, are more nearly akin to the musical and metrical language of the poets than to those speeches which are heard in the law-courts.'[1] The full stream of Isocratic diction necessitates the recurrence of certain leading ideas, such as are capable of being brought out in the details with the greatest possible variety, and of being proved by a continually increasing weight of conviction. The predominance of the rhetoric of Isocrates consequently banished from the Attic style more and more of that subtilty and acuteness which seeks to give a definite and accurate expression to every idea, and to obtain this object a sacrifice was made of the correspondence of expressions, grammatical forms, and connexions of sentences, which formed the basis of that impressive and significant abruptness of diction by which the style of Sophocles and Thucydides is distinguished. The flowing language and long periods of Isocrates, if they had had any of this abruptness, would have lost that intelligibility without which the hearers would not have been able to foresee what was coming, and to feel the gratification resulting from a fulfilment of their expectations. In Thucydides, on the contrary, we can scarcely feel confident of having seized the meaning even when we get to the end of the sentence. Hence it is that Isocrates has avoided all those finer distinctions which vary the grammatical expression. His object manifestly is to continue as long as possible the same structure with the same case, mood, and tense. The language of Isocrates, however, though pervaded by a certain genial warmth of feeling, is quite free from the influence of those violent emotions, which, when combined with a shrewdness and cunning foreign to the candid dis-

---

all collisions of vowels at the end and beginning of words is avoided, a kind of smoothness and finish is produced, such as was necessary for dramatic poetry and panegyrical oratory. According to Dionysius, every hiatus is removed from the *Areopagiticus* of Isocrates; to produce this, however, there must have been a greater number of Attic contractions (*crases*) than we find in the present state of the text.

[1] Isocrates, *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως*, § 46.

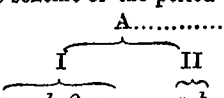
position of Isocrates, produce the so-called figures of thought. Accordingly, though we find in his speeches vehement questions, exclamations, and climaxes, we have none of those stronger and more irregular changes of the expression which such figures beget. Isocrates also seeks a rhythmical structure of periods, which seldom admits of any relation of the sentences calculated to cause surprise by their inequality:[2] he aims at an equability of tone, or at least a tranquillity of feeling; deep and varied emotions would necessarily break the bonds of these regular periods, and combine the scattered members in a new and bolder organization. The ancients, therefore, agree that Isocrates was entirely deficient in that *vehemence of oratory* which transfers the feelings of the speaker to his audience, and which is called δεινότης in the narrower sense of the word; not so much because the labour of polishing the style in its minor details mars this vigour of speech (as Plutarch says of Isocrates: 'How could he help fearing the charge of the phalanx, who was so afraid of allowing one vowel to come in contact with another, or of giving the *isocolon* one syllable less than it ought to have'[3]), but because this smoothness and evenness of style depended for its very existence upon a tranquil train of thoughts, with no perturbations of feeling to distract the even tenor of its way.

§ 7. In the well-founded conviction that his style was peculiarly adapted to panegyrical eloquence, Isocrates rarely employed it in forensic speeches; in these he approximates more nearly to Lysias. However, he was not, like the orator just mentioned, a professed speech-writer, or *logographus*. The

---

[1] σχήματα τῆς διανοίας, Chap. XXXIII., § 5.

[2] As in the beautiful antithetic period at the beginning of the *Panathenaicus*, the first part of which, with the μέν, is very artificially divided by the opposition of negation and position, and the developement of the negation in particular by the insertion of concessive sentences; while the second part is broken off quite short. If we express the scheme of the period thus:—



B consists only of the words νῦν δ' οὐδ' ὁπωσοῦν τοὺς τοιούτους. In this Isocrates may have imitated Demosthenes.

[3] Plutarch, *de gloria Athen.*, c. VIII. Demetrius (*de Elocut.*, § 247) remarks, that antitheses and paromœa are not compatible with δεινότης.

writers of speeches for the law-courts appeared to him, as compared with his pursuits, to be only doll-makers as compared with Phidias;[1] he wrote comparatively few speeches for private persons and for practical purposes. The collection which has come down to us, and which comprises the majority of the speeches recognized by the ancients as the genuine works of Isocrates,[2] contains fifteen admonitory, panegyrical, and scholastic discourses, which were all designed for private perusal, and not for popular assemblies or law-courts; and after these come six forensic orations, which, no doubt, were written for actual delivery in a court of justice.[3] Isocrates also wrote, at a later period, a theoretical treatise, or τέχνη, embodying the principles which he had followed in his teaching, and which he had improved and worked out by practice. This work was much esteemed by ancient rhetoricians, and is often quoted.[4]

We have now brought the history of Attic prose, through a series of statesmen, orators, and rhetoricians, from Pericles to Isocrates: we have not yet arrived at its highest point; but still this was a remarkable eminence. We now go back again for a few years, in order to recognize, in the Athenian sage, SOCRATES, a new beginning, not only of Attic training, but of human cultivation in general, and to take under consideration a series of remarkable appearances springing from that source.

---

[1] περὶ ἀντιδόσεως, § 2.

[2] Cæcilius acknowledged as genuine only 28 speeches. We have 21.

[3] The speech about the exchange (περὶ ἀντιδόσεως) does not belong to this class. It is not a forensic speech, but written when Isocrates was compelled by the offer of an exchange to sustain a most expensive liturgy,—the Trierarchy. In order to correct the false impressions which were entertained with regard to his profession and income, he *wrote* this speech as 'a picture of his whole life, and of the plan which he had pursued,' § 7.

[4] The most important citation from it is that contained in a Scholium on Hermogenes. See Spengel, Συναγωγὴ τεχνῶν, p. 161.

DR. DONALDSON'S

CONTINUATION OF MÜLLER'S HISTORY.

A

HISTORY OF THE LITERATURE

OF

ANCIENT GREECE;

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCRATIC SCHOOLS TO THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.

BEING

A CONTINUATION OF K. O. MÜLLER'S WORK.

BY

JOHN WILLIAM DONALDSON, D.D.

CLASSICAL EXAMINER IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON;
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE NEW BEGINNING OF ATTIC TRAINING—FOUNDATION OF THE SOCRATIC SCHOOLS.

§ 1. Socrates; his literary importance. § 2. Aristocratic tendency of Athenian literature during the Peloponnesian war. § 3. How far Socrates was the founder of dialectical reasoning and moral philosophy. § 4. Imperfect Socratic schools; Eucleides and the Megarics. § 5. Antisthenes and the Cynics. § 6. Aristippus and the Cyrenaics.

§ 1. ALTHOUGH Socrates left no writings behind him, and perhaps does not, strictly speaking, deserve a place among the contributors to Greek literature, yet when we consider that the history of a nation's literature is the history also of its intellectual developement, when we reflect how the intellect of Greece was affected by an extension of the principles of Socratic philosophy, and especially when we remember that the greatest literary genius that ever appeared in Hellas owed much, if not most, of his mental training to his early intercourse with Socrates, we cannot well proceed any farther in our inquiries without bestowing a few pages on this great master, and the minor schools of philosophy which claimed him as their head.

SOCRATES, the son of Sophroniscus, an Athenian sculptor, and of Phænarete, a midwife, was born in Ol. 78, 1. B.C. 468. He was brought up to his father's profession, which he practised with some success, though he did not by any means make it his principal occupation. A strong natural tendency to philosophical speculation, fostered and encouraged by frequent opportunities of intercourse with the eminent teachers of the day, soon drew him away to more congenial pursuits, and he became known, at an early period, as one devoted to the acquirement of knowledge, and not only willing, but eager, to converse with any one on those subjects which were considered most interesting to the original thinkers of his day.

Though strongly opposed to the tenets of Protagoras and Gorgias, he was regarded by many of his countrymen as one of the same class of speculators: Aristophanes represents him as a mischievous innovator in education; and, many years afterwards, Æschines did not hesitate to speak of him as 'Socrates, the Sophist.'[1] After having served his country as a gallant soldier during the Peloponnesian war, and having survived the frightful anarchy which succeeded that struggle between democracy and oligarchy, he was, shortly after the restoration of the old constitution at Athens, brought to trial charged with impiety and with corrupting the minds of the rising generation; and, partly in consequence of his own proud and unbending demeanour at the trial, was sentenced to death, and condemned to drink the cup of hemlock, in Ol. 95, 2. B.C. 399.

The circumstances which led to this catastrophe are, after all, those which render Socrates most particularly an object of interest in a literary point of view. We are not so much concerned about establishing the excellence of his moral character, or vindicating his claim to the first place in Greek philosophy, as about clearly understanding and explaining his influence on the literature and speculation of Greece, as they appeared after his time.

§ 2. If we were asked what constituted the difference between the Greek literature of the fifth century B.C. and that of the preceding ages, we should be justified in answering, that literature was Hellenic before that time, but that during the fifth century it became more and more exclusively Athenian.[2] During this period almost every branch of literature was cultivated at Athens to a much greater extent than in all the rest of Greece: the drama was peculiarly her own; oratory was nowhere so powerful as in the Pnyx; the Attic prose style was a model for every Greek writer; philosophy, whether native or foreign, flourished only by the banks of the Ilissus; and, in every sense, Athens was the Prytaneum of Greek wis-

[1] Æschines, *c. Timarch.*, p. 24: ἔπειθ' ὑμεῖς, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, Σωκράτην τὸν σοφιστὴν ἀπεκτείνατε. The connexion of Atrometus with the party of Thrasybulus (Æsch. *Fals. Leg.* p. 47), would partly account for his son's unfavourable opinion of one who shrank from joining the liberators.

[2] See above, chapter XX. § 2.

dom,[1] where the central fire blazed on its own altar, ministering, however, light and warmth to all the lands of Greece. Yet, though this great Attic literature had sprung up in the midst of democracy, and would, no doubt, have been checked in its free developement by any other form of government, it contained within itself a principle of antagonism which soon placed it in open opposition to that very political freedom in which it took its rise. In order to understand what this principle was, we must enter somewhat more deeply into the subject.

When literary exertions are occasioned by something in the state of a country—its religion or its political constitution—as when the worship of Bacchus gave rise to the drama, or, more generally, the worship of Apollo necessitated some species or other of choral lyric poetry, or when the democratic constitutions of Greece created a school of oratory,—we may remark, that a conviction of the importance of the object in view stifles all literary vanity, and the poet is more apt to exult in the thought that he is a minister of the god or an influential servant of the state, than to take pride in the efforts of his genius. He is, in fact, rather a prophet than an artist. As time, however, wears on, the business of the literary man becomes more and more professional.[2] The poet begins to feel conscious of his own importance, and communicates this sentiment to others, till, at last, the writer of the song or hymn is more in the thoughts of his readers and hearers, than the deity in whose honour he has composed the poem. We remark something of this even in Pindar, for though he regards his superior endowments as natural rather than acquired,[3] he is not the less disposed to maintain his professional superiority.[4] But the tendency is more strikingly shown in the cultivation of prose. From the first beginning of artificial prose, in the time of the Sophists, down to its perfection by Isocrates, we have seen that its prevailing feature is

[1] Plato, *Protagoras*, p. 337 C.: *συνεληλυθόταs τῆs Ἑλλάδοs εἰs αὐτὸ τὸ πρυτανεῖον τῆs σοφίαs.*

[2] Plato makes Protagoras say that all the *δημιουργοί*, or professional men, in the Homeric sense of the term, poets, physicians, and teachers of music, were *sophists*, who shrouded their one trade under the veil of these different accomplishments (*ταῖs τέχναις ταύταις παραπετάσμασιν ἐχρήσαντο. Protag.* p. 316 E.).

[3] *Ol.* II. 86. [4] *Ol.* I. 115, 116.

self-consciousness. The prose-writer commences with an acknowledgment that he has a craft or art of his own—he is vain of his skill—and, either by his oral lectures, or by drawing up a τέχνη, or manual, professes to communicate to others the adroitness on which he prides himself.[1] From this consciousness of skill, or the power of doing what others cannot do so well, another feeling immediately results, namely, a sense of superiority in the exclusive possession of art. Hence the literary man feels himself professional, or belonging to a class, in contradistinction to which all others are merely private individuals, laymen, or ἰδιῶται, as they were somewhat contemptuously called; and at last literature, which was the type and the product of free democratical Athens, becomes aristocratic and exclusive, and paves the way to oligarchy, or, failing in this result, shrinks from all participation in the duties of citizenship, and consoles itself with the construction of imaginary and impracticable forms of government, in which the philosopher alone is to guide and govern the state.

This tendency developed itself more especially during the Peloponnesian war, which may be defined to have been the great critical struggle between the democratic and aristocratic parties in Greece. It was while Athens was outwardly contending against the aristocracy of birth, that this aristocracy of talent sprung up within her walls. The name by which the oligarchical party all over Greece delighted to be called—καλοκἀγαθοί—properly implied education or accomplishment, as well as birth.[2] But we remark, that the Spartan nobles delighted more in being ἀγαθοί, 'well-born,' than in their other title of καλοί, 'well-educated.' Indeed, although they usurped the whole name as one epithet of honour,[3] the former part of it was not unfrequently used by them with rather a contemptuous application.[4] With the literary aristocrats of Athens the

---

[1] See above, chapter XXXII. § 3.

[2] *New Cratylus*, §§ 322—325.

[3] Thucyd. IV. 40.

[4] Pind., *Pyth.* III. 72: μαθὼν καλός τοι πίθων παρὰ παισίν, where see the commentators, and for the proper reading compare the note on Sophocles, *Antigone*, 714, p. 192. It was perhaps with some such contemptuous reference that Theramenes, when drinking the hemlock, exclaimed, Κριτίᾳ τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ (Xenoph., *Hellen.* II. 3, § 56).

case was quite otherwise. Their principal renown was to be the pre-eminently καλοὶ, or 'accomplished,' and they cared little or nothing for the distinctions of birth. They felt that they constituted, as, in fact, they did, a sort of middle class,[1] whose interests were identical neither with those of the old nobles nor with those of the democracy. It would be difficult to name any very prominent literary man of this æra, with the single exception of Aristophanes, who did not belong to the literary aristocrats. Euripides, whose connexion with Socrates has long been sufficiently understood, expressly declares, that of the three classes in the state the middle one saves the city;[2] Sophocles was one of the πρόβουλοι, or commissioners, who were selected as agents in the middle-class movement which preceded the oligarchy at Athens;[3] and Thucydides does not hesitate to say, that, in his opinion, this movement, which is generally known as the government of the Five-thousand, was the first good constitution which the Athenians had enjoyed in his time.[4] The political personage who was at the head of this movement in favour of the middle classes was Theramenes, and all the hopes of those who conceived it possible to have a government of the καλοὶ, or educated men, without falling into oligarchy, rested upon this versatile and not very honest statesman. Critias, on the other hand, was for upholding the principles of the old oligarchies, and cared as little for the claims and interests of the middle classes as he did for those of the great mass of his fellow-citizens. This opposition between the parties of Critias and Theramenes—between the old-fashioned oligarchy and the aristocracy of talent—appears to us to solve the whole problem as far as Socrates and his literary affinities are concerned. That Socrates disapproved of the views of Critias,[5] and would not contribute to carry out his nefarious measures for the aggrandizement of his party,[6] is established by the most express testi-

[1] That is to say, they were neither τὸ φαῦλον, 'the illiterate,' nor τὸ πάνυ ἀκριβες, 'the minute philosophers' (Thucyd. VI. 18). For φαῦλος as an epithet of the common people, see Eurip., *Bacchæ* 431; Æschin., *c. Ctesiph.* p. 65, 1.

[2] *Suppl.* 247: τριῶν δὲ μοιρῶν ἡ'ν μέσῳ σώζει πόλιν.

[3] Thucyd. VIII. 1. Aristot., *Rhetor.* III. 18, § 6.

[4] Thucyd. VIII. 97.

[5] Xenophon, *Mem.* I. 2, § 32.

[6] Plato, *Apologia Socr.* p. 32, c.

mony. At the same time, he remained at Athens during the whole period of the anarchy, and never joined the patriots of Phyle. The inference from this is plain: he agreed with many and most of the principles of the educated party—the καλοί—and, upon the whole, preferred an aristocracy of talent and knowledge to the old constitution of his country; and, though he made a courageous effort to save the head of his party, Theramenes, from the vengeance of his great rival,[1] and would, no doubt, have contributed what he could to give a blow to the schemes of Critias and Charmides, he preferred his own Girondist theories to the revived democracy which succeeded the downfal of the oligarchs; and the knowledge of this, coupled with the belief, however erroneous, that he was still a mischievous agent of the middle-class party, not unnaturally induced Anytus, one of the leaders of the party of Thrasybulus, to indict him before the popular tribunal, and led the Athenians to involve themselves in the crime and disgrace of persecuting intolerance.[2]

§ 3. These remarks on the political tendencies of the literary party at Athens, in which Socrates occupied such an influential and prominent position, were necessary to a right understanding of the new direction given to literature by Socrates and his associates. As self-consciousness was the distinguishing feature of this party, so we see that egoism, in forms more or less pronounced, is the strongest mark of the post-Socratic æra of literature and philosophy. In philosophy this has long been recognized. It is well known that, as the speculations of the older philosophers, especially those of the Ionic school, were for the most part confined to physics, and therefore treated only of the outer world, so the business of Socrates and his followers was chiefly with man himself, considered as a thinking subject; in other words, they were all, in some form or other, ethical philosophers.[3] The celebrated precept inscribed on the temple

[1] Diodor. Sic. XIV. c. 5: Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ δύο τῶν οἰκείων προσδραμόντες ἐνεχείρουν κωλύειν τοὺς ὑπηρέτας, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης κ.τ.λ.

[2] Mr. Maurice thinks that the Athenians were unable to tolerate Socrates, because he did not put forth specific opinions, but was merely a seeker of truth (*Ancient Philosophy*, p. 119). This view seems to us to be contradicted by the terms of the indictment, and by the antecedents of the prosecutors.

[3] See Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* pp. 25, 26, 853.

at Delphi,—'Know thyself' (γνῶθι σεαύτόν),—by which Socrates understood that sort of self-scrutiny, which leads to a conviction of our practical deficiencies,[1]—was constantly on his lips, and served not only to remind him of his own duty as he conceived it, but also furnished him with a text to justify his cross-examination of others. Plato makes him excuse himself for not engaging in literary studies, by saying:[2] 'I cannot as yet obey the Delphic inscription, which bids me *know myself;* and it seems to me absurd for any one to inquire into that which does not concern him while he is still ignorant of this.' In applying this precept to others as well as to himself, Socrates not only repressed any self-satisfaction on his own part, but also exposed and rebuked the self-conceit of others. And in making the inquiry after self-knowledge a test of moral progress or political competency, Socrates generally started from the admitted difference between the acquaintance with a particular subject possessed by the professional man as distinguished from those who had not specially studied it. He urged that, while every artist and artizan enjoyed the professional self-consciousness to which we have already referred, while he could tell how he came by his knowledge, while he felt himself safe and strong in the exercise of it, and could, if necessary, teach it to another, the case was strikingly different in regard to those far more important principles by which men are guided in their social and political conduct,—the principles, in fact, of ethical philosophy in all its applications; here every one professed to be as wise as every one else; all were ready to undertake the most important duties; and yet no one could give an account of his supposed qualifications; could say how he acquired them, or how he would communicate them to others.[3] It was by means of conversation, by a searching process of question and answer, amounting, in many cases, to a skilful cross-examination, that Socrates endeavoured to lead his associates, and all whom

---

[1] Xenophon, *Mem.* IV. 2, §§ 24—26. 'Self knowledge,' he says, 'consists in a knowledge of our capacities, with regard to the usefulness of man as such;' ὁ ἑαυτὸν ἐπισκεψάμενος ὁποῖός ἐστι πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην χρείαν, ἔγνωκε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν.

[2] Plato, *Phædr.* p. 229 E.

[3] See Plato, *Sympos.* p. 221 E. *Protagoras,* p. 319, 320. *Gorgias,* p. 491 A, &c. This chapter was written and partly printed in 1842. Mr. Grote has since given

he had an opportunity of interrogating, to a consciousness of their own ignorance, and thus to stir up in their minds an anxiety to obtain more exact views. By his peculiar skill in conducting this system of questioning, he raised it to the rank of a scientific process, and 'dialectics' (διαλεκτική) or 'talk' became a name for the method of reasoning and the science of logic. This method of sifting the truth had been practised before him by some of the Eleatic school, especially by 'the asking and answering Zeno,' as he was called.[1] But it assumed, under the skilful management of Socrates, a more directly practical application, and a more systematic form; and the statement that there were ten distinct schools of Socratic philosophers[2] shows, at all events, how important was the influence of Socrates on the thinkers of his generation, while the tendency exhibited by Plato and others to frame schemes for an Utopian polity, in which the wise and good alone would exercise authority, proves that the self-consciousness of superior or professional knowledge was still operating on the civic character as it did in the latter years of the Peloponnesian war.

As far as Socrates was himself concerned, it may be said briefly, that he first awakened the idea of science, and first treated moral philosophy according to scientific principles. With regard to the combination of his scientific with his moral principles, it may be stated that his leading idea was a conviction of the unity of virtue and a consequent belief that it was teachable as a matter of science; so that with him the scientific and the moral run into one another. Thus he held that a true knowledge of what is morally right leads of necessity to corresponding conduct, since no one wilfully departs from that which

---

due prominence to the characteristics of Socrates, which are mentioned in the text. He says (vol. VIII. p. 597), 'there was no topic on which Sokratês more frequently insisted than the contrast between the state of men's knowledge on the general topics of men and society, and that which artists or professional men possessed in their respective special crafts. So perpetually did he reproduce this comparison, that his enemies accused him of wearing it threadbare.'

[1] Aristotle, *Sophist. Elench.* c. X. § 2.

[2] Diog. Laërt., II. § 47, p. 119, Casaubon: τῶν δὲ διαδεξαμένων αὐτὸν τῶν λεγομένων Σωκρατικῶν, οἱ κορυφαιότατοι μὲν Πλάτων, Ξενοφῶν, Ἀντισθένης· τῶν δὲ φερομένων δέκα οἱ διασημότατοι τέσσαρες, Αἰσχίνης, Φαίδων, Εὐκλείδης, Ἀρίστιππος. The Phædo, here mentioned, was the founder of the Eretrian school, which was virtually subordinated to the Megarics by its second founder Menedemus. Phædo is best known by the dialogue of Plato which bears his name.

he knows to be good. Accordingly the moral philosophy of Socrates was a deduction from his theory of consciousness, and his exposure of ignorance assumed the form of a moral rebuke. 'This waking of the idea of science,' says Schleiermacher,[1] 'and its earliest manifestations, must have been, in the first instance, what constituted the philosophical basis in Socrates; and for this reason he is justly regarded as the founder of that later Greek philosophy, which in its whole essential form, together with its several variations, was determined by that idea. For by what other means could he have been enabled to declare that which others believed themselves to know to be no knowledge, than by a more correct conception of knowledge, and by a more correct method founded upon that conception? And everywhere, when he is explaining the nature of non-science (ἀνεπιστημοσύνη), one sees that he sets out from two tests: one, that science is the same in all true thoughts, and consequently must manifest its peculiar form in every such thought: the other, that all science must form one whole. For his proofs always hinge on this assumption: that it is impossible to start from one true thought, and to be entangled in a contradiction with any other, and also that knowledge derived from any one point, and obtained by correct combination, cannot contradict that which has been deduced in like manner from any other point; and while he exposed such contradictions in the current conceptions of mankind, he strove to rouse those leading ideas in all who were capable of understanding or even divining his meaning.' The irony of Socrates has been well described by the same writer, as the coexistence in him of the idea of science with the want of clear and complete views on any object of science—in a word, as the knowledge of his ignorance. 'It is clear,' says an English scholar,[2] 'that Socrates possessed, *consciously to himself*, an idea of scientific method, and that his repeated asseveration, that he knew nothing, was grounded on the comparison of his own attainments with that idea.' The procedure, which Socrates derived from this self-consciousness,

[1] Translated by Dr. Thirlwall in the *Philological Museum*, II. 549. We have quoted this passage and that which follows (from Schleiermacher's *Philosoph. Werke*, III. 4. 9), in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, s. v. 'Socrates.'

[2] Professor Thompson, note on Butler's *Lectures on Ancient Philosophy*, vol. I. p. 370.

was a system of induction, by which he reduced under some one idea, a multitude of separate particulars combined with a system of definitions, by which he divided the genus into its species; and this is the procedure which is described in the *Phædrus* of Plato.[1] The subject matter of this procedure was not physical but moral science, considered with special reference to politics. Both the method of Socrates and this application of it have been fully recognized by Aristotle. With regard to the latter he remarks:[2] 'in the time of Socrates, moral and political philosophy was extended, and physical speculation ceased, and philosophers turned their attention to the virtue which was useful to individuals and communities.' And in another passage he states both the method and the object of the Socratic dialectics: 'as Socrates,'[3] he says, 'busied himself about the moral virtues, and endeavoured first of all to give general definitions of these,—for Democritus and Pythagoras attempted only a few definitions—he consistently investigated the *quid est* (τὸ τί ἐστιν), the general idea. For he sought to draw logical conclusions (συλλογίζεσθαι); but the general idea is the basis of logical reasoning. At that time the faculty of dialectic did not yet exist, so that he should have been able to investigate opposites independently of the general idea, and so to see whether the science of opposites is identical. There are two things which one may justly attribute to Socrates,—induction and general definitions, both of which belong to the first principles of science.'[4] We cannot then give a briefer, and at the same time more correct account of what Socrates did for the philosophic literature of Greece, than by saying that he founded a system of dialectical reasoning resting on real defini-

[1] Prof. Thompson says, u.s.; 'Induction was the bridge by which Socrates led his hearers from the common notion to the right conception implied in a term, proceeding by the rejection and exclusion of that which was irrelevant or proper to the individual, or the subordinate species, *per rejectiones et exclusiones debitas* (Bacon, *Nov. Org.* I. 105). The two counter-processes of the dialectician are discussed with great elegance in the *Phædrus*, 265 D., fol. (1.) Induction, or the gathering under one form the multitude of scattered particulars. (2.) Division, or the dissection of the general into its subordinate species, κατ' ἄρθρα ᾗ πέφυκεν, by a natural not an arbitrary classification.'

[2] *De Part. Anim.* I. 1, 44: ἐπὶ Σωκράτους τοῦτο μὲν ηὐξήθη, τὸ δὲ ζητεῖν τὰ περὶ φύσεως ἔληξε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν χρήσιμον ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀπέκλιναν οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες.

[3] *Metaphys.* M. (XIII.) 4, p. 1078 b. 17.

[4] ἐκεῖνος δὲ εὐλόγως ἐζήτει τὸ τί ἐστιν. συλλογίζεσθαι γὰρ ἐζήτει, ἀρχὴ δὲ τῶν

tions, and that he applied this practical logic to a common-sense estimate of the duties of man, both as a moral being and as a member of a community; so that while on the one hand he gave intensity to the feeling of professional self-consciousness, on the other hand he induced men to exact from themselves and their associates a higher standard of qualification, and to seek the good government of the state as well as the morality of the individual, in an increase of mental discipline and useful knowledge. His especial position as a speculative teacher is best indicated by the statement to which we have already referred, that no less than ten schools of philosophers claimed him as their head. It is true that the majority of these very imperfectly represented his method and its applications. But by his influence on Plato, and through him, on Aristotle, he has constituted himself the founder of the philosophy which is still recognised in the civilized world.

Reserving for special discussion the works of Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle, which are the most striking literary representatives of Socrates and his teaching, in their effects on his own and the succeeding generation, we must here consider those imperfect Socratic schools, which either exaggerated the views of Socrates in regard to the relations of science and virtue, or distorted his teaching by subordinating, on contradictory principles, the speculative truth to the moral obligation. As, on the one hand, Socrates had insisted that virtue was dependent on the highest kind of speculative knowledge, one of the ablest of his disciples, Eucleides of Megara, who had previously adopted

---

συλλογισμῶν τὸ τί ἐστιν, διαλεκτικὴ γὰρ ἰσχὺς οὔπω τοτ' ἦν, ὥστε δύνασθαι καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ τί ἐστι τἀναντία ἐπισκοπεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων εἰ ἡ αὐτὴ ἐπιστήμη. δύο γὰρ ἐστιν ἃ τις ἂν ἀποδοίη Σωκράτει δικαίως, τούς τ' ἐπακτικοὺς λόγους καὶ τὸ ὁρίζεσθαι καθόλου. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστιν ἄμφω περὶ ἀρχὴν ἐπιστήμης. In this important passage *εὐλόγως* means consistently, or in strict accordance with the definition. Thus in the *Metaph.* A. I. p. 989, a. 2: *καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν κινουμένων αἰτίας, πότερον ἓν ἢ δύο θετέον, οὔτ' ὀρθῶς οὔτε εὐλόγως οἰητέον εἰρῆσθαι παντελῶς.* Bonitz explains the adverb: 'de moventium causarum numero, utrum una statuenda esset an duæ, Empedoclem disputasse ait nec recte (*οὔτ' ὀρθῶς*), siquidem unum debere esse *τὸ κινοῦν ἀκίνητον* Aristoteles persuasum habet, nec sibimet ipsi constantem (*οὔτ' εὐλόγως*), quoniam utriusque principii munera non potest ita, uti distinxit, servare distincta.' The consistency of Socrates depended on his sticking to his definition of terms, as Xenophon tells us very plainly; *Mem.* IV. 6, § 1: *ὧν ἕνεκα σκοπῶν σὺν τοῖς συνοῦσι, τί ἕκαστον εἴη τῶν ὄντων οὐδέποτ' ἔληγε.* Arrian. *Epictet.* I. 17, 12: *ἤρχετο ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπισκέψεως τί σημαίνει ἕκαστον.* This is the *λόγον διδόναι*, which Simmias, in the *Phædo*, p. 763, is made to attribute exclusively to Socrates.

the teaching of the Eleatic school, exaggerated this proposition, and substituted for the practical ethics of Socrates a system of logical refinements, involving a series of perplexities not unlike those which the schoolmen of the middle ages substituted for the simple lessons of Christian theology. As, on the other hand, Socrates had maintained that there was a necessary connexion between virtue and happiness, two of his hearers made this equation the basis of two opposite systems of morality; for while Antisthenes asserted that virtue was happiness, Aristippus maintained that happiness was virtue; and while the former compelled the mind of man to surrender all its inclinations, the latter called upon nature to submit to the cravings of human appetite. The speculations of the Megaric school, duly sifted and criticised, paved the way for the idealism of Plato; and the Cynics, who claim Antisthenes for their founder, and the Cyrenaics, who took their rise with Aristippus, were represented with certain modifications by the Stoics and Epicureans respectively, the former being also the inheritors of the Megaric teaching of Stilpo.

§ 4. EUCLEIDES, of Megara, or, as Diogenes tells us somewhat doubtingly, of Gela, in Sicily, was one of the most devoted associates of Socrates, and not only encountered some danger in order to enjoy the advantage of his teaching,[1] but was among those who attended him in his last moments.[2] When the tragedy was accomplished, he opened his house at Megara as an asylum for those of his fellow-students[3] who found Athens no longer a safe or pleasant abode, and, among others, entertained Plato, who was destined to be the most distinguished ornament of the school. Before the period of his connexion with Socrates, Eucleides had made himself acquainted with the doctrines of the Eleatics; and the peculiarities of his system, which regarded speculative science the *summum bonum* or moral end of man, must be attributed to the fact, that, under the influence of his previous associations, he endeavoured to combine the Parmenidean with the Socratic theory, and eagerly pursued the dialectics, while he neglected the practical ethics of his last teacher. Diogenes tells us that he wrote six dialogues, of which he gives

---

[1] Aulus Gellius, *N. A.* VI. 10.

[2] Plat. *Phædo* p. 59 B.

[3] Diog. Laert. II. 108.

us the titles;[1] but not a fragment of his works has been preserved. His views, however, are criticized in the *Sophistes, Politicus, Parmenides,* and *Philebus,* of Plato, and the doctrines of his school are often referred to by ancient writers. Starting as an Eleatic philosopher, from the conception of unity, Eucleides maintained that it was 'the good,' though he designated it by different names,—sometimes calling it 'prudence,' at another time 'God,' at another time 'intellect,' and so forth.[2] This alone had being, and it was unalterable.[3] Its opposite, therefore, or evil, was non-existent.[4] This optimism was, of course, purely metaphysical, and was not regarded in its practical result. Even the dialectics of Eucleides were logically unpractical. He rejected all reasoning by analogy, all comparisons, all formal demonstrations; and in arguing syllogistically, for he seems to have invented the syllogism, he used to admit the premises and combat the conclusion.[5] Whatever may have been the value of his teaching as a discipline of the intellect, it was incapable of producing any important results; and appeared as nothing but an endless logomachy, fruitful only in ingenious quibbles. These idle sophistries assumed a worse form under EUBULIDES, the successor of Eucleides, who flourished about 340 B.C., and who is known as the inventor of the seven false or captious syllogisms so celebrated in the history of logic, namely, the ψευδόμενος or 'liar,' the ἐγκεκαλυμμένος or 'veiled,' the κερατίνης or 'horned,' the ἠλέκτρα or 'unknown friend,' the φαλακρὸς or 'bald,' the σωρίτης or 'heap,' and the διαλανθάνων or 'hidden.'[6] Much

---

[1] II. § 108. They were called Λαμπρίας, Αἰσχίνης, Φοίνιξ, Κρίτων, Ἀλκιβιάδης, Ἐρωτικός.

[2] Diog. Laërt. II. 108: ἓν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀπεφαίνετο πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλούμενον· ὅτε μὲν γὰρ φρόνησιν, ὅτε δὲ θεὸν, καὶ ἄλλοτε νοῦν καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

[3] Cic. *Acad. Qu.* II. 42: 'id bonum solum esse [Megarici] dicebant, quod esset unum et idem semper.'

[4] Diog. Laërt. u.s.: τὰ δὲ ἀντικείμενα τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀνῄρει, μὴ εἶναι φάσκων.

[5] *Id. ibid.*: ταῖς ἀποδείξεσιν ἐνίστατο οὐ κατὰ λήμματα ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπιφοράν. Professor Thompson remarks (Butler's *Lectures,* I. p. 402): 'if, as Deycks supposes, these terms were invented by Eucleides, to him will belong the honour of having discovered the form of the syllogism, λήμματα being equivalent to the προτάσεις, ἐπιφορὰ to the συμπέρασμα of Aristotle.'

[6] These seven sophisms may easily be reduced to four. The 'veiled,' the 'unknown friend' and the 'hidden' are all the same, namely, they are dependent on the quibble that Admetus or Electra would not know Alcestis or Orestes, if they

the same was the procedure of the later Megarics, DIODORUS CRONUS and STILPO, who flourished about 300 B.C., the former of whom denied motion, and the latter maintained that only identical propositions were true. Such a school well deserved to be called *eristic* or contentious. The Megarics were, in fact, as Schleiermacher has remarked,[1] the overseers and critics of the formal proceedings of others, and they did this in the true Socratic spirit, which they had apprehended in its most positive form. Their imperfections consisted in their neglect of real knowledge; but it may be said that wherever the Cynics were negative as Socratic philosophers, the Megarics were positive, and so the two schools at last united in that of the Stoics, for Stilpo, who lived as a genuine Cynic of the higher kind, was a pupil of Crates, and the teacher of Zeno.

§ 5. The Cynics, who were thus the counterpart and supplement of the Megarics, derived their doctrine and principles from ANTISTHENES, who has been well described[2] as a caricature of his teacher Socrates. Originally a scholar of Gorgias, Antisthenes devoted himself to Socrates, and was, like Eucleides, one of those who attended him in his last moments.[3] Two declamations of doubtful authenticity, the *Ajax* and *Ulysses*, are still preserved as specimens of his rhetorical skill.[4] But his philosophical writings, which were voluminous, and distinguished by various excellencies of style and matter, are entirely lost, with the exception of a few fragments.[5] These works, as we learn

were veiled or otherwise concealed, so that one might be said to know and not to know the same person at the same time. This fallacy is as old as Eucleides, for Plato refers to it in his *Theætetus*, p. 165 B.: λέγω δὴ τὸ δεινότατον ἐρώτημα, ἆρα οἷόν τε τὸν αὐτὸν εἰδότα τι τοῦτο ὃ οἶδε μὴ εἰδέναι. The 'bald' and the 'heap' are only the reversed forms of the same sophism; they argued on the admission that the loss of a hair does not constitute baldness, or the addition of a grain make a heap. The 'horned' argues that you have what you have not lost—horns for instance. And the 'liar' maintains that if you say you lie when you speak the truth, you both lie and speak the truth at the same time (Cic. *Acad.* II. 29., Aristotle, *Soph. El.* XXV. 3). This fallacy, which depends on a confusion in the meaning of the predicate, furnished Chrysippus with the theme for six volumes of commentary, and was probably developed by Eubulides in his attack on the μεσότης of Aristotle's ethics.

[1] *Werke zur Philosophie*, II. 1. p. 96.

[2] By Schleiermacher, u.s. p. 91.

[3] Xen. *Mem.* III. 11, 17, II. 5. *Sympos.* II. 10, III. 7, IV. 34. Plat. *Phædo*, p. 59, B.

[4] Westermann, *Gesch. d. Gr. Beredtsamkeit* § 33, note 2.

[5] Winckelmann, *Antisthenis Fragmenta*, Turici 1842.

from Diogenes, were collected in ten books, and consisted chiefly of dialogues.[1] Some of these were polemical criticisms, if they did not amount to personal and libellous attacks. Thus, we read of two dialogues called *Cyrus*, in the second of which he inveighed against Alcibiades, of his *Politicus*, in which he lampooned all the statesmen of Athens, of his *Archelaus*, in which he criticized *Gorgias*, of his *Aspasia*, in which he calumniated the sons of Pericles, and of his *Satho*, in which Plato was scurrilously assailed.[2] With the latter he was in constant antagonism, and we find traces of this in the Platonic dialogues. There can be no doubt that Antisthenes is aimed at in well-known passages of the *Sophistes* and *Philebus*.[3] Cicero informs us that, in his book called ὁ φυσικός, Antisthenes maintained the important proposition that, though there were many gods in the popular polytheism, there was only one real deity.[4] Although Theopompus ventured to insinuate that Plato was indebted to Antisthenes for many of his thoughts,[5] it seems that the latter was remarkable rather for his wit and acuteness than for the elevation of his sentiments;[6] and his general character would lead us to expect sarcastic humour rather than refined elegance in his writings. The same affectation which induced him to substitute ascetic extravagances for the natural simplicity and

[1] Diog. Laërt. VI. 15.

[2] Athen. V., p. 220, C.D. *Satho* was a vulgar substitute for Plato's own name: καὶ Πλάτωνα δὲ μετονομάσας Σάθωνα ἀσυρῶς καὶ φορτικῶς τὸν ταύτην ἔχοντα τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἐξέδωκε κατ' αὐτοῦ.

[3] *Soph.* 251 B., 258 E., 259 D. *Phileb.* 45 D. c. Aristot. *Ethica Nicom.* X. 1. Professor Thompson (in a paper read before the *Cambridge Philosophical Society* in Nov. 1857) has rendered it probable that of the two parties in the gigantomachy (*Soph.* p. 246 A.) the gods represent the Megarics, who, as idealists, are called ἡμερώτεροι, 'more civilized' or 'more humane' than their materialistic opponents, whereas the giants denote the school of Antisthenes, who, says Plato, think nothing real but that which they can take hold of with both their hands (*Soph.* 247 C.), and whom he elsewhere (*Theætet.* 155 E.) terms 'hard,' 'stubborn,' 'quite illiterate' (σκληροί, ἀντίτυποι, μάλ' εὖ ἄμουσοι), the second of these epithets referring (as Mr. Thompson holds with Winckelmann) to the name as well as the character of Antisthenes, and the last being quite justified by the language of Aristotle, *Metaphys.* VII. 3. 7: οἱ Ἀντισθένειοι καὶ οἱ οὕτως ἀπαίδευτοι.

[4] Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* I. 13,32: 'Antisthenes, in eo libro qui *physicus* inscribitur, populares deos multos, naturalem unum esse dicens, tollit vim et naturam deorum.' Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* V. p. 601.

[5] Athen. XI., p. 508 D. The same claim is made on behalf of Aristippus and Bryson.

[6] Cic. *ad Att.* XII. 38: 'homo acutus magis quam eruditus.'

contempt for luxury, which were so conspicuous in Socrates, must have appeared in his literary compositions, and we may be sure that they were not deficient in the caustic bitterness which is attributed to his conversation.[1] His personal habits were eminently offensive. So far was he from attracting a crowd of admirers, that he drove away all his pupils except Diogenes, who was a man of similar stamp. He always appeared in the most beggarly clothing, with the staff and wallet of mendicancy; and this ostentation of self-denial once drew from Socrates the exclamation that he saw the vanity of Antisthenes through the holes in his garments.[2] It has been supposed that the appellation of 'the dog,' or the 'cynic,' which is especially bestowed on DIOGENES,[3] and which furnishes a designation for the school founded by Antisthenes, was derived from the snarling temper and shameless effrontery of these philosophers. In all probability, this name, which was found to be so appropriate, was suggested in the first instance by that of the Gymnasium of *Cynosarges* at Athens, where Antisthenes taught, close by the temple of his favourite deity Hercules.[4] The philosophy of the Cynics, if it deserves to be called so, was a resolute maintenance of the principle that nothing was good but virtue. And by virtue they understood only firmness, and the abnegation of all natural desires. They even went so far as to identify pain with virtue, and to make physical discomfort a condition of moral felicity. Even infamy and despair might be regarded as

[1] The following are some of his sarcastic witticisms as recorded by Diogenes: *πρὸς τὸ Ποντικὸν μειράκιον, μέλλον φοιτᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ πυθόμενον τίνων αὐτῷ δεῖ, φησὶ βιβλιαρίου καινοῦ (καὶ νοῦ), καὶ γραφείου καινοῦ (καὶ νοῦ), καὶ πινακιδίου καινοῦ (καὶ νοῦ), τὸν νοῦν παρεμφαίνων.—πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτώμενον ποδαπὴν γήμῃ, ἔφη, ἂν μὲν καλὴν ἔξεις κοινήν, ἂν δὲ αἰσχρὰν ἔξεις ποινήν.—κρεῖττον ἔλεγεν ἐν ταῖς χρείαις εἰς κόρακας ἢ εἰς κόλακας ἐμπεσεῖν· οἱ μεν γὰρ νεκρόυς, οἱ δὲ ζῶντας ἐσθίουσιν.* Aristophanes, by the way, has punned upon these last words, *Vesp.* 43—45.

[2] Diog. Laert. VI. 8, p. 370, Casaubon: *στρέψαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ διερρωγὸς τοῦ τρίβωνος εἰς τὸ προφανές, Σωκράτης ἰδών φησιν, 'ὁρῶ σου διὰ τοῦ τρίβωνος τὴν φιλοδοξίαν.'*

[3] *e. g.* Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 10, § 7.

[4] The *Κυνόσαργες* was a temple and gymnasium of Hercules, east of the city, and before the gate Diomea. It was designed for the use of illegitimate or base-born Athenians and foreigners (Dem. c. *Aristocr.* 692. 18). Hercules was the favourite god of Antisthenes, not only because he was himself, like that divinity, half-god, of good extraction by the father's side only, his mother having been a Thracian or a Phrygian, but also because Hercules was the representative of a laborious life. The Cynosarges was so called from the oracle about *ἡ κύων ἡ λευκή* (Pausan. I. 19, § 3).

blessings,[1] and madness was better than vicious pleasure.[2] The virtue, which they regarded as the *summum bonum*, was, according to the Socratic principle, capable of being taught.[3] But it was only Antisthenes, the founder of the school, and Zeno, who received instruction from Crates the disciple of Diogenes, that paid any attention to science as such. Even in the hands of Antisthenes science was really a denial of scientific principles. According to Aristotle,[4] he said 'that it was impossible to define the substance of a thing (for that the definition was but a long description), but that you may teach what kind of a thing it is; for example, you cannot say what silver is, but you may say that it is like tin.' According to the same authority,[5] he insisted upon an identity of expression in speaking of the same subjects, so that he denied the possibility of contradiction, and almost of falsehood. It was therefore in a very different sense from Socrates that Antisthenes maintained that all instruction depended on an examination of words.[6] For while Socrates insisted upon scientific definition, Antisthenes intended to insist only upon a fixed use of conventional terms. On the whole it may be said with truth, that the philosophy of the Cynics was a travesty and misrepresentation of that of Socrates, just as its founder was a caricature of his great teacher. And if Socrates may be called a *Girondist*, it is equally clear that Antisthenes and Diogenes were *Sansculottes*. The latter indeed was, either on his own account or that of his family,[7] an outcast from his native city of Sinope; his asceticism was, in all probability, a refuge for his forfeited respectability and civic useful-

---

[1] Diog. VI. 11, p. 371: *τὴν δὲ ἀδοξίαν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἴσον τῷ πόνῳ.*

[2] *id.* VI. 3: *μανείην μᾶλλον ἢ ἡσθείην*, 8: *πρὸς τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα τρυφήν, ἐχθρῶν παῖδες, ἔφη, τρυφήσειαν.*

[3] *id.* 10, p. 371: *διδακτὴν ἀπεδείκνυε τὴν ἀρετήν.*

[4] *Metaphys.* VIII. 3. p. 1043, b. 24: *ὥστε ἡ ἀπορία ἦν οἱ Ἀντισθένειοι καὶ οἱ οὕτως ἀπαίδευτοι ἠπόρουν ἔχει τινὰ καιρόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι τὸ τί ἐστιν ὁρίσασθαι (τὸν γὰρ ὅρον λόγον εἶναι μακρόν), ἀλλὰ ποιόν τι ἐστιν ἐνδέχεται καὶ διδάξαι, ὥσπερ ἀργυρον τί μέν ἐστιν, οὔ, ὅτι δὲ οἷον κασσίτερος.*

[5] *Metaphys.* V. 29, p. 1024, b. 31: *ὁ δὲ ψευδὴς λόγος οὐθενός ἐστιν ἁπλῶς λόγος· διὸ Ἀντισθένης ᾤετο εὐήθως μηθὲν ἀξιῶν λέγεσθαι πλὴν τὸ οἰκείῳ λόγῳ ἓν ἐφ' ἑνός· ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε μὴ εἶναι ἀντιλέγειν, σχεδὸν δὲ μηδὲ ψεύδεσθαι.*

[6] Arrian, *Dissert. Epicteti*, I. 17. 12: *Ἀντισθένης δ' οὐ λέγει; καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ γεγραφὼς ὅτι ἀρχὴ παιδεύσεως ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπίσκεψις;*

[7] Diog. Laërt. VI. 20, p. 377.

ness; and the socialism, which he openly preached, seemed to be inspired by the recklessness of a man who had no character to lose.

§ 6. The opposite school of the Cyrenaics had at least the merit of eschewing all hypocrisy, and although the undisguised pursuit of selfish gratification is utterly repugnant to our higher moral sense, it is at least more natural and more honest than the affected austerity, which the Cynics used as a cloak for their malignity, or as an excuse for their shamelessness.[1] The peculiar character of ARISTIPPUS, the founder of this school, seems to have impressed itself on his followers. He was, in modern language, a selfish man of the world, who was willing to barter his real independence, and to let out his social and intellectual qualities, in order to obtain the largest possible amount of present enjoyment, and to escape as far as possible the ordinary troubles and annoyances of life. He believed, with all this, that he had made himself superior to the outer world, and was independent of external circumstances.[2] 'I possess, but am not possessed by things,'[3] was the maxim by which he expressed his indifferentism in regard to all things which he could not bring under his control. But his career shows that he was merely enabled by his want of a high moral character and fixed principles to accommodate himself to any circumstances, and so make the best of life.[4]

Aristippus was the son of Aritades, an opulent merchant of Cyrene. He came to see the Olympic games, which, from Pindar's time had been a favourite resort of his countrymen, and was led by the encomiums of Ischomachus, whom he met there, to extend his journey to Athens for the purpose of making the

---

[1] Cic. *de Officiis*, I. 41 : 'Cynicorum natio tota ejicienda est; est enim inimica verecundiæ, sine quâ nihil rectum esse potest, nihil honestum.'

[2] His avowed principles are well expressed in the lines of Horace, I. *Epist.* I. 17:

Nunc in Aristippi furtim præcepta relabor,
Et mihi res non me rebus subjungere conor.

[3] ἔχω ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχομαι. Diog. Laërt. II. 8, 75. This was said especially with reference to Lais.

[4] So Horace says of him (I. *Epist.* XVII. 23):

Omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res,
Tentantem majora, fere præsentibus æquum.

Diog. Laërt. II. 8, § 66 : ἦν δὲ ἱκανὸς ἁρμόσασθαι καὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ προσώπῳ καὶ πᾶσαν περίστασιν ἁρμονίως ὑποκρίνασθαι.

acquaintance of Socrates.[1] He attached himself to this philosopher, and was one of his regular associates till the time of his death; but his fellow-pupil, Plato, who had never much toleration for him, seems to intimate that, being close at hand, he allowed some inadequate excuse to prevent him from attending his master at the time when he drank the hemlock in prison.[2] Although his native city has given its name to the school which he founded, Aristippus lived very little at Cyrene. Indeed he did not hesitate to avow to Socrates himself that he lived away from home in order to avoid the duties of a Greek citizen. His time was spent either at Athens, where he was a student, or at Corinth, where he lived with the notorious courtezan, Lais,[3] or at Syracuse, where he was the obsequious parasite of the tyrant Dionysius.[4] It is said that he was once taken prisoner by Artaphernes the satrap.[5] In his later years he returned to Cyrene, and spent the remainder of his long life there, being principally engaged in communicating his system of philosophy to his daughter Arete, by whom it was taught to her son, Aristippus,[6] and he is supposed by some to have completed and systematized the doctrines of his uncle. The highest praise that can be bestowed upon the character of Aristippus is that he seems to have enjoyed, either from natural temperament, or from diligent self-control, a very remarkable calmness and tranquillity, which would have done credit to any philosopher.[7] And though he justified his self-indulgence, he declared that he should be able at any moment to relinquish his pleasures without a sigh.[8] If the long list of his writings, which is given by

---

[1] Plutarch, *de Curios.* 2, vol. III., p. 79, Wyttenbach: Plutarch says here, with regard to the philosophy of Socrates, ἧς ἦν τέλος ἐπιγνῶναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κακὰ καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι.

[2] *Phædo*, p. 59 D: τί δαί; Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Κλεόμβροτος παρεγένοντο; οὐ δῆτα· ἐν Αἰγίνῃ γὰρ ἐλέγοντο εἶναι.

[3] Athenæus, XII. p. 544. XIII. p. 588. Two of his works were entitled πρὸς Λαΐδα and πρὸς Λαΐδα περὶ τοῦ κατόπτρου (Diog. Laert. II. 84).

[4] Diog. Laërt. *vitâ Aristippi*, passim. [5] Brucker, *Hist. Phil.* II. 2, 3. p. 589 note u.

[6] Suidas, s.v. διήκουσε δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡ θυγάτηρ Ἀρήτη, ἀφ' ἧς ὁ παῖς αὐτῆς ὁ νέος Ἀρίστιππος ὃς ἐκλήθη Μητροδίδακτος. Cf. Diog. L. II. 86, from whom this is taken, and Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* III. 40.

[7] This is shown by the numerous anecdotes in Diogenes.

[8] This is implied in the saying quoted by Diog. Laërt. II. 69, p. 134: εἰσιών ποτε εἰς ἑταίρας οἰκίαν . . . οὐ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν, ἔφη, χαλεπόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐξελθεῖν.

Diogenes Laërtius, is at all correct, he must have been an industrious man of letters. Sosicrates of Rhodes said that he wrote nothing, but the catalogue of his works is given on the authority of Sotion and Panætius.[1] Besides philosophical treatises on 'virtue,' 'education,' 'fortune,' &c., a history of Libya, in three books, is attributed to him. It is difficult to discriminate between the doctrines which were developed by Aristippus himself, and those which were elaborated by the other teachers of the Cyrenaic school. Aristotle, who mentions Aristippus as a Sophist,[2] attributes to Eudoxus, and not to him, the exaltation of pleasure to the rank of the *summum bonum*, which he combats in the tenth book of his *Ethics*.[3] In general, it may be said, that Aristippus confined himself to a sort of moral philosophy which maintained that happiness (εὐδαιμονία) and pleasure (ἡδονή) were convertible terms; and which, by seeking the end of life in the materials of the world of sense, naturally led to atheism, as was shown by the surname *Atheus*, which is given to THEODORUS, one of this school. The five points of the system of Aristippus, which some have attributed to his nephew,[4] are as follows:[5] (1.) 'Concerning things to be chosen and avoided' (περὶ αἱρετῶν καὶ φευκτῶν): under this head he maintained that the end of life was transitory pleasure; for that the present alone belongs to man, the past being no longer available, and the future precarious. (2.) 'Concerning the affections' (περὶ παθῶν): under this head he gave his definition of pleasure. There were, he said, three conditions: pleasure, which he compared to calm and even motion, as when a vessel is borne to its haven by a gentle and favouring breeze; indifference, which he compared to a dead and windless calm;

---

[1] Diog. Laërt. II. 85, p. 144 B.

[2] *Metaph.* B. (III.) p. 996 a, 32: τῶν σοφιστῶν τινὲς οἷον Ἀριστιππος προεπηλάκιζεν αὐτάς. In one point at least Aristippus approximated to the Sophists, that he took fees for his teaching. Suidas, s.v.

[3] *Eth. Nic.* X. 2, 1.

[4] Professor Thompson (Butler's *Lectures*, I. p. 452) says: 'Aristippus the elder, though the fact of his authorship is disputed (Diog. L. II. 8, 84), was undoubtedly the inventor of the Cyrenaic system. He must even have developed it in a logical and systematic form.' This is argued from the references to his views in the *Theætetus* and *Philebus*, where they are made the subject of formal refutation.

[5] Sextus Empiricus, Lib. VII. § 11. *Adversus Logicos*, p. 372, ed. Fabricius.

pain, which he compared to a storm, in which the vessel is driven from its port, and exposed to danger. In this definition he stands directly opposed to the Epicureans, who insisted that pleasure was the state of absolute rest. (3.) 'Concerning actions' (*περὶ πράξεων*): here he maintained that actions were neither good nor bad in themselves; that virtue consisted in that which conduced to pleasure of any kind; and he perverted the Socratic connexion between 'knowing' and 'doing' by making his virtue a sort of common sense, or presence of mind (*φρόνησις*), which, as he said of himself, enabled the philosopher to live happily anywhere. (4.) 'Concerning causes' (*περὶ αἰτίων*): in speaking of causes the Cyrenaics did not mean physical causes, but merely the outward occasions of our bodily sensations. In regard to these man is merely passive; and as it is the business of the wise man, in the Cyrenaic sense, to get the greatest amount of pleasure out of the world around him, he must as far as possible transform disagreeable sensations into sources of enjoyment, either by evading or by modifying them. In this part of his theory Aristippus is quite as much the object of Plato's criticisms in the *Theætetus*, as Protagoras, who is mentioned there by name, and of course no one will doubt that the theory of pleasure, which it is one of the objects of the *Philebus* to controvert, must have been systematically put forward by the founder of the Cyrenaic philosophy. (5.) 'Concerning proofs' (*περὶ πίστεων*): of the Cyrenaic views on this subject we have a definite and intelligible account in the pages of Sextus Empiricus.[1] From this statement it is quite clear that the school of Aristippus admitted no criterion except the senses: and these gave a different result for every man. In some respects they have found a modern representative of their views in Horne

[1] Lib. VII. *adv. Logicos*, §§ 191—200. We agree with Fabricius (*ad Sext.* p. 371,) that this passage refers to the *πίστεις* of the Cyrenaics. Some have thought that he is speaking *περὶ αἰτίων*, but he says at the beginning § 191, that the Cyrenaics make the *πάθη* the *κριτήρια*, and that these alone are conceivable and not fallacious: *τῶν δὲ πεποιηκότων τὰ πάθη* (*i.e.* the *αἴτια*) *μηδὲν εἶναι καταληπτὸν μηδὲ ἄψευστον*, and at the end of his explanation he remarks, § 200: *πάντων οὖν τῶν ὄντων τὰ πάθη κριτήριά ἐστι καὶ τέλη· ζῶμεν δέ, φασιν, ἐπόμενοι τούτοις ἐναργείᾳ μὲν κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πάθη εὐδοκήσει δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἡδονήν*. So that he is clearly speaking of the evidence of the senses, and not of that which produces sensation.

Tooke,[1] in others Bishop Berkeley is in agreement with them. When the ultra-nominalistic philologer declared that truth is only what each man troweth, he said much the same as the Cyrenaics, who maintained[2] that 'there was no common criterion for men, but that common names were used to designate their independent judgments.' And when Berkeley denied the demonstrable existence of an external world, he did not differ from the Cyrenaics, who declared[3] that 'it is only the affection or sensation which appears to us, and that what is without us and is the cause of the sensation, may perhaps exist, but does not appear to us.'

The doctrines of Aristippus and his nephew were farther developed by HEGESIAS, THEODORUS, and ANNICERIS,[4] and ultimately merged in the system of Epicurus.

As a matter of literary curiosity, and for the light which they would have thrown on the criticisms of Plato and Aristotle, we must regret that we have no remains of the doctrinal writings of Eucleides, Antisthenes, and Aristippus. In themselves, however, these philosophers can be regarded only as the authors of systems which pushed to extravagance the broad and distinctive features of the teaching of Socrates, and they perhaps produced the only permanent effect of which they were capable, when they exacted a formal refutation of their views from the searching dialectics of their great contemporary Plato.

---

[1] See *New Cratylus*, § 61.

[2] Sext. Emp. VII. § 195: *ἔνθεν οὐδὲ κριτήριόν φασιν εἶναι κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων· ὀνόματα δὲ κοινὰ τίθεσθαι τοῖς κρίμασι.*

[3] *id.* § 194: *μόνον τὸ πάθος ἡμῖν ἐστὶ φαινόμενον· τὸ δ' ἐκτὸς καὶ τοῦ πάθους ποιητικὸν τάχα μέν ἐστιν ὄν, οὐ φαινόμενον δὲ ἡμῖν.*

[4] It is worth while to notice that Anniceris, who differed from Aristippus by maintaining the unselfish virtues of patriotism, friendship, &c., exhibited the practical result of this improved philosophy by ransoming Plato from slavery.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

XENOPHON AND CTESIAS.

§ 1. Life and adventures of Xenophon. § 2. The practical design of his writings. § 3. His Grecian History; its merits and defects. § 4. The *Anabasis*. § 5. The *Memorials* and *Apology* of Socrates. § 6. The *Cyropædia* and *Agesilaus*. § 7. Xenophon's minor tracts. § 8. The leading characteristics of his style. § 9. Ctesias, a contemporary of Xenophon; his works.

§ 1. XENOPHON, the son of Gryllus, was born at Athens, probably about Ol. 84, 2. B.C. 443.[1] Of his early years we know nothing beyond the fact that he fought in the battle of Delium (B.C. 424,) among the Athenian cavalry, and that his life was saved by Socrates, who, after he had fallen wounded from his horse, carried him for some distance from the field of battle. He had accidentally met with this philosopher, who was struck with his handsome and intelligent countenance, and almost constrained him to join his society. Another of his intimates was Proxenus, a Bœotian, and a disciple of Gorgias, who afterwards exercised an important influence on his destiny.[2]

[1] The date of Xenophon's birth is still, as it has always been, a doubtful point. It is very difficult to resist the general impression conveyed by the *Anabasis*, where he seems to be always spoken of as a comparatively young man, in B.C. 401. But the chief passage in that work (III. 1 § 25: *οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ τὰ κακά*) is rather for than against the supposition that he was then above 40 (see Thucyd. V. 26, and comp. ch. XXXIV. § 1, p. 89 note), and the combination pointed out by Schneider, of the passages in Xen. *Sympos.* IV. § 25, and *Mem.* I. 3, § 10, proves that Xenophon must have been a young man in Ol. 89, 4. B.C. 421; consequently, he was born about B.C. 442 or 443, and might therefore have been present at the battle of Delium, as Strabo expressly tells us that he was (p. 403). The statement of Pseudo-Lucian (*Macrob.* c. 21), that he was more than 90 years old when he died, combined with the statement of Stesicleides (Diog. Laërt. II. 56), that he died in Ol. 105, 1. B.C. 359, would imply that he was born even earlier than Ol. 84, 2; but there is reason to believe that Stesicleides is in error, and that Xenophon's death did not take place till some years later than B.C. 359.

[2] An anecdote mentioned by Philostratus (*vit. Prodici*, p. 496) implies that Xenophon spent some time as a prisoner of war in Bœotia, and it has been suggested that this must have been after the taking of Oropus by the Bœotians in Ol. 92, 1. B.C. 412. Did this event lead to his intimacy with Proxenus?

What was the tenor of his employments during the first forty years of his life, we do not know, but we can easily guess. It is quite clear that his chief wish was to become a well educated man, (καλὸς κἀγαθός) according to Socratic principles,[1] and that he felt very little inclination to act a part in the important political events which were then taking place. That he was no friend to the Demus appears both from his subsequent career and also from the fact that he was unmolested by the Thirty. It is not improbable that it was immediately after the restoration of democracy by Thrasybulus, that he set down on paper the events of the last six years of the Peloponnesian War, and of the few years that succeeded; and the memoirs which he then composed form the first two books of his *Hellenica*, or Grecian history; a work which he afterwards continued in a very different spirit; for, though we do not detect in the first part any great partiality to the patriots of Phyle, and may, perhaps, remark a strong feeling in favour of Theramenes, it is at least free from that bitter animosity to the institutions of his country which he afterwards displayed. In the year 401, B.C., he received a letter from his friend Proxenus, who had entered into the service of Cyrus, urging him to come to Sardis, and pay his court to the Persian prince, whose favour, he, Proxenus, valued far more highly than any advantages which his native land could offer him. The prospect thus held out to him of acquiring riches and honour in a foreign land was too tempting to a daring and restless character, to whom Athens, under its revived democracy, was already, perhaps, sufficiently distasteful; and though he made a show of consulting his friend Socrates on the subject, it is clear that Xenophon had already determined to accept the proposal of Proxenus: for, when Socrates pointed out to him the probable effect which would be produced upon the minds of the Athenians in general by his attachment to the cause of one of their greatest enemies, and recommended him to consult the Delphian oracle, Xenophon merely asked of the god what preliminary sacrifices he ought to make in order to secure success in his undertaking, having made up his mind to brave all risks rather than lose such a promising chance.[2]

---

[1] Diog. Laërt. II. 48.

[2] *Anabasis* III. 1, § 6.

Accordingly, he joined the Greek mercenaries of Cyrus, as a volunteer, and after the battle of Cynaxa became virtually their leader. The part which he played on the retreat belongs to Greek history, or rather to the history of the world, for it is not too much to say that he first demonstrated the problem which was practically solved some sixty years later by Alexander the Great. But the consequences of the step which he had taken were justly foreseen by Socrates. Instead of returning to Athens to resume his rights of citizenship, and to enjoy the riches and reputation which he had obtained by his courage and abilities, he was condemned to exile from his native city, and came back to Greece as a soldier in the army of Agesilaus. After fighting against his countrymen in the battle of Coronea, he took up his abode at Scillus in Elis, where the Lacedæmonians, to reward his services, had given him, together with the *proxenia*, a grant of land and a house; and he subsequently purchased some ground in the neighbouring vale out of the proceeds of the votive tithe of his Asiatic booty. Here he built a small temple, dedicated to Diana of Ephesus, in whose honour he celebrated an annual festival, much frequented by the people of the neighbourhood. The temple was surrounded by meadow-lands, and forests rich in game, which enabled Xenophon to indulge in his favourite pastime of hunting. This exercise, the society of his friends, and the labours of authorship occupied all his time, and he died at a very advanced age, either at Corinth or in Athens, to which city he is said to have returned in consequence of a revocation of the edict of banishment passed against him many years before.[1]

§ 2. We must regard Xenophon, chiefly if not entirely, as a literary man. Great as were his exploits in Asia, we should scarcely have heard his name had it not been for his own writings. And yet it must be admitted that his talents were not literary, or in general speculative, but, on the contrary, exclusively practical. The intellectual bearing, and the philoso-

[1] If Xenophon was born in B.C. 443, and died at the age of 90, as the Pseudo-Lucian (*i.e.* Phlegon of Tarsus) tells us, the year of his death will be Ol. 106, 4, B.C. 353, and as he mentions the death of Alexander of Pheræ, B.C. 357, (*Hellen.* VI. 4, § 35), and the beginning of the Sacred war B.C. 356, 355, (*de Vectig.* V. § 9), his death could not have taken place much before this.

phical consequences of the doctrines of Socrates, he seems to have been utterly incapable of appreciating, or even thoroughly comprehending: but no one was better able to understand the practical application of the rule that every man should discover and follow after that which was most for his happiness. Only it is to be feared, that if he did not, with some of the Cyrenaics, sacrifice morality to his love of pleasure, he at all events did not allow any patriotic feelings to interfere with his pursuit of the profitable. If the awakening of the idea of science generated the perfection of subjective reflection in the case of Plato, the γνῶθι σεαυτὸν of Socrates did not fail to produce in his other great disciple a notable concentration of practical selfishness. We observe traces of this in every one of his writings; in fact it is their prevailing characteristic. Without such a love of self and the vanity which accompanies it, the works of Xenophon would most likely never have seen the light. They seem to have been, with one or two exceptions, designed to justify the author's conduct: to explain to the world the causes which led to the failure of his selfish plans. A man like Xenophon, possessed of great abilities, but yet without moral strength, is fretfully careful about the opinion of the world: and we can readily imagine, that, little as he esteemed Athens, he would feel himself in a false position after his banishment, and would employ his long years of leisure in giving the world some account, as favourable a one as he could contrive, of the circumstances which had led to his exile from the land of his birth. The great bulk of his works are memoirs and tracts more or less referring to this. Not to speak of his minor treatises, it is probable that he composed them in the following series. The first two books of the *Hellenica*, called by later writers the *Paralipomena* of Thucydides, appear to us to have been composed between B.C. 403 and 401. His history of the *Anabasis*, or expedition of Cyrus the younger, and the consequent retreat of the Ten Thousand Greek mercenaries, was probably the fruit of the first years of leisure which he spent at Scillus. The *Memorabilia* of Socrates were not written till some time after the death of that philosopher, but were certainly prior to the *Cyropædia*, a political romance relating to the founder of the Persian empire, not finished till after Ol. 104, 3. B.C. 362, and to

the last five books of the *Hellenica*, which were written after the beginning of Ol. 106, B. C. 356, and were therefore one of the last, if not the very last of his works. In speaking of the separate works, we shall treat of them in this order, with the exception of the *Hellenica*, which it will be more convenient to consider in its present state, that is, as one work.

§ 3. Niebuhr was the first to point out the marks of time which prove the separate composition of the first two and of the five subsequent books of Xenophon's *Greek History*.[1] At the end of the second book, the author, speaking of the termination of the expedition against Eleusis, says: 'and having sworn to an amnesty, they still live together as fellow citizens, and the Demus abides by its oaths.'[2] Now it appears from the termination of the fourth chapter of the sixth book, that this part of the work was composed during the reign of Tisiphonus, the tyrant of Pheræ,[3] which was forty-four years after the termination of the anarchy. Consequently, it is scarcely conceivable that Xenophon could have written or published for the first time the first two books at the same time with the latter books thus referred to Ol. 106; otherwise he must have expressed himself very differently with regard to the observation of the amnesty, by the democratical party which had banished himself, punished Eratosthenes, condemned Socrates, and had not, for a long time after that period, forgotten all its old animosities; though perhaps, in the end, it recalled Xenophon himself from exile. But, besides these marks of time we cannot mistake the strong internal evidence by which they are supported. The style and tone of the first part is totally at variance with that of the second, and we may see from the former, clear indications of the fact that he must have composed his continuation of *Thucydides* at Athens, and under the eyes of his fellow citizens. It is indeed stated, that he was the editor as well as the continuer of Thucydides,[4] and this is a sufficient proof that he must have written the continuation in his native city. Now he left Athens to join Proxenus in B. C. 401, and did not return

[1] See the *Philolog. Museum*, Vol. I. p. 485.

[2] II. 3,. § 43: ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

[3] ἄχρι οὗ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐγράφετο, Τισίφονος—τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχε.

[4] Diog. Laërt. II. 57: λέγεται δ' ὅτι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου βιβλία λανθάνοντα ὑφελέσθαι δυνάμενος αὐτὸς εἰς δόξαν ἤγαγεν.

thither till towards the end of his life. Since, then, it is probable that Thucydides died soon after his own recal from exile, in B. C. 403, and since his history would certainly be published soon after his death, it follows that Xenophon must have edited the history together with the continuation down to B.C. 403, some time between that year and B. C. 401. The first two books of the *Hellenica*, which formed this continuation, are certainly very far superior to the last five, but they are not to be mentioned in the same breath with the work of Thucydides. There is not in any one of the writings of Xenophon a real developement of one great and pervading idea. In all of them there is singular clearness, and a certain picturesqueness of description which occasionally reminds one of Herodotus; but he has none of the dignity of history, and his most tragic scenes are painted less with the genius of a poet than with the minute precision of a collector of anecdotes. The speeches which he has introduced are seldom long or laboured, and are clearly not inserted systematically like those of Thucydides: but some of them are very animated, especially those of Thrasybulus, in the second,[1] and of Procles in the sixth book.[2] But he is more excellent in his dramatic sketches of isolated occurrences: his description of the interview between Agesilaus and Pharnabazes,[3] and his account of Cinadon's conspiracy[4] are peculiarly effective in this respect. His mind seems to have dwelt upon minor particulars, and he hunted up trifling incidents with all the avidity of a modern book-maker. He is careful to give us the metrical despatch of Hippocrates,[5] and, though with a half apology, the dying witticism of Theramenes;[6] he makes Leotychides and Agesilaus dispute in Spartan Doric,[7] and would, no doubt, have made his Satraps talk Persian, if either his readers or himself had been familiar with that language. These features of his history, combined with the facility and simplicity of his style, will always make him an entertaining author, and gain for him the

---

[1] II. 4, § 40, seqq.
[2] VI. 5, § 38, seqq.
[3] IV. 1, § 29, seqq.
[4] III. 3, § 5, seqq.
[5] I. 1, § 23. The first words are incorrectly written and explained by most, if not all, of the commentators. Ἔρρει τὰ κᾶλα (not τὰ καλά), means 'the ships are lost;' comp. Aristoph. *Lysist.* 1253. Ion, *apud Athen.* p. 412 B.
[6] II. 3, § 56. Above, p. 164.
[7] III. 3, § 2.

admiration of those who do not look below the surface of things; but criticism cannot allow him a place among great historians, and the scholar will hardly concede to Lucian that he was an impartial writer:[1] his devotion to Agesilaus, his love for Sparta, and the animosity with which he regarded the democratic party at Athens, did not allow him to take a fair view of a contest, in which his hero played the principal part, and in which the city that cast him forth from her bosom was opposed to the state which had given him shelter and hospitality.

The period included in the seven books of Xenophon's *Hellenica* extends from Ol. 92, 3. B.C. 410 to Ol. 104, 3. B.C. 362. He does not mark the succession of events very accurately, but when he does so he adopts the notation of Thucydides, and counts by summers and winters. In the first two books we find also the names of archons and ephors and the numbers of Olympiads, but these are clearly interpolations of a later date. He sometimes gives the year of the Peloponnesian war, like his predecessor, but great errors have crept into his numbers in this respect.

§ 4. The name of Xenophon is most favourably known from his *Anabasis*, or 'expedition up the country' of Cyrus the younger, where the author has described, in the most lively and pleasing manner, the celebrated retreat of the Ten Thousand, in which he bore so prominent a part. That this work was written by Xenophon is proved not merely by the style, but by the express testimony of Plutarch[2] and Diogenes Laërtius;[3] it was published, however, under the name of Themistogenes of Syracuse,[4] and is quoted by Xenophon himself under that title.[5] It is stated that there was an author of this name, and that he wrote other works relating to Sicily;[6] but it is more probable that Xenophon invented the name which he assumed.[7] The

---

[1] Lucian, *De Conscribendâ Historiâ*, § 40, p. 52.

[2] *De Glor. Ath.*, p. 345. [3] *Vit. Xenoph.* II. § 57.

[4] Plutarch, *ubi supr.*; *Schol. ad Tzetz. Epist.* XXI: ὥσπερ καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐπέγραψε τὴν Κύρου ἀνάβασιν Θεμιστογένει Συρακουσίῳ. [5] *Hellen.* III. 1, § 2.

[6] Suidas, s. v.: Θεμιστογένης Συρακούσιος ἱστορικός. Κύρου ἀνάβασιν, ἥτις ἐν τοῖς Ξενοφῶντος Ἑλληνικοῖς φέρεται, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος.

[7] It has been suggested that the name means, 'a son of right, who became a Syrian (*i.e.* served the barbarian) against his will.' Niebuhr thinks that the name refers to Dionysius and his princely birth.

reasons which induced him to write this history of his Eastern campaign also operated with him in withholding his name. It was designed as a justification of his conduct, and as a proof to the Athenians that they had deprived themselves of the services of a brave and skilful officer; and it is clear that such an apology would come with the best grace from a stranger's pen. A Greek Lexicographer[1] speaks of it as having formed part of the *Hellenica:* and it has been suggested by Niebuhr[2] that, as the first two books of the *Hellenica,* added to the eight of Thucydides, formed the number ten, one in which the Athenians delighted, so the remaining five of the *Hellenica* added to the seven books of the *Anabasis* formed the number twelve, also of great importance in the arrangements of Ionic states. In addition to this we may observe that every book of the *Anabasis,* after the first, with the exception of the sixth, which seems to have suffered some loss at the beginning, commences with a recapitulation of the preceding part of the narrative, and we may remark something of the same kind at the commencement of the third book of the *Hellenica:* so that the last five books of the latter may have been originally appended to the *Anabasis,* and were not till afterwards attached to the continuation of Thucydides. Although Xenophon has called this history of his adventures the *Anabasis,* or expedition of Cyrus, that expedition, as far as Cyrus was concerned, finishes with the first book; and the six remaining books are occupied with the far more interesting account of the manner in which the Greek mercenaries escaped from their perilous situation in the heart of the Persian empire, and, after fighting their way through hosts of barbarians, in Kurdistan and elsewhere, arrived at the Euxine, and so proceeded along the sea-shore till they came to the coast of the Ægæan. It is difficult to describe the charm which this book has always had for the modern reader; the minuteness of detail, the picturesque simplicity of the style, and the air of reality and truth which pervade it, have made it a favourite with every age: and it is still eminently interesting and instructive to the military reader and the geographer. But at the time when it appeared it must have been looked

[1] Suidas, s.v. Θεμιστογένης. [2] *Philol. Mus.* I., p. 488.

upon as practically one of the most important works ever written, and many a Greek general and statesman, till Philip resolved on, and Alexander undertook, the proof of the proposition, must have reflected on the author's assertion, that 'the kingdom of Persia, though powerful from its extent and population, was yet by reason of the distance between one place and another, and the dispersion of its military force, weak as against an active general.'[1]

§ 5. After having attempted to justify his own proceedings in Asia by the recital of his adventures, Xenophon seems to have thought it his next business to undertake the defence of his friend and teacher, Socrates, who had suffered the punishment of death during his absence from Europe. This he has done in two works, a slighter and more trivial essay called the *Defence of Socrates,* and a larger work, in four books, entitled the *Memorials of Socrates.* The latter seems to have been composed some little time after his return: he speaks of the death of Socrates in the same terms which he uses in speaking of the amnesty of Thrasybulus in his second book of *Hellenica,*[2] which, we have seen, must have been written within two years of the events there narrated; and the general tone of the work would lead us to conclude that it could not have been published long after the death of the philosopher. In this work, as in his *Anabasis,* he justifies rather by narrative than by argument. In the first book, indeed, he attempts a series of answers to the five different points in the accusation, but few critical readers will think that he has made good the grounds of his defence. In general, he seems to have misunderstood the theoretical importance of the doctrines of Socrates, and to have wilfully misrepresented their practical bearing, which he so well understood and acted upon. It is agreed by scholars and philosophical writers that no adequate idea of the worth of Socrates as a philosopher can be derived from the *Memorials* of Xenophon. In regard to the higher matters of philosophy, the author of this book can only claim the dubious merits of a Boswell, who seeks to record, to

---

[1] *Anabas.* I. 5, § 9.

[2] *Memor.* IV. 8, § 11: τῶν δὲ Σ. γιγνωσκόντων, οἷος ἦν, οἱ ἀρετῆς ἐφιέμενοι πάντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν διατελοῦσι πάντων μάλιστα ποθοῦντες ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ὠφελιμώτατον ὄντα πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλειαν.

the best of his ability, the conversations of a very superior man, which he admired and listened to, but did not thoroughly comprehend. With very little toleration for philosophy in general, and no accurate conceptions as to the Socratic system of dialectics, it is not to be expected that his work should be a good exponent of the teaching of his master. At the same time, it is possible to gather from isolated passages some fragments of the moral philosophy of Socrates; and the method which results from a combination of these may be profitably compared with that which forms the basis of Plato's ethics. Thus we find traces of the four-fold division of virtue which is so prominent in the writings of Plato. There is, however, this remarkable distinction between the Socratic opinions on the cardinal virtues as set forth by Xenophon and the same as developed by Plato. In Xenophon's *Memorials*, Socrates is introduced as acknowledging three separate virtues—temperance, which is the foundation of them all,[1] courage,[2] and justice,[3] and these are all included in the virtue of wisdom or prudence.[4] This seems to be quite in accordance with the Socratic doctrine of self-consciousness as we learn it from Aristotle. For with Socrates there was always an interweaving of the scientific with the moral: in other words, knowledge is the moving cause of the will, and good is the final cause of knowledge; hence the knowledge of what justice is must lead to the being just, for no one would of his own accord relinquish what he knows to be good. Plato, on the other hand, makes Socrates acknowledge three separate virtues—temperance (which in his earliest dialogue he seems to consider as the basis of all virtue), courage, and prudence or wisdom; while the harmony or unison of these constitutes justice. In this particular, we must admit that Xenophon has given us a truer representation of the teaching of Socrates than his more philosophical brother disciple. And this may perhaps serve as a specimen of the manner in which Plato has enlarged and modified the Socratic element in his philosophy. Both Socrates and Plato started from the four-fold division of virtue, but the theory of Plato's

---

[1] I. 5, § 4: *τὴν ἐγκρατείαν ἀρετῆς εἶναι κρηπίδα.*
[2] IV. 6. § 10. [3] IV. 4. § 12 § 21, seqq. [4] III. 9, § 5.

Utopia necessitated a subordination of all virtue to justice, while the Socratic doctrine of knowledge or science assumed that all the virtues sprung from wisdom or prudence. The little allegory generally known as the Choice of Hercules, which has been often selected from Xenophon's *Memorials of Socrates* as most peculiarly worthy of admiration, was probably an actual abridgment of the celebrated *Epideixis* of Prodicus, to whom Xenophon attributes it. Later writers speak of it as the Xenophontean or Socratic Hercules,[1] perhaps because the original work was no longer extant, and because every one was familiar with the apologue as given by Xenophon. At all events, we know that Prodicus wrote such an allegory, and the manner in which Xenophon has introduced it, bears no analogy to Plato's introduction in the *Phædrus* of a speech composed for Lysias to characterize and expose the peculiar defects of his style.

The *Apology of Socrates* is a short and rather feeble tract, referring more immediately to the cause of that philosopher's condemnation to death—namely, his contumelious behaviour after the verdict had been given against him. Xenophon endeavours to excuse this, by showing that Socrates really preferred death to life, and that his consciousness of his own innocence prevented him from naming any punishment as due to the offence of which he had been convicted. The modern reader will smile at the impotent malice with which he has recorded the intemperance of the son of Anytus.

§ 6. From the data at the end of the *Cyropædia*, it appears that this treatise was written after Ol. 104, 3. B.C. 362.[2] That the work did not lay claim to be considered as a history, but was only a political and moral romance, like the *Télemaque* of Fenelon, is not only sufficiently clear from internal evidence, but is expressly acknowledged by many ancient writers.[3] It was in fact the only mode in which Xenophon, with his habits and peculiar bias, could draw up and set forth a theory of government, in accordance with the practice of most of the eminent post-Socratic writers. Some of the ancients tell us

[1] Cicero, *ad Fam.* V. 12. Varro, *ap. Non.* p. 168, 539, 542.

[2] VIII. 8, § 4, where he alludes to circumstances which took place during the Ægyptian revolt against Artaxerxes Mnemon.

[3] *e.g.* Cicero, *ad Quint. fr.* I. 1, 8, 23.

that the *Cyropædia* was written in opposition to the *Republic* of Plato.[1] Whatever we may think of this, it is at least clear that there is a remarkable contrast between them. This contrast we consider as flowing immediately from the opposition between the characters and destinies of the two authors, though they both worked out the Socratic principle, each in his own way. Political theories were a prominent feature of the literature which sprung from the Socratic school. It seems indeed to have been a natural consequence of the selfish system which was one practical result of that philosophy. In the older and simpler times of Greece, the member of a Greek community was quite content to perform the duties and enjoy the privileges of citizenship. To fight for his country in her militia, and to vote in her public assemblies, was the end of his wishes and the limit of his ambition. The general disorganization, however, produced by the Peloponesian war, swept away in its vortex both the citizen soldier and the citizen statesman; and while the warrior thought himself justified in letting out his strength or his skill to the best bidder, without any regard to the interests of his native land, the man of letters, full of his self-consciousness, and exulting in a sense of his superiority, framed political theories at variance with the constitution of his own city, and endeavoured to recommend, by fiction or by argument, his own abstract speculations respecting the best form of government. The older philosophers had busied themselves with existing constitutions, holding public offices and administering the laws with a view to the amelioration of the actual state of things. But although Socrates had sought to work on Athens itself through the medium of his individual disciples, those of his scholars, who thought and wrote for themselves, were far from taking any state as their model or as the ground-work of their labours. They first formed for themselves some conception of a perfect state, and then set about realizing their conception without reference to the institutions of any Grecian commonwealth. Thus Plato believed that the happiness of a state depended upon its having a philosophical ruler, under whose mild and beneficent government every part of virtue

[1] Diogen. Laert. *Plato*, (III. § 34.).

would receive its due development: hence, his earnest and repeated attempts to give a right direction to the mind of the younger Dionysius; hence his intercourse with Dion; and hence the attempts of his scholars Euagon, Chæron, and Timæus. Xenophon's partialities were those of the mercenary soldier rather than those of the philosopher. Military men, with some traits of generosity and moderation to soften the asperity of their character, were the only heroes for him. He was quite prepared to idolize the younger Cyrus, as we see from his mention of various particulars connected with the fratricidal expedition of that prince. But after his return from Asia, the Spartan Agesilaus was the sole object of his enthusiastic admiration; by his side he fought against his own country, and for his sake he eulogized the Spartan constitution, while he depreciated that of Athens. As, however, no man, not even Agesilaus, and no state, not even Sparta, quite came up to the idea which he had formed of a country under the absolute government of a wise and warlike but perfectly virtuous prince, he turned back to Persia and its first Cyrus, and, with reference no doubt to the younger Cyrus, whom he had wished to place on the Eastern throne, drew an elaborate picture of the various successes of the first Persian king, and the various measures which he took to secure the interests and happiness of his people. Feeling that his strong point was narrative, and considering himself entitled, as a celebrated Persian traveller, to say something on the affairs of the East, he has not scrupled to mix up with his theory a good deal that is historical, and he concludes with remarks on the actual degeneracy of the Persians, as a sort of apology to his Greek readers for the selection of Persia as a model for a perfect constitution. There is no doubt, however, that Xenophon, as well as Isocrates and many other Greeks, looked upon Persia as the new materials out of which such a government might be constructed, and considered it the duty and the proper business of Greece to conquer it: and it is equally clear that, if the great pupil of Aristotle had enjoyed a longer life, he would have attempted to give a comprehensive reality to schemes, which, at the time of his birth, were but dimly seen in the distant future. In his *Panegyric on Agesilaus* we perceive, even more clearly than in the *Cyropædia*, what sort of a king Xenophon would

have placed at the head of the great military commonwealth of Greece. In that tract, he tries his hero by the Socratic model, as it is set forth in his *Memorials*. He shows that Agesilaus was very attentive to the duties of religion,[1] and that he possessed in an eminent degree the four cardinal virtues[2] of justice,[3] temperance,[4] fortitude,[5] and wisdom.[6] He tells us, however, that the wisdom for which he praises him was rather practical than speculative,[7] rather that of the statesman and warrior than that of the philosopher, and we may be sure that he would never have agreed with Plato in placing the philosophical above the military caste in his state. It is with great significance too that he remarks on the fondness of Agesilaus for Greece in general, and his hatred of the barbarians in general, and of the Persians in particular.[8] When Agesilaus heard that nearly 10,000 Greeks of the party opposed to Sparta had fallen in the battle of Corinth, instead of rejoicing at the victory which his friends had obtained, he exclaimed, according to Xenophon, 'Alas for Hellas! those who have now fallen would have been sufficient to conquer all the barbarians,[9]—a manifest allusion to Xenophon's celebrated retreat, and to the hopes of Eastern conquest in which so many Greeks indulged.

The literary merits of the *Cyropædia* are by no means of a high order. The harangues, which are introduced on every occasion, important or unimportant, are exceedingly tedious. The whole work is pervaded by a feeble and mawkish tone which now and then degenerates into absolute childishness. The jests between Cyrus and his soldiers are vulgar and indecorous; and many of the narratives are prolix and uninteresting. There are indeed several redeeming passages. There is much simple pathos in the episode of Panthea and Abradatas;[10] the address

---

[1] *Agesil.* c. 3, § 2.

[2] It is remarkable that the panegyric on Love put into the mouth of Agatho, in Plato's *Symposium*, (p. 196, B.), is made to attribute to that deity these four human excellences. It is just possible that Plato may have had in view the encomium of Agesilaus in this passage, as he is supposed to have had his eye on Xenophon's *Symposium* in his own rival composition.

[3] c. 4. [4] c. 5. [5] c. 6, § 1, seqq. [6] c. 6, § 4, seqq.

[7] c. 11, § 9: καὶ σοφίαν ἔργῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις ἤσκει.

[8] c. 7. [9] c. 7, § 5.

[10] VI. 1, § 45, 4, § 2. VII. 3, § 1, seqq.

of Cyrus to his sons is a pretty moral essay;[1] and his account of the soul's immortality has more of exalted reasoning than we should expect to find in any work of Xenophon.[2] On the whole, however, we cannot share in the admiration with which this work was regarded by many illustrious Romans—especially Scipio Æmilianus and Cicero.[3]

§ 7. Several ancient writers have referred to the rivalry or jealousy supposed to have subsisted between Xenophon and Plato; and though modern scholars are disposed to reject the allegation that there was any open misunderstanding between these eminent Socratic writers, there can be no doubt that Plato in his *Laws* has directed some censures against Xenophon's *Cyropædia*,[4] and perhaps there is some truth in the assumption of Athenæus that Plato had Xenophon's *Banquet* in his eye when he wrote his own work bearing the same name.[5] Xenophon's *Symposium* or *Banquet* relates what happened at a feast given by Callias, at his house in the Piræus, in honour of a victory obtained at the Panathenæa by the young and handsome pancratiast, Autolycus. The guests, among whom are Socrates and Antisthenes, amuse themselves with the absurdities of a jester and the feats of a Syracusan stroller and his company, who performed, among other things, the ballet of Bacchus and Ariadne: but there is no method in their conversation; no one idea is worked out by the interlocutors; and with all its grace and elegance it falls far short, even in these respects, of the rival work of Plato.

Xenophon's *Œconomicus*, a treatise on agriculture and the management of a household, is conceived more in the spirit of Socrates than any of his minor writings. It is a dialogue between Socrates and Critobulus, which, but for its length, might have been introduced into the Ἀπομνημονεύματα, for it begins abruptly, like the different chapters in that book, with: ἤκουσά ποτε αὐτοῦ διαλεγομένου, 'I once heard him conversing.' Like many of Plato's dialogues, it is principally taken up with the narration by Socrates of another conversation held by himself and one Ischomachus on the same subject. In this

[1] VIII. 7, § 8, seqq.
[2] VIII. 7, § 17.
[3] Cicero, *ad Famil.* IX. 25, 1. *Tuscul. Disput.* II. 26, 62.
[4] Plato, *Legg.* III. p. 694, C.
[5] Athen. XI. p. 504, E.

secondary dialogue, Xenophon is careful to show, that, in his opinion, the καλοκἀγαθὸς was one, who, while he paid due reverence to the gods, bestowed all his time and talents on the work of promoting and securing his own interests. In fact, even in Xenophon, there are few more candid avowals of the selfish principle, which, as he elsewhere expresses it, is simply this, that the καλὸν is identical with the ὠφέλιμον. We also see in this little work strong proofs of the practical bias of Xenophon's mind, and his decided preference of the military man and the farmer above the literary man and philosopher. The incident related of Cyrus the younger [1] is another indication, among many, of Xenophon's enthusiasm for this young and ambitious barbarian. He concludes the work with insisting on the importance of intellectual and moral training to every one who wished to rule over others without offering any violence to their inclinations—an object which he seems to have considered as the one most important to the practical philosopher, and which was certainly the point aimed at in all his political theories.

The *Hiero* must be considered as a sort of qualification of the author's general approbation of military government and the employment of mercenaries. It is a dialogue between the tyrant of Syracuse and the poet Simonides, and its object is to show, on the one hand, that the lot of the tyrant is far from an enviable one, and, on the other hand, that there are ways of obviating the inconveniences and disadvantages attendant on the possession of absolute power; that it is possible to rule despotically without forfeiting the affections of subjects; and that even mercenaries may be so employed as to become popular.

Of his remaining treatises little need be said. His tracts on *horsemanship* and *hunting* are interesting to the antiquarian, and his *Hipparchichus*, or 'cavalry tactics,' must have had its practical value at the time. His essays on the constitutions of Sparta and Athens are principally remarkable for the uncandid and partial views which the author seeks to defend, and for which he has but poorly atoned in the feeble pamphlet *on the*

[1] c. 4. § 17, seqq.

revenues of Athens, said to have been written by him after his return from exile, as an offering of peace to his forgiving countrymen.

§ 8. The diction of Xenophon corresponds in its main features with the simple or plain style (ἀφελὴς λόγος) of Lysias; but in his historical works especially he has tried to imitate the unperiodic diction (λέξις εἰρομένη) of Herodotus, whom he seems to have taken as his model, as far as was possible, both in his style and in his mode of treating his subjects.[1] The ancient rhetoricians, Aristides, Dionysius, and Hermogenes, agree in considering Xenophon as a designedly plain and simple writer. The latter says that he is plain (ἀφελής) to the highest degree, and that he abounds in this characteristic more than all others of the declamatory style, insomuch that even when he attempts anything sublime in the conception, he softens it down to his usual plainness and simplicity (καθαιρεῖ καὶ βιάζεται πρὸς τὸ ἀφελές). This peculiarity of Xenophon's style is perhaps not altogether designed. The wandering life which he led, his long absence from his native land, and his constant intercourse with foreigners, would tend to remove from his language the difficulty and idiomatic raciness of the Attic dialect, and as Lysias, a foreigner living at Athens, adopted this plain style in the orations which he wrote for the Attic courts of law, so Xenophon, an Athenian residing in the Peloponnese, might naturally employ the same means of making himself understood to foreign readers. In fact, we see in Xenophon, more than in any of his contemporaries, a first approximation to the common dialect (κοινὴ διάλεκτος) which became afterwards the universal language of Greece. The selfish, unpatriotic character of the man has deprived his language of any national individuality of colouring, and thus, although many of the later writers in particular have commended Xenophon's style as the perfection of Attic Greek —calling him the Attic muse, the Attic bee, and so forth[2]— there is more of critical accuracy in the remark of Helladius, that 'it is not a matter of wonder that a man like Xeno-

[1] Dionysius Hal. *De præcip. histor.* IV. p. 777, Reiske: Ξενοφῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἡροδότου ζηλωτὴς ἐγένετο κατ' ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, τόν τε πραγματικὸν καὶ τὸν λεκτικόν.

[2] Diog. Laert. II. § 57. Suidas, s.v. Ξενοφῶν. Comp. Cicero, *Orat.* 9, 32, 19, 62.

phon, who spent his time in military service and in intercourse with foreigners, should occasionally adulterate his mother-tongue; on which account no one should consider him as an authority in Atticism."[1]

§ 9. It seems desirable to mention in connexion with Xenophon a contemporary Greek historian, who also took service with the Persians, but, being on the winning side at the battle of Cynaxa, had an opportunity of writing about the country from observation and documents, instead of drawing on his imagination for a romance like the *Cyropædia*. CTESIAS of Cnidus, the son of Ctesiochus or Ctesarchus, was brought up to the profession of medicine, of which Cnidus was one of the regular seats, and was probably induced by the promise of substantial advantages to take up his residence at the Persian court, where Greek physicians had been in great request since the time of Democedes. He became the body-surgeon of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and treated him for the wound which he received at Cynaxa.[2] As it is stated that he returned to his native country in B. C. 398, after seventeen years residence in Persia,[3] he must have taken service with Artaxerxes in B.C. 415. It was probably after he was again settled at Cnidus that he drew up, in Ionic Greek, according to the old rule, the works for which he had obtained the materials during his sojourn in the east. These were: (1.) A history of Persia (Περσικά) in twenty-three books, derived from the royal archives (διφθεραὶ βασιλικαί). The first six books treated of the great Assyrian monarchy. The remainder of the work carried the history of Persia down to the year B.C. 599.[4] Besides some fragments in the more recent writers, an extract from the later books has been preserved by Photius.[5] Whatever may have been the faults of Ctesias,[6] it is much to be regretted that we have lost this early contribution to oriental history. (2.) An account of India (Ἰνδικά), *i. e.*, of the Punjab most probably. From this also we have an ex-

---

[1] Helladius *apud Phot. Cod.* CCLXXIX. p. 1589., Hoeschel.
[2] Xenoph. *Anab.* I. 8, § 26. [3] Diodor. XIV. 16.
[4] Strabo, XIV. p. 656. Diodor. XIV. 46. [5] *Cod.* LXXII.
[6] See the passages quoted and examined by Bähr, *Ctesiæ Cnidii Reliquiæ*, Francof. 1824, pp. 35 sqq.; and for the strictures on his Ἰνδικά, cf. Müller, in Didot's collection of the fragments, p.

tract in Photius. As the materials were probably derived from Persian information, that is, at second hand, it was not more authentic than the accounts given us in Herodotus, though perhaps it entered into greater details. His other works were: (3.) A coasting-voyage of Asia (Περίπλους Ἀσίας);[1] (4.) On the tributes of Asia (περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν φόρων);[2] (5.) On mountains (περὶ ὀρῶν);[3] and (6.) On rivers (περὶ ποταμῶν).[4] A reference in Galen[5] has led to the inference that Ctesias also left some medical works, of which, however, there are no traces; and not even the titles have been preserved. The style of Ctesias is highly commended by Demetrius Phalereus[6] and Photius[7], and his diction is compared with that of Xenophon by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[8]

We shall see in a future chapter[9] that Arrian took the parallel publications of Xenophon and Ctesias as the models for his principal works, writing his *Epictetus*, his *Anabasis*, and his treatise on hunting in imitation of Xenophon, and in the Attic dialect; but making Ctesias his copy, and the Ionic dialect his diction, in the treatise on India, and also following Ctesias in his *Periplus*.

---

[1] Steph. Byz. s.vv. Κοσύτη, Σίγυνοι.

[2] It is supposed by Müller that this work was only an extract from the Περσικά.

[3] Two books are mentioned Plut. *De fluviis*, 21. [4] Id. *ib.* 19.

[5] V. p. 652, l. 51, ed. Basil. [6] *De Elocutione*, § 218.

[7] *Cod.* LXXII.

[8] *De Comp. Verb.* 10, p. 53. Reiske: ἡ δέ γε τοῦ Κνιδίου συγγραφέως Κτησίου [λέξις] καὶ ἡ τοῦ Σωκρατικοῦ Ξενοφῶντος ἡδέως μὲν [σύγκειται] ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα, οὐ μὴν καλῶς γε ἐφ' ὅσον ἔδει.

[9] Below, chapter LV. § 2.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PLATO.

§ 1. Importance of Plato's writings even in a literary point of view. § 2. Life of Plato. § 3. His political character and conduct. § 4. His literary relations to his contemporaries and predecessors. § 5. Why he wrote in dialogues. § 6. Chronological order and scientific arrangement of his works. § 7. Plato's dialectics. § 8. His ethical system. § 9. His physical speculations. § 10. Peculiarities and excellences of his style.

§ 1. THE year 429 B.C. is distinguished by two events of the greatest importance in regard to the literary glory and political power of Athens. On the 21st of May in that year the city gave birth to the most illustrious writer in all the catalogue of Attic authors, and in the following autumn the great statesman Pericles died at an advanced age, after having administered the affairs of his country in peace and war for forty years. By the latter event Athens lost her best hope of continuing that sovereignty, which took its rise in the glories of the Persian war, and was dissipated by the treason or incapacity of those who took the place of Pericles at the head of the government. By the former she became the founder of a literary empire far more extensive and durable than any which she could have established by the aid of her hoplites and triremes; for there can be little doubt that the higher culture of Europe, since the days of Plato, has been directly or indirectly the representative of that moral and intellectual philosophy, of which the teaching and writings of this great Athenian were the first definite expression.[1] The place which Plato occupies among the leaders of human thought, the multifarious relations which connect his speculations and criticisms with those of his pre-

[1] Mr. Archer Butler, in his able and eloquent *Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy* (vol. II. p. 1), says that Plato's philosophy 'whether regarded in itself, or with reference to its influence upon the history of reflective man, rises before us in all the dignity of the mightiest and most permanent monument ever erected by unassisted human thought exercised upon the human destinies.'

decessors, and with the long series of his successors down to the present time, and the many forms in which Platonism is still an influential element in the religious and moral theories of Europe, would seem to indicate that a review of his writings would be a more appropriate subject for a separate treatise than for a chapter in the literary history of Greece. Fortunately, however, we are not required or expected on the present occasion, to deal with any of those subjects which have given a lasting and ever-present importance to the views which were originally expounded in the Academy. It is our business merely to tell who Plato was, what were the nature and development of his literary activity, and what were the leading characteristics of his genius as a writer. These points, and these only, we shall be able to discuss satisfactorily within the limits imposed upon us by the present work.[1]

But even setting aside philosophy, and regarding Plato's writings merely from a literary point of view, it would be difficult to over-estimate his importance. We have seen that Socrates, who introduced the great revolution in philosophy, did not himself leave behind him any literary memorials of those discussions which he carried on so perpetually in the streets of Athens. And the same remark applies to the imperfect Socratic schools. For whatever may have been the value of the Cynical or Cyrenaical systems, as partially representing the moral philosophy of Socrates, and whatever may have been the merits of the Megaric school, as an exponent of his dialectics, the leaders of these movements have no important position in the literature of Greece. We are obliged to learn what we know of them from scattered notices in various authors, or from the reviews which Plato has left us in the form of dialogues. It was in this, as in almost every effort of creative genius. The thought struggles for the literary expression. Great teachers go about among their fellow-men. They give oral instruction; they awaken dormant ideas; they do and suffer. But their

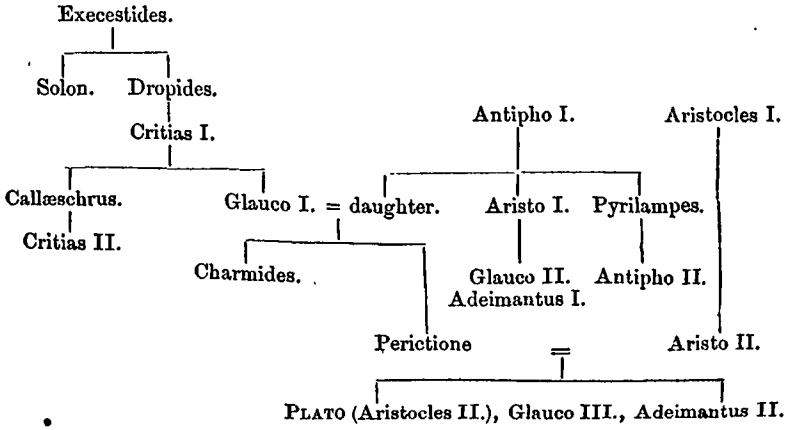
[1] The author is to a certain extent prepared for this task by the more general survey of Plato's philosophy which he contributed to the *Penny Cyclopædia* in 1840, Art. *Plato*, a paper to which he presumes a tacit reference in the present chapter; for the subject and the writer being the same, even an occasional repetition of his own words has been inevitable.

influence is either confined to their own generation, and becomes for posterity nearly as though it had never been; or it finds some man of literary genius, who casts the preacher's thoughts in his own mould, and gives them a permanent form, and an indelible expression. This constitutes the literary importance of Plato. We should have known from Xenophon who Socrates was, and, in fact, the nature of his teaching. But we owe it to Plato that his ideas, or rather, the thoughts which he awakened, have been made the germ of one of the grandest systems of speculation that the world has ever seen, and that they have been conveyed to us in literary compositions, which are unequalled in refinement of conception, or in vigour and gracefulness of style.

§ 2. According to the most definite and consistent accounts, PLATO was born on the 7th day of Thargelion in Ol. 87, 3, in the archonship of Apollodorus, that is, according to our reckoning, on the 21st May, 429 B.C.; and his admirers used long afterwards to keep the anniversary of his birthday, which was also the natal feast of the Delian Apollo. His lineage was one of the noblest at Athens, for he traced his descent on the mother's side to the family of Solon and Codrus. His father was Ariston, the son of Aristocles, and it is stated that Plato was originally called after his grandfather, his ordinary designation, which was not uncommon among the Athenians at that time, being a surname derived from his broad chest or his expansive forehead, or, as some have imagined, from the breadth of his style, whatever may be the meaning of that phrase. When he changed his name is not known. But if modern scholars have rightly adopted the opinion of Diogenes and the old grammarians,[1] that Aristophanes in his *Ecclesiazusæ* ridicules Plato's proposal for a community of property and wives, and that the philosopher is directly alluded to in that play and the *Plutus*, which were acted in 392 and 388 B.C., under the contemptuous diminutive *Aristyllus*, it would seem that the name

[1] Morgenstern, *Commentatio de Republica Platonis*, pp. 73, seqq. Meineke, *Historia Critica Comicorum Græcorum*, pp. 287, seqq. The authorities quoted are Diog. Laërt. III. 23, Aristoph. *Eccles.* 646, *Plut.* 313, Eustath. p. 989, Herodian, *apud Etym. M.* p. 142, F: Ἀρίστυλλος: ὄνομα παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει, εἴρηται δὲ ὑποκοριστικῶς ὁ Ἀριστοκλῆς. Cf. Fischer, *ad Weller*, II. p. 33.

by which he is now known had either not been adopted, or was not his familiar appellation at the time when, as we shall see, he wrote his most important works. Some of Plato's relatives were very well known men. Critias, the leader of the tyrannical oligarchy at Athens, was a cousin of his mother's, and her brother Charmides fell fighting by the side of Critias in the struggle with Thrasybulus in the Peiræus. It has been generally supposed that Glaucon and Adeimantus, who play a prominent part in the great dialogue of the *Republic*, were Plato's brothers, who are known to have borne those names; but C. F. Hermann[1] has made it probable that these interlocutors belonged to an earlier generation; and the following may be accepted as the most probable representation of the philosopher's family, and of his descent from the father of Solon:—



It is more than probable that Solon and Dropides were not brothers; indeed Plato himself[2] speaks of them merely as intimate friends and connexions; and the claim of a direct descent from Execestides was probably set up in later times, when Plato's admirers lost no opportunity of exalting the family and person of a man whom they invested with almost godlike attributes. On the other hand, an attempt has been made to

---

[1] *Platonische Philosophie*, p. 24.

[2] *Timæus*, p. 20, E., where Critias is made to say of Solon: ἦν μὲν οὖν οἰκεῖος καὶ σφόδρα φίλος ἡμῖν Δρωπίδου τοῦ προπάππου, καθάπερ λέγει πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ποιήσει, and the Scholiast on the passage remarks: λέγονται γὰρ οἰκεῖοι καὶ φίλοι.

deprive the Mother-city of the honour of having given birth to the greatest man in her literary history. About the time of Plato's birth, the Doric island of Ægina was stript of its inhabitants, and colonized by Athenian settlers (κληρούχοι), among whom was Aristophanes, the comic poet; and it has been stated[1] that Plato's family had emigrated also. But this seems to be a groundless tradition.

Connected as he was with the most distinguished family at Athens, it is not surprising that Plato received the best education which was then attainable in Greece; and we are told that he exhibited at an early age those qualities which raised him to literary eminence. He learned the elements of reading and writing (γράμματα) in the school of one Dionysius; Ariston, an Argive wrestler, instructed him in gymnastic exercises; his music-masters were Draco of Athens, a pupil of the famous Damon, and Metallus, or Megallus, of Agrigentum, whom some identify with Megillus,[2] a Pythagorean writer on the theory of numbers.[3] It is stated that he contended successfully as a wrestler in all the great games of Greece; and that he composed dithyrambic, lyric, elegiac, tragic, and epic poems. These are all lost; for there can be no doubt that the thirty epigrams in the *Anthologia*, which are attributed to him, are a later fabrication. When we come to speak of his style we shall see that he retained to the last the traces of that poetical fancy which suggested the form of his earliest compositions. There is no improbability in the statement that he also applied himself to painting, to which he refers in his dialogues in the language of an amateur.[4]

We learn from Aristotle that Plato commenced his philosophical studies under the guidance of the Heracleitean Cratylus,[5] who appears to have been a friend of Socrates. With

---

[1] Diog. III. 3.

[2] See Hermann, *Platon. Philos.* p. 99.

[3] His work περὶ ἀριθμῶν is cited in the *Theologumena Arithmeticæ*, p. 27, Ast., and the quotation shows that Plato may have derived some of his arithmetical fancies from this source.

[4] See for example *Theætet.* p. 208, E., *Resp.* X. p. 602, C.

[5] Aristot. *Metaphys.* I. c. 6: ἐκ νέου συγγενόμενος πρῶτον Κρατύλῳ καὶ ταῖς Ἡρακλειτείαις δόξαις. Apuleius, *De dogm. Plat.* p. 2: 'et antea quidem Heracleiti sectâ fuerat imbutus.'

what other philosophical systems he made acquaintance before the year 410 B.C., when he first attached himself to Socrates, we have no means of knowing. Diogenes, indeed,[1] asserts that Hermogenes, who maintains the Eleatic opinions in the dialogue called the *Cratylus*, was Plato's instructor in that philosophical system; but this is in all probability nothing more than an inference from the statement about Cratylus, and from their appearance in the same imaginary conversation. The circumstance which produced the greatest influence on his subsequent studies and pursuits, was undoubtedly the fact that he became one of the regular associates or pupils of Socrates at the early age of nineteen or twenty, and did not leave his teacher until that martyr of intellectual freedom, or literary and philosophical insubordination, drank the fatal cup of hemlock. He was present at the trial,[2] and was prevented by illness only from attending his master in his last moments.[3] Of his relations to his fellow pupils we are not able to speak with any certainty. The supposition that he was on unfriendly terms with Xenophon is not supported by any definite evidence.[4] He does not refer to Aristippus and Antisthenes in favourable terms,[5] but in most instances he speaks respectfully of the other disciples of Socrates. That the great teacher regarded Plato with kindly feelings of esteem may be inferred from the only passage in which Xenophon mentions our philosopher; for he says that Socrates retained a lively interest in Glauco on account of Charmides and Plato.[6]

The execution of Socrates in May, B.C. 399, was immediately

---

[1] III. 6.

[2] *Apolog.* p. 34, A.: οὑτοσὶ Πλάτων.

[3] *Phædo*, p. 59, B: Πλάτων δὲ οἶμαι ἠσθένει.

[4] There is a well-known treatise on this subject by A. Böckh, *Commentatio Academica de Simultate, quæ Platoni cum Xenophonte intercessisse fertur*. Berol. 1811.

[5] The absence of Aristippus from the death-scene of Socrates is merely mentioned in the *Phædo*, u.s. According to Demetrius, this was intended as a reproach (*De elocutione*, c. 288): οἷον ὡς ὁ Πλάτων Ἀρίστιππον καὶ Κλεόμβροτον λοιδορῆσαι θελήσας ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ὀψοφαγοῦντας δεδεμένου Σωκράτους Ἀθήνησιν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ μὴ διαπλεύσαντας ὡς τὸν ἑταῖρον καὶ διδάσκαλον. Plato manifestly glances at Aristippus in the *Philebus*, pp. 53, C. 54, D., and at Antisthenes in the *Sophistes*, pp. 251, B., 259, D. See above, p. 175.

[6] Xen. *Mem.* III. 6, § 1: Σωκράτης δὲ εὔνους ὢν αὐτῷ διά τε Χαρμίδην τὸν Γλαύκωνος καὶ διὰ Πλάτωνα.

followed by the retirement from Attica of those who had most warmly attached themselves to his person; and Eucleides, who had been one of those who attended the philosopher in his last moments, opened his house at Megara as an asylum for those who found it no longer safe to stay at Athens. Here Plato resided for some time, and his dialogues show that he availed himself of his intercourse with Eucleides to make himself thoroughly acquainted with that combination of Eleatic and Socratic doctrines which is known as the Megaric philosophy. He afterwards proceeded to Cyrene, on a visit to the mathematician Theodorus, who was also a friend of Socrates. It is worthy of remark that, while he professes to derive from a written report by Eucleides the three connected dialogues known as the *Theætetus*, the *Sophistes*, and the *Politicus*, the scene of which is laid at Athens, immediately before the trial of Socrates, Theodorus is represented as being present at all three conversations, and in the first of the three advocates the doctrines of Protagoras, in opposition to the searching criticisms of the Athenian philosopher. From Cyrene Plato is said to have travelled to Egypt, where we are told that he spent thirteen years in the study of all that the priests could teach him,[1] and even in Strabo's time the house, in which Plato and his companion Eudoxus had lodged, was exhibited among the things worth seeing at Heliopolis.[2] This journey to Egypt is also vouched for by Cicero,[3] and it is not in itself improbable that he might have taken the opportunity while resident at Cyrene of making a tour in that wonderful country. But, independently of the known date of his return to Athens and of his journeys to Sicily, it is not at all likely that he spent there any considerable time, and it is absurd to suppose that his residence extended to so long a period as thirteen years. His writings give no evidence of such a familiarity with Egyptian usages as would have resulted from such a lengthened sojourn.[4] And it is not improbable that the subsequent cultivation of his philosophy at Alexandria led to exaggerations on the subject. Still more

[1] Lactant. *Instit.* IV. 2. Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* p. 46, A.
[2] Strabo, p. 806, C.
[3] *De Republ.* I. 10.
[4] See Professor Thompson's note on Butler's *Lectures*, II. p. 15.

apocryphal are the stories about Plato's intercourse with the Magi of Persia in their own country. He might have obtained some knowledge of their dualism without travelling into the heart of Asia. And the adoption of Platonic ideas by the early Christians was quite a sufficient inducement for them to invent or believe the story that he had borrowed some of these coincident views from the Divine revelation of the East. Plato's Italian and Sicilian voyages are sufficiently authenticated. Whether we acquiesce, with Dr. Bentley[1] and Mr Grote,[2] in the genuineness of the epistles attributed to Plato, or, with Ast[3] and other critics, pronounce them to be spurious, we cannot deny what one of these latter writers[4] admits, that 'they are in all probability the work of comparatively early authors, who may have been exactly informed of the historical particulars referred to in them.' Now these epistles minutely describe Plato's intercourse with the despots of Syracuse, Dionysius and his son, and with Dion the uncle of the latter. It appears that he paid three several visits to Sicily—the first in B.C. 389, when, having offended the elder Dionysius, he was, at the instigation of that tyrant, sold as a slave by Pollis the Spartan ambassador, in whose ship he was returning to Greece, but was redeemed from slavery by Anniceris of Cyrene, one of the scholars of Aristippus. Notwithstanding this treatment, he was induced in B.C. 367 to pay a second visit to Syracuse, at the request of Dion, who wished to secure his advice and instructions for Dionysius the younger. This hopeless and thankless office was soon abandoned, for Dion was banished; and Plato returned to Greece after a four months' sojourn in Sicily. His third and last visit, for the purpose of reconciling the uncle and nephew, was undertaken in B.C. 361, and he escaped from a place, which had become both dangerous and disagreeable, at some time in the following year. The interest which he took in Dion, is perhaps also indicated by the fact that Speusippus, Plato's nephew, who had been his companion on his second

[1] *Remarks on Freethinking* (in Randolph's *Enchiridion Theologicum*, II., pp. 458, seqq.).

[2] *History of Greece*, X., p. 603.

[3] *Platon's Leben und Schriften*, pp. 504, sqq.

[4] Brandis, *Handbuch*, II., p. 145.

journey to Sicily, joined as a volunteer the body of adventurers by whose aid Dion, in B.C. 357, succeeded in establishing himself at Syracuse. With the death of that chieftain in B.C. 353, Plato's dealings with Sicily came to an end. His visit to Magna Græcia, in the south of Italy, was probably contemporary with the first of his Sicilian journeys. He had no doubt gained some knowledge of the philosophy of Pythagoras, and become familiar with the other Italian schools of philosophy at a much earlier period. As Philolaus had resided at Thebes where Simmias and Cebes heard him,[1] and as Echecrates was at Phlius about the time of the death of Socrates,[2] Plato had abundant opportunities of making acquaintance with the leading Pythagoreans of the day, without going to Italy for the purpose. Still he might have felt some temptation, when in Sicily, to extend his travels to Tarentum, where he had the advantage of making himself personally known to Archytas and Eurytus, and learning from them many particulars of those speculations which entered so largely into his own system. How great was his interest in this development of philosophy may be learned from the statement that Plato induced Dion to buy for a large sum of money the treatise in which Philolaus for the first time expounded the doctrines of Pythagoras.[3] It has been conjectured,[4] on the strength of a passage in the *Theætetus*,[5] that Plato travelled to Ephesus, the birth-place of the Heracleitean philosophy in order to converse with the representatives of a school in which he had received very ample instructions from Cratylus, and a tradition speaks of his having been in Caria.[6]

The journeys which we have described, with the exception of the voyage to Cyrene and the probable visit to Egypt, were undertaken after his return from Megara to Athens, which took place about four years after the death of Socrates, that is, not later than B.C. 395. There can be no doubt that his most celebrated works saw the light after this time, and in his native

---

1 Cicero, *De Finibus*, V. 29. Diog. Laërt. VIII. 46.

2 *Phædo*, p. 57 A. Cicero (*De Finibus*, u.s.), and Valerius Maximus (VIII. 7, ext. 3), consider Echecrates as a teacher of Plato.

3 Böckh, *Philolaos*, pp. 18, sqq.

4 By Ast, *Platon's Leben und Schriften*, p. 23.

5 p. 179 E.

6 Plutarch, *De dæm. Socr.* p. 579 B.

city. According to Cicero he carried on his literary labours till the day of his death,[1] and except when interrupted by such absences from home as the journeys to Sicily which we have enumerated, he was engaged as a public lecturer on philosophy throughout the latter half of his life. His lectures were at first delivered in the garden of the Academia, to the north-west of Athens, and afterwards in a neighbouring garden between the Academia and Colonus which he had purchased; and it has been observed, that these gardens 'have left a proof of their celebrity in the structure of language, which has derived from them a term now common to all places of instruction.'[2] Engaged in these philosophical and literary pursuits, Plato died at the advanced age of eighty-one, in Ol. 108, 1. B.C. 347. He was succeeded in his school by his nephew Speusippus, though he had left Heracleides of Pontus as his representative at the Academy when he took Speusippus with him on his second journey to Sicily. Athenæus[3] and Plutarch[4] give us counter lists of tyrants and good statesmen who received part of their training from Plato, and there were few eminent men of the day who are not stated to have been among the number of his hearers.

§ 3. This general survey of the life of Plato would be incomplete without some inquiry respecting his political character and conduct, which have been made the subject of sharp criticisms. Niebuhr has said,[5] that 'Plato may have been prejudiced against his native city, in its constitutional form of government, by the warm feelings of his youthful heart, but it is not the less true that, if so, he was not a good citizen.' We have mentioned in a previous chapter,[6] that it was a prominent characteristic of the post-Socratic philosophers, to reject the old forms of civil polity and to seek an approximation, at least, to an aristocracy of talent and knowledge. The state of the case in regard to Plato in particular, has been adequately exhibited by an eminent English scholar,[7] who has compared the state-

[1] *De Senectute*, c. 5.
[2] Butler's *Lectures*, II., p. 18.
[3] XI. p. 508, sqq.
[4] *Adv. Colot.* p. 1126.
[5] *Kleine Schriften*, p. 479. *Philological Museum*, I. p. 494.
[6] See chapter XXXVII. § 2.
[7] The Rev. W. H. Thompson, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, in his lectures on the *Gorgias*, delivered in 1854. By the kindness of Professor Thompson we have been permitted to quote from his manuscript notes.

ments of Plato himself, if he was the writer of the seventh Platonic epistle, with the feelings and principles so clearly displayed in the *Gorgias* and *Republic*, which, it is with reason contended, must have been composed soon after Plato's first return to Athens, in B.C. 395.[1] In that elaborate epistle, Plato is made to describe the successive disappointments which prevented him from taking a part in politics; his disgust with the oligarchs; his still greater indignation when the leaders of the restored democracy procured the condemnation of his friend Socrates; and how at last he arrived at the conviction that all existing forms of government were radically wrong; and that the crimes and misery of mankind would never come to an end until either the highest class of philosophic thinkers should step into the seats of power, or until the existing rulers should, by some divine miracle, become endued with a true philosophic insight.[2] The sentiments thus expressed by Plato, or put into his mouth, find their echo most especially in the *Gorgias* and *Republic;* and while the latter elaborates the theoretical reconstruction of the political fabric, the former may be considered as an Ἀπολογία Πλάτωνος, an exposition of his reasons for preferring the contemplative to the active, the philosophic to the rhetorical life. The manner in which Plato performed the duties of citizenship on his first return, his services as a soldier in the battles of Tanagra, Corinth, and Delium,[3] possibly his cultivation of rhetoric, with a view to his appearance as a public orator,[4]—all this may have induced his friends to hope that he was reconciled to the existing government of Athens,

---

[1] It appears to us that the description in *Resp.* 496 B. of the ὑπὸ φυγῆς καταληφθὲν γενναῖον καὶ εὖ τεθραμμένον ἦθος κ.τ.λ., is a description of his own case, which Plato would hardly have written, except at a period shortly subsequent to his return from Megara.

[2] *Epist.* VII., pp. 324 B., sqq. See especially the end of the paragraph, p. 326 A. B.

[3] Diog. Laërt. III. 8. Ælian, *V.H.*, VII. 14.

[4] Professor Thompson remarks: 'The intimate knowledge which the author of the *Phædrus* displays of the writings of the leaders of both the great schools of oratory, the Attic and the Sicilian, may lead to the conjecture that he had at one period of his life studied rhetoric with a view to its public practice; and it is hard to doubt that, under moderately favourable circumstances, his success as a speaker would have been brilliant.'

and was willing to take an active part in the administration of affairs;[1] and no doubt many a well-wisher among the democrats gave him warnings, like those which Callicles, in the *Gorgias*, addresses to Socrates.[2] To show that his dislike of the existing constitution was unconquerable, and to justify his abstinence from political action, he could not have taken a better method than that which is indicated in the supposed conversation with the veteran rhetorician of Leontini and his two admirers,—whereas the *Republic* fully developes those views of the necessity of a philosophical government, founded on the principles of eternal justice, which he would hold up to the politicians of the day as the best proof of the irreconcilable hostility between his views and those on which statesmen of the Callicles type professed to act.[3] That the *Gorgias* and the *Republic* may be safely referred to the time when Plato, after his first return to Athens, had to consider seriously whether he could consistently take a part in the public affairs of his own country, has been argued on the following grounds: The warning of Callicles, and the prophecy of his own death, put into the mouth of Socrates,[4] could not have appeared in a dialogue written before B.C. 399, and the reference of the *Gorgias* exclusively to Athenian life leads to the conclusion that it must have been written at Athens, and therefore after the writer's return in B.C. 395. Again, the statement in Athenæus,[5] that Gorgias himself read

---

[1] That these ideas on the part of his friends might have been very justifiable is clear from his own expressions (*Ep.* VII. p. 325 A.) in regard to his feelings on the re-establishment of the democracy by Thrasybulus: *πάλιν βραδύτερον μέν, εἴλκε δέ με ὅμως, ἡ περὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ἐπιθυμία.*

[2] *Gorgias*, p. 521 C.

[3] Compare the *Republic*, VI. pp. 488 sqq. with the passage referred to above, p. 212, note 2.

[4] *Gorgias*, p. 521 D: *οὐδέν γε ἄτοπον εἰ ἀποθάνοιμι.* The idea of the helplessness of the philosopher, when obliged to defend himself in a court of justice, is beautifully worked up in a well-known passage of the *Theætetus* (p. 174 B. sqq.), which must have been published soon after Plato's return from Megara, and therefore according to Mr. Thompson's view, at the same epoch as the *Gorgias*. He say that he had these views at the time of his first journey to Italy and Sicily: *Ep.* VII. p. 326 B.

[5] Athen. XI. p. 505: *λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ ὁ Γοργίας αὐτὸς ἀναγνοὺς τὸν ὁμώνυμο αὐτῷ διάλογον πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ἔφη, 'Ὡς καλῶς οἶδε Πλάτων ἰαμβίζειν—ἄλλοι δέ φασιν ὡς ἀναγνοὺς ὁ Γοργίας τὸν Πλάτωνος διάλογον πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν τούτων οὔτε εἶπεν οὔτε ἤκουσε.*

the dialogue, and the reasonable inference[1] that the great rhetorician died shortly before B.C. 388, oblige us to conclude that the dialogue was written before Plato started for Sicily in B.C. 389, which will fix the date of this treatise approximately for some time within the limits of Plato's first residence at Athens after the death of Socrates. With regard to the *Republic*, if, as we have mentioned above, the *Ecclesiazusæ* of Aristophanes, with its commonwealth of women, is a satirical attack on Plato's speculation, it will follow that the first sketch, at all events, of that long dialogue, was written and known to the public before B.C. 392, and this date for the *Republic* will affect that of the *Gorgias* also. Accordingly, in the first three years after his return to Athens, Plato had not only formed for himself, but he had communicated to the world, a determination to take no part in the public business at Athens. The principles of the literary aristocracy, to which we have referred in a previous chapter,[2] were carried out by Plato to their fullest extent. But finding no probability that these principles would ever take root and germinate at Athens, he was content to do his best to instil his own convictions into the minds of those, who must sooner or later become politicians, and confine his practical politics to a share in the legislation of other states, or to an attempt to philosophize the minds of the adventurers who had made themselves masters of the fairest Greek city in Sicily.

§ 4. The position which Plato thus assumed, as a writer rather than a speaker or practical politician, was in accordance with his whole career as a literary man, in the strictest sense of the term. He was not only a writer himself, but he was one of the earliest collectors of books,[3] and was professedly a reader and reviewer of the writings of others. We have already seen how much pains he had taken to make himself acquainted with all existing systems of philosophy. 'On the death of Socrates,' says Cicero,[4] 'Plato first went to Egypt to add to his stock of knowledge, and afterwards travelled to Italy and Sicily in order to learn thoroughly the doctrines of Pythagoras;

[1] Fogs supposes from various data that Gorgias was born about B.C. 496, and died about B.C. 388.

[2] Above, chapter XXXVII. § 2.

[3] Proclus *in Tim.* I. p. 28. Diog. VIII. 15.

[4] *De Republ.* I. 10.

he had a great deal of intercourse with Archytas of Tarentum, and with Timæus the Locrian, and procured the commentaries of Philolaus; and as Pythagoras then enjoyed a great reputation in that part of the world, Plato applied himself to the society of Pythagorean philosophers and to the study of their system. Accordingly, as he was devotedly attached to Socrates, and wished to put everything into his mouth, he interwove the elegance and subtlety of the Socratic mode of arguing with the obscurity of Pythagoras and the many branches of learning which the Pythagorean philosophy included.' This account, though containing much that is true, is very far from describing the extent and variety of Plato's studies or the use which he made of his acquired knowledge. Of the importance of the Socratic and Pythagorean elements in Plato's philosophy there can be no doubt. But he transmuted all that he touched into his own forms of thought and language, and there was no branch of speculative literature which he had not mastered. Epicharmus, the great comedian, who was also a renowned Pythagorean philosopher, was one of his favourite authors, and Plato may be said to have fulfilled his prophecy,—that some future writer would confute and overthrow all opponents, by adopting his sayings and clothing them in a different dress.[1] Sophron, the mimographer, was constantly in his hand, and he is said to have had a copy of the Mimes under his pillow when he died.[2] He was also familiar with Empedocles,[3] who stands half way between the Pythagoreans and the Eleatics, and who, as Dr. Thirlwall suggests,[4] may probably be regarded as the predecessor of Plato, in his eclectic view of philosophy. Besides these Sicilian writers, Plato was thoroughly conversant with all the

[1] Above p. 57, note. That Epicharmus the *poet* and Epicharmus the *philosopher* were the same person is fully shown by Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* II. p. XXXVI. note *g*. Plato sometimes quotes Epicharmus by name, and in one passage (*Theætet.* 152 E.) names him and Homer as the two chief poets, the one of comedy and the other of tragedy.

[2] Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* I. 10, § 17.

[3] The doctrines of Empedocles are directly referred to in the *Sophistes*, p. 242 D. G. Hermann recognizes the very words of this philosopher in the *Phædrus*, p. 246, B.C., and has endeavoured to restore them to their original form (*Opusc.* VII. p. 106). It is doubtful whether Empedocles or Anaxagoras is alluded to in the *Lysis*, p. 214 B. See Heindorf and Stallbaum on the passage.

[4] *History of Greece*, II. p. 139, note.

works of Philolaus, Archytas, Parmenides, Zeno, Heracleitus, Anaxagoras, and Protagoras; whatever was committed to writing by the Sophists had come into his hands; he did not neglect his own contemporaries of the Socratic school; and many of his dialogues may be regarded as reviews or controversial tracts, referring to the published opinions of such writers as Aristippus, Antisthenes, and Eucleides. It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that because Plato was so actively cognizant of the speculations of his predecessors and contemporaries, he has therefore forfeited his claim to be considered as a man of original genius. If this were the case there could be no such thing as literary originality. Every man who writes gives an expression, under a new form and with new developments, to thoughts which have been growing up in the society to which he belongs. Every age leans upon the preceding age, and the man of most creative genius can only work with the materials committed to him.[1] It would be as preposterous to deny the originality of Shakspere because his plays derived their plots from histories, poems, and novels, as to suppose that Plato thought and wrote only at second-hand. We have only to compare the dialogues of Plato with the tame appearances of Socrates in the *Memoirs* of Xenophon, if we wish to see how much is due to the dramatic power, poetic fancy, analytical skill, and exhaustive learning of the former. Fully conceding the postulate, that Socrates first awakened the idea of science, and laid the foundations of dialectics, on which a main part of the philosophy of Plato was built up,[2] and recognizing the importance of the great ideas which Plato had learned from the Eleatics, the Heracleiteans, and the Pythagoreans, we must still claim for him the master-mind which extracted from all these systems their common truths, rejected their specific errors, and from the whole elaborated and expounded, in the finest language ever spoken by man, the great theory of the opposition between the law and the facts, between the general and the particular, between the objects of reflexion and the objects of the senses,

---

[1] Arsène Houssaye has well remarked: 'le plus souvent le génie n'est qu'un écho bien disposé.'

[2] See this distinctly stated by Aristotle, *Metaph.* XII. 4, § 5.

between the world of abstract thought and the world of visible phenomena.

§ 5. With the exception of the epistles, if any of these are genuine, and the philosophical definitions, which are undoubtedly spurious, all the extant writings of Plato are in the form of dialogues, and in all these dialogues, with the exception of the *Laws*, Socrates is either an interlocutor, or in some way interested in the conversation. In this species of composition Plato was preceded by Alexamenus of Teos, and perhaps by Epicharmus, Zeno of Elea, and others.[1] Aristotle says:[2] 'We cannot deny the name of discourses and imitations to the mimes of Sophron and the dialogues of Alexamenus of Teos, which were the first written of the Socratic dialogues.' With regard to Zeno, we have the more doubtful statement of Diogenes:[3] 'they say that Zeno of Elea was the first to write dialogues;' and a mere inference from Aristotle's description of 'the answering and questioning Zeno.'[4] Whatever may have been the force of precedent, there can be no doubt that Plato was led to employ the form of dialogues from the nature of the case. The mere fact that he adopted the dialectics of Socrates and the Eleatics is sufficient to account for his exhibiting his reasonings in accordance with that method of questioning by which his great teacher and the school of Parmenides had tested the doctrines and opinions of those with whom they came into contact. A professor of dialectics was, by the nature of the case, a professor of conversation; the verb διαλέγεσθαι means simply 'to converse,' and the common word to denote conversation, namely, διάλεξις, is used by Aristophanes to denote

---

[1] The following writers of dialogues were contemporary with Plato: Æschines, Antisthenes, Eucleides, and Phædo.

[2] Athenæus XI. p. 505 B.: αὐτὸς (Πλάτων) τοὺς διαλόγους μιμητικῶς γράψας, ὧν τῆς ἰδέας οὐδ' αὐτὸς εὑρετής ἐστιν. πρὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦθ' εὗρε τὸ εἶδος ὁ Τήϊος Ἀλεξαμενός, ὡς Νικίας ὁ Νικαεὺς ἱστορεῖ περὶ Σωτίων. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ ποιητῶν οὕτως γράφει· 'οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἐμμέτρους τοὺς καλουμένους Σώφρονος Μίμους μὴ φῶμεν εἶναι λόγους καὶ μιμήσεις, ἢ τοὺς Ἀλεξαμενοῦ τοῦ Τηΐου τοὺς πρώτους γραφέντας τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων.' Where Bergk reads τοὺς πρότερον. On the general subject see Brandis, in Niebuhr's *Rhein Mus.* I. 120.

[3] III. 47, p. 215 A. Casaub.: διαλόγους τοίνυν φασὶ πρῶτον γράψαι Ζήνωνα τὸν Ἐλεάτην.

[4] *Sophist. Elench.* c. 20, § 2: ὁ ἀποκρινόμενος καὶ ὁ ἐρωτῶν Ζήνων.

'dialectics' or 'logic.'[1] The definition by which Socrates, according to Xenophon, reduces διαλέγεσθαι to its active form, and supposes it to mean the analysis or subdivision of things according to their *genera* and *species*,[2] is, of course, one of those plays upon words which merely indicate the non-existence of philological criticism among the Greeks. To examine and cross-examine appeared to Socrates the only means of arriving at the truth or confuting error, and to keep close to the question was in the strictest sense of the term 'to argue διαλεκτικῶς.'[3] The convenience of this method for an object such as that which Plato proposed to himself is obvious.[4] Wishing to review and criticize the various systems of philosophy then current in Greece, and also to test various opinions of political or social import, no better plan could have occurred to him than that of supposing their authors and advocates to meet with Socrates in the course of his daily life at Athens, and submit their views, with the best arguments which had been advanced in support of them, to his searching elenchus. In this way, Plato, as the anonymous reviewer, was enabled to substitute the well-known person of Socrates for the conventional 'we' of our modern critics, and instead of extracts from the works under review, with inverted commas and other marks of quotation, which, in this age of writing and printing, are expedients as convenient as they are universal, he produced the living forms of the authors themselves, or of some friendly Theodorus,[5] who had said, or was likely to say, a good word on their behalf. In this way,

[1] *Nub.* 317 : αἴπερ γνώμην καὶ διάλεξιν καὶ νοῦν ἡμῖν παρέχουσιν.

[2] *Mem.* IV. 5, § 12 : ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὸ διαλέγεσθαι ὀνομασθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ συνιόντας κοινῇ βουλεύεσθαι διαλέγοντας κατὰ γένη τὰ πράγματα.

[3] The words of *Hudibras* (I. 3, 1255 sqq.) accurately describe the dialecticprocess

'The quirks and cavils thou dost make
Are false and built upon mistake.
And I shall bring you with your pack
Of fallacies to elenchi back;
And put your arguments in mood
And figure to be understood.
I'll force you by right ratiocination
To leave your vitilitigation,
And make you keep to the question close,
And argue *dialecticωs*.'

[4] There is a modern justification of Plato's method in Mr. Kingsley's *Phaethon*, 2nd Edition, Cambridge, 1854.

[5] Who undertakes the defence of Protagoras in the *Theætetus*.

too, Plato was able to gratify his own dramatic genius, and his almost unrivalled power of keeping up an assumed character, a power in which Shakspere alone can claim to be his equal. The natural bent of a man, who transcribed Epicharmus[1] and kept Sophron under his pillow,[2] must have been strongly towards this habit of impersonation, to say nothing of the pleasure of doing that which we do easily and well; and if this had not been the case, it would be difficult to show what other method of controversy and literary or philosophical criticism would have been available to him in an age when he stood almost alone as a collector and possessor of books written by his contemporaries.

§ 6. The chronological order of Plato's works, and their arrangement according to the subject matter, have occasioned a good deal of discussion. There is another question connected with this, namely, whether any and how many of the dialogues attributed to him are not genuine. With regard to this latter question, which must precede any inquiry as to the order of the dialogues which really proceeded from Plato, we feel disposed to agree with those who grant the critical passport to all but certain of the minor works. The following will be either received with doubt or rejected without hesitation; the *Axiochus* and *Eryxias* (sometimes attributed to the Socratic philosopher, Æschines), the *Epinomis* (probably written by Philip of Opus), the first and second *Alcibiades* (the latter attributed to Xenophon), the first and second *Hippias*, the *Theages*, *Ion*, *Anterastæ*, *Hipparchus*, *Minos*, *Cleitopho*. On the other hand, we must maintain, against Ast, the genuineness of the *Laws*, the *Meno*, *Euthydemus*, *Charmides*, *Lysis*, *Laches*, *Menexenus*, *Euthyphro*, *Apology*, and *Crito*. And we cannot consent even to enter upon an argument with Socher as to the genuineness of the *Parmenides*, *Sophistes*, and *Politicus*, which seem to us as undoubtedly Platonic as the *Theætetus*, or the *Philebus*.[3] The earliest

[1] Alcimus quoted by Diogenes (III. 18) says that Plato transcribed most of the writings of Epicharmus. [2] Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* I. 10, § 17.

[3] Socher, *über Platon's Schriften*, München, 1820. These views have been partly adopted or supported by Dr. Whewell in some interesting papers read before the Cambridge Philosophical Society (*Transactions*, vol. IX. pt. 4, vol. X. p. 1). As far as the *Sophistes* and *Politicus* are concerned, the question has been set at rest by Professor Thompson in the elaborate paper to which we have already referred: above, p. 175.

methodical arrangement of Plato's dialectics is that of the Tetralogies drawn up by Thrasyllus, a grammarian, who flourished in the time of Tiberius.[1] Of these nine Tetralogies there are only three which are partially accurate in classification. Thrasyllus could not avoid putting together the *Theætetus, Sophistes,* and *Politicus,* but he spoils the connexion by prefixing the *Cratylus,* instead of appending the *Parmenides.* With similar want of judgment he makes the *Cleitopho* a preface to the *Republic, Timæus,* and *Critias,* which are really connected. There is a possible coherence in the *Parmenides, Philebus, Symposium,* and *Phædrus,* which constitute his third class; but this arrangement will not bear examination. In modern times the most important classification of the dialogues is that which was drawn up by the great philosophical theologian Schleiermacher, who was the first to submit the whole of Plato's works to an acute and careful examination in regard to their coherency and the connexion of thought which runs through them. He divides them into three classes: (A) the elementary dialogues, or those which contain the germs of all that follows, of logic as the instrument of philosophy, and of ideas as its proper object; these are the *Phædrus, Lysis, Protagoras, Laches, Charmides, Euthyphro,* and *Parmenides;* to which Schleiermacher subjoins, as an appendix, the *Apology, Crito, Io, Hippias minor, Hipparchus, Minos,* and *Alcibiades II.* (B) Progressive dialogues, which treat of the distinction between philosophical and common knowledge in their united application to the proposed and real sciences, ethics, and physics; these are the *Gorgias, Theætetus, Meno, Euthydemus, Cratylus, Sophistes, Politicus, Symposium, Phædo,* and *Philebus;* with an appendix containing the *Theages, Erastæ, Alcibiades I., Menexenus, Hippias major,* and *Cleitopho.* (C) Constructive dialogues, in which the practical is completely united with the speculative; these are the *Republic, Timæus,* and *Critias,* with an appendix containing the *Laws,* the *Epistles,*

[1] The following are the Tetralogies of Thrasyllus as given by Diogenes Laërtius, II. 56, p. 221, Casaubon. I. *Euthyphro, Apologia, Crito, Phædo.* II. *Cratylus, Theætetus, Sophista, Politicus.* III. *Parmenides, Philebus, Symposium, Phædrus.* IV. *Alcibiades prior, Alcibiades alter, Hipparchus, Anterastæ.* V. *Theages, Charmides, Laches, Lysis.* VI. *Euthydemus, Protagoras, Gorgias, Meno.* VII. *Hippias major, Hippias minor, Io, Menexenus.* VIII. *Cleitopho, Respublica, Timæus, Critias.* IX. *Minos, Leges, Epinomis, Epistolæ.*

&c. Without entering upon a criticism of this arrangement, which is, as we conceive, in accordance neither with the chronological order of the dialogues, nor with the main divisions of the subjects discussed in them; we will endeavour briefly to ascertain the periods in Plato's life at which the principal dialogues were written, and the literary connexion of the more important treatises with one another.[1]

It seems to us extremely unlikely that many works were published by Plato during the lifetime of Socrates, or that he composed at this time any of the more elaborate dialogues. It has indeed been very generally assumed that the *Phædrus* appeared at this epoch, and was in fact the first of his works. We are much more disposed to accept the conclusion of C. F. Hermann,[2] that this dialogue belongs to the final period in Plato's literary career. Some of the reasons for this view have been briefly summed up by an English scholar.[3] They are —(1) its Pythagorism; (2) the multifarious learning displayed in it—a learning of which there are few traces in his youthful

[1] The most recent hypothesis with regard to the arrangement of Plato's dialogues is that of E. Munk (*Die natürliche ordnung der Platon. Schriften*, Berlin, 1857), who conceives that their natural order is that which is indicated by the age of Socrates at the time when each conversation is supposed to have taken place: thus the *Parmenides* is the first, because it introduces Socrates as a boy, and the *Phædo* is the last, because it represents the closing scene in the philosopher's life! The following are his subdivisions:—

A. Socratic Cycle I. *Socrates' initiation as a philosopher, and his contests with false wisdom* (time of composition, 389—384).

1. *Parmenides* (time of action, 446). 2. *Protagoras* (434). 3. *Charmides* (432), and *Laches* (421). 4. *Gorgias* (420). 5. *Ion, Hippias I., Cratylus, Euthydemus,* (420). 6. *Symposium* (417).

II. *Socrates teaches the true wisdom* (time of composition, 383—370).

1. *Phædrus;* 2. *Philebus;* 3. *Republic, Timæus* and *Critias* (410).

III. *Socrates proves the truth of his doctrines by a criticism of the antagonistic opinions and by his death as a martyr* (composed after 370).

1. *Meno* (405); 2. *Theætetus* (on the day of Meletus's accusation); 3. *Sophistes* and *Politicus* (one day after the *Theætetus*); 4. *Euthyphro* (on the same day as the *Theætetus*); 5. *Apology* (at the trial); 6. *Crito* (two days before the death of Socrates); 7. *Phædo* (on the day of his death).

B. Platonic writings which do not belong to the Cycle. I. *Juvenile Writings* (composed before the death of Socrates). 1. *Alcibiades I.;* 2. *Lysis;* 3. *Hippias II.*

II. *Later Writings.* 1. *Menexenus* (after 387); 2. *Laws* (begun about 367).

[2] *Platon, Philosophie*, pp. 373 sqq.

[3] Professor Thompson, note on Butler's *Lectures*, II. p. 44.

works; (3) the maturity of its ethical views, contrasted with the Socratic crudity of the *Lysis*, *Protagoras*, &c.; (4) the clear exposition of the principles of philosophical method, and the advanced views of the nature of ideas implied in the great mythus; (5) the exquisite perfection of the *Phædrus* as a work of literary art. The tradition, which assigns an early date to the *Phædrus*, is possibly due to the fact that it was the first book published by Plato, when he finally established himself as a teacher in the Academy. The favourable notice of Isocrates,[1] and the criticisms on Lysias,[2] need occasion no difficulty. He may have entertained a higher opinion of the former than he did when he wrote the *Euthydemus*, if the description of the conceited rhetorician in that dialogue really refers to Isocrates;[3] and the importance attached to Lysias would be most applicable to the time, when that orator enjoyed the Panhellenic reputation consequent on his Olympiac speech.[4] Now this was in B.C. 388, just about the time when Plato, being ransomed from his bondage, set up his school at Athens, and when Isocrates was in great repute. If any one of the extant dialogues can claim to be really the first written, the *Lysis* is perhaps the best entitled to this primogeniture. For there is not only a distinct tradition to this effect,[5] but the style and subject-matter bear a stamp of juvenility and unpractised authorship. Closely connected with this we have the *Charmides* and the *Laches;* and other short dialogues, if they are genuine, belong to the same epoch; such are the *Hippias major*, the *Alcibiades I.*, and the *Io*. After these, and perhaps shortly before the time of the death of Socrates, we have two transition dialogues, in which the Sophists are so fully exhibited, namely, the *Prota-*

---

[1] *Phædrus*, p. 279 A. [2] *Ibid.* p. 234 D. sqq.

[3] *Euthydemus*, p. 304 D.: ἀνὴρ ολόμενος πάνυ εἶναι σοφός, τούτων τις τῶν περὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια δεινῶν. When Plato wrote the *Protagoras* and *Euthydemus*, it seems to have been his wish to contrast Socrates with those sophists, and he might therefore take a less favourable view of Isocrates on that account, for this rhetorician was a pupil of Protagoras.

[4] Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, II. p. 101. Mr. Grote (vol. X. p. 101) supposes that the *Olympiacus* of Lysias and the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates were delivered at successive Olympic festivals in B.C. 384 and 380 respectively.

[5] Diog. Laërt. III. 35: φασὶ δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην ἀκούσαντα τὸν Λύσιν ἀναγιγνώσκοντος Πλάτωνος, Ἡρακλεῖς, εἰπεῖν, ὡς πολλά μου καταψεύδεται ὁ νεανίσκος.

goras and *Euthydemus*.[1] While he was at Megara, and very soon after the death of Socrates, he probably published and sent to Athens the *Apology* and the *Crito*.[2] When he returned to Athens in B.C. 395, we conceive, for the reasons which we have quoted from Professor Thompson, that he wrote the *Gorgias*, and the first edition of the *Republic*. Being also fresh from his instructive intercourse with Eucleides at Megara, he most probably published at this time also the trilogy of dialogues which are supposed to be narrated at that philosopher's house—namely, the *Theætetus*, the *Sophistes*, and the *Politicus*—and are stated to have taken place at the time when Socrates was indicted by Meletus.[3] The battle of Corinth, mentioned at the beginning of the *Theætetus*, must have been that in which Plato took a part, in the year of his return to Athens, B.C. 395;[4]

[1] Stallbaum seems to have shown satisfactorily that the *Euthydemus* must have been written about the beginning of Ol. 94, *i.e.* about B.C. 404. Its object is evidently the same as that of the *Protagoras*, namely, to mark the essential distinction between the principles and conduct of Socrates and those of the Sophists, with whom he was so often confounded. To the assumption of a corresponding date for the *Protagoras* the chief objection, which occurs to the reader, is the resemblance between this dialogue and the *Symposium*, which all are agreed in regarding as one of Plato's most matured works. Both of these dialogues introduce Eryximachus and his friend Phædrus, Agatho and his admirer Pausanias, Alcibiades and his relations to Socrates, with remarks of a very similar kind, and there are unmistakeable resemblances of style and allusion, as, for instance, in the reference to the same line of Homer (*Protagoras*, 348 D., *Symp.* 174 D.). But the purport of the two dialogues and the indications of a more mature and thoroughly Platonic philosophy in the latter, must lead us to seek for the natural explanation of these resemblances in that tendency to reproduction which is common to all authors. The introduction of Critias in the *Protagoras* and *Charmides* need create no difficulty. If they were composed after the death of the tyrannical oligarch, the amnesty was so faithfully observed by the democratical party that no mischief could accrue to Plato from such an allusion to his relatives.

[2] This may be inferred from the natural wish of Plato, who was prevented from defending Socrates at his trial, to send to Athens a written vindication of his master, and an account of his noble unwillingness to evade the sentence of the court.

[3] In the introduction to the *Theætetus*, Eucleides is led by the mention of that brave young philosopher, who had been wounded in the battle of Corinth, to read to his friend Terpsion a written report of the imaginary conversations in which Theætetus took a part, and at the end of the first dialogue Socrates says that Meletus had indicted him.

[4] For the battle of Corinth see Grote, IX. p. 425. We know nothing about the battles of Tanagra and Delium at which Plato fought; probably, as Clinton suggests, they took place in the Corinthian or Theban war.

and there can be little doubt that these dialogues were written shortly after that event. A fourth dialogue, which is unmistakeably referred to[1] in the three supposed to have been detailed at Megara, and which is manifestly connected with them in subject, is the *Parmenides*, which is supposed to have been held in the younger days of Socrates, but is really a Platonic review of the Eleatic system considered in its connexion with the Megaric. In this class, too, we must include the dialogue which gets its name from his first teacher, the Heracleitean *Cratylus*. When Plato returned from his first peregrination and the bondage which concluded it, and established himself as a public teacher in the neighbourhood of Colonus, he seems to have published the *Phædrus*, as an introductory treatise, followed by the *Menexenus*, in direct rivalry of Lysias, whom he had criticized in that previous dialogue; and at intervals after this he must have given to the world his *Symposium*, which treats, like the *Phædrus*, of love, his *Phædo*, which discusses the immortality of the soul, not without reference to the doctrine of transmigration, so clearly stated in the *Phædrus*, the *Philebus*, which argues the moral question in a Pythagorean spirit, perhaps the *Meno*, with its theory of reminiscences,[2] and certainly the second or complete edition of the *Republic*, with its full development of all these ideas, and its substitution of the three classes in the State for the charioteer and horses of the *Phædrus*, as a representation of the tripartite division of the soul. This last was followed,

---

[1] The *Parmenides* is distinctly alluded to in the *Theætetus*, p. 180 E., and it is inferred from the *Sophistes*, p. 217 C., 253 E., 254 B., and from the *Politicus*, p. 257 A.B., that the *Parmenides* was the sequel of the two latter under the title of the *Philosophus*.

[2] Both C. F. Hermann and Stallbaum are inclined to class the *Meno* with the earlier dialogues. The latter, adopting the views of Socher, thinks that Plato would not have dealt so gently with Anytus, if he had written this dialogue after his teacher's death, but sees in it indications of ill-will between Anytus and Socrates. Accordingly he places the dialogue about the middle of the 94th Olympiad. But this argument would only apply to the supposition that the *Meno* was written while the Socratic school entertained a fresh recollection of the part which Anytus had played, and there would be no more difficulty in a calm exposure of Anytus many years afterwards than in making Aristophanes and Socrates boon companions at the same feast. The reference to Ismenias, p. 90 A., places the dialogue after Ol. 96, 1., B.C. 396 (Cf. Xen. *Hell.* III. 5, § 1.); and the doctrine of reminiscences is too Pythagorean to allow us to separate the *Meno* from the *Phædrus*.

probably after an interval, by the *Timæus* and *Critias*. And the *Laws* were undoubtedly written after his last return from Sicily, and when he had changed the general method of his teaching and writing. Notwithstanding the differences of style and the *anacolutha* or grammatical inconsequences which are found in the *Laws*, to an extent of which we have no example in the other works of Plato, the non-introduction of Socrates, and the discrepancies in detail between the *Laws* and the *Republic*, we entertain a perfect conviction that we have here a genuine work of Plato. The faults of the style may be explained by the fact that the *Laws* had not received the last touches of the author's pen; for Philippus of Opus is said to have transcribed the work from the waxen tablets (ἐν κήροις)[1] and to have copied it out. With regard to the non-introduction of Socrates, this is surely a peculiarity which the author was at liberty to adopt if he pleased. What would have been said if it had not been in the form of a dialogue at all? The discrepancies in details between the *Laws* and the *Republic* are explained by the different purport of the two treatises. The author himself tells us that the former is not intended to represent a perfect state, but merely one that is relatively perfect; and the discrepancies do not affect any leading principles in Plato's ethical system. But even if the objections were of much more weight than they seem to be, they would be overthrown by Aristotle's direct and positive testimony to the genuineness of the work.[2]

It does not appear that Plato made any formal division of his writings according to their subject-matter. Generally it may be said that they represent the *dialectics* and *ethics*, to which Socrates confined his attention, and in a less elaborate form, the *physical philosophy* of the older speculators. This tripartition of philosophy was recognized in Plato's time, and is said to have been expressly adopted by Aristotle, Xenocrates, and the Stoics,[3]

[1] Diog. Laert. III. 25, who also mentions that this Opuntian disciple of Plato was the author of the *Epinomis* attributed to his great master.

[2] *Polit.* II. 6, § 1.

[3] Sextus Empiricus, *adv. Mathem.* VII. 16: ἐντελέστερον δὲ παρὰ τούτους οἱ εἰπόντες τῆς φιλοσοφίας τὸ μέν τι εἶναι φυσικόν, τὸ δὲ ἠθικόν, τὸ δὲ λογικόν. ὧν δυνάμει μὲν Πλάτων ἐστὶν ἀρχηγός, περὶ πολλῶν μὲν φυσικῶν, περὶ πολλῶν δὲ ἠθικῶν, οὐκ ὀλίγων δὲ λογικῶν διαλεχθείς· ῥητότατα δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ξενοκράτη καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου, ἔτι δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς ἔχονται τῆσδε τῆς διαιρέσεως.

but Cicero tells us that it was contemplated also by Plato,[1] and it may be discerned in his dialogues as we have them. In accepting, however, this formally-scientific classification of Plato's dialogues, we shall be obliged to exclude all those which were written before his return to Athens in B.C. 395, for none of these can be considered as contributing directly to the development of Plato's system. They are rather examples of his dramatic genius and dialectic skill applied to the exhibition of the views peculiar to Socrates, or they are intended as justifications of that philosopher, giving a favourable representation both of his method and of the ethical principles which he adopted, and contrasting him, in both respects, with the Sophists, in opposition to the common prejudice at Athens, that he was only a Sophist himself.[2] If we take even the most elaborate of these early dialogues, the *Protagoras*, and compare it with any one of those which he published after his return from Megara, even the *Gorgias*, which is the least scientific of that group, we shall see that the former is entirely Socratic, while the latter uses the person of Socrates merely to justify the opinions of Plato. It has been well remarked by an English scholar, who is an authority in all that relates to this subject,[3] that 'the speech of Callicles in the *Gorgias* is throughout more applicable to the circumstances of a comparatively young man, who, like Plato, on his first return to Athens, had his profession to choose, than to an elderly and inveterate dialectician, such as Socrates must have been considered at the time, when this conversation is supposed to take place; that no reader of Plato need be at a loss for parallel instances, in which the contemporaries of Plato would recognize the author under the mask of his hero, or in which the opinions of the parties and personages of his own time are antedated by some twenty or thirty years; and that certainly no Callicles, however well-intentioned, or however sanguine, could have hoped to win over Socrates to a profession for which he was so ludicrously disqualified by the absence of every one of those gifts of nature which are commonly regarded as essential to

---

[1] *Acad. Post.* I. 5, § 19.

[2] Above, Chapter XXXVII., § 1. Xen. *Mem.* I. 6, § 15, I. 2, § 49, sqq.

[3] We quote from Professor Thompson's MS. Lecture on the *Gorgias*, to which we have been permitted to refer.

success in public life, whereas Plato had already given indications of an intention of taking that part in the public deliberations which he declined to assume, for reasons adequately explained in the *Gorgias* and *Republic*.' In the *Protagoras*, on the other hand, we have Socrates, as he was, opposed to a group of the most eminent Sophists, who are drawn from the life, with all the accuracy of a photograph, and exhibiting not only a most favourable specimen of his peculiar dialectics, but also arguing for that identification of virtue with knowledge which we have seen[1] was the special characteristic of his moral philosophy. The compliment to Socrates, and the prediction of his future eminence, with which Protagoras concludes the dialogue, seem to us to intimate very clearly that in this dialogue it was the object of the zealous disciple to meet a growing prejudice against his master, and to induce the Athenians to recognize his present usefulness and future eminence. Protagoras is made to say:[2] 'For my part, Socrates, I commend your zeal, and your skill in developing an argument; and I have often said of you, that of all who fall in my way, I admire you most, certainly by far the most of those of your standing, and that I should not be surprised if you were to gain a place among distinguished philosophers.'

Omitting then, for these and the like reasons, all the dialogues, which were probably written before B.C. 395, we shall get the following general results for a scientific classification and subdivision of the genuine works of Plato. We may fairly conclude that Plato's first object, in developing his own peculiar views, would be to vindicate the principles of moral and political speculation, which led him to the conclusion that no state could really succeed until the rulers became philosophical, or philosophers were placed in the seats of power. In thus maintaining the importance of philosophy, he prepared the way for a discussion of those theories on which, as he thought, mental and moral philosophy depend. Accordingly, we infer that he began his systematic works by publishing the *Gorgias* and the first sketch of the *Republic*.[3] These works were not only his *propæ-*

[1] Above, Chapter XXXVII. § 3. [2] *Protagoras*, p. 361 D.

[3] It is too generally forgotten, in histories of ancient literature, that, in the case of long-lived and prolific authors, the works which we have are very often trans-

deutic, or inaugural discourses, but also his means of setting himself right[1] with those of his fellow-citizens who claimed from him a more direct participation in their own every-day affairs. After these he would naturally publish the dialectical reviews from the *Theætetus* to the *Parmenides*, in which the principles of abstract reasoning are controversially established. These are emphatically the dialectical treatises, though the results appear also in the later dialogues. Making a new start with the *Phædrus*, on opening his school after his release from bondage, he reverts to the moral principles urged in the *Gorgias* and *Republic*, and discusses the philosophy of rhetoric with direct reference to his most eminent contemporaries, Lysias and Isocrates;[2] and in a series of dialogues, terminating with a revised and completed edition of the *Republic*, he blends together his dialectical and moral principles, and gives us adaptations of that Pythagorism with which he had made more accurate acquaintance at Tarentum. These dialogues then, with the later treatise on the *Laws*, represent generally the ethical system of Plato. In the *Phædo* he had glanced at the bearing of these questions on natural philosophy, and the play with numbers in the *Republic* had reference as much to the physical as to the political theories of the Pythagoreans; but he has given a formal development of his views on these matters in the *Timæus*, which may therefore be regarded as a sample of Plato's physical philosophy. According to this subdivision, we will now examine the general results of his system.

§ 7. The dialogues, in which Plato discusses more particularly the science of dialectics, are a series of reviews representing, partly by way of example, the faults of the counter-systems of

---

mitted to us in a revised or improved form, even if they are not entirely remodelled. Among Plato's dialogues, we see this most clearly in the *Republic* and the *Parmenides*, the latter of which is probably a new and separate edition of the treatise 'on the philosopher,' which is the promised sequel to the *Sophistes* and the *Politicus*.

[1] In the German phrase, Plato *orientirte sich* in the *Gorgias* and the first sketch of the *Republic*; See *Classical Schol. and Learning*, p. 215.

[2] Leonard Spengel, in an elaborate paper on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (*Munich Transactions* VI., 1852, pp. 465, sqq.), shows that the *Phædrus* gives Plato's views on scientific rhetoric; that Aristotle was immediately indebted to Plato's exposition on this subject; and that in his *Rhet.* II. 1—17, his *πάθη καὶ ἤθη* are a direct reference to Plato's *ψυχαγωγία*.

Parmenides, as developed in the Megaric school, and of Heracleitus, as Plato had learned these opinions from Cratylus, and perhaps also studied them at Ephesus.[1] The opposition between these two systems consisted, as is well known, in their antagonistic theories respecting the law and the facts, the intelligible and the sensible, the form and the matter, the idea and the phenomenon, the one and the many, the permanent and the variable, that which *is* (ἔστι), and that which *becomes, is produced,* or *comes into being* (γίγνεται). The Eleatics of the school of Parmenides, and after them the Megarics of the school of Eucleides, rested on the formulæ (1) that all is one, and that there is no multiplicity or multeity of things; (2) that all is one immutable being, and that there is no *becoming* (γένεσις), no change, no alteration, augmentation and decay. According to the Eleatics, the outward world of sense only *seemed to be*—it had no real existence. Parmenides himself declared in his high-sounding verses:[2] 'Nothing except Being either is or will be; for fate has fixed this at least—that the name *to Be* belongs, alone and unchangeable, to the All, in regard to whatever mortals, in their confidence that such things are true, have set down as coming into existence and perishing, as being and yet not being, as undergoing change of place or change of aspect.' To this Unitarian doctrine of Being was directly opposed that of the Ionian school of Heracleitus, which asserted that there is no unity, no being, no permanence; that all is plurality, coming into being (γένεσις), and fluctuation. This doctrine, modified into the dogma of Protagoras, that 'the individual man is the standard of all things' (πάντων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος), amounted to an assertion that all knowledge is sensation, that there are no realities in the world except those which meet us in the changing objects around us, and that even the names of things are as absolutely true as the objects which they are supposed to denote.[3]

[1] See the expressions in *Theætetus*, p. 179 E.

[2] Simplicius, *ad Aristot. Phys.* I. p. 31.

ἐπεὶ τό γε Μοῖρ' ἐπέδησεν
οἷον ἀκίνητόν τ' ἐμέναι τῷ Πάντ' ὄνομ' Ἔστι
ὅσσα βροτοὶ κατέθεντο πεποιθότες εἶναι ἀληθῆ,
γιγνεσθαί τε καὶ ὄλλυσθαι, εἶναί τε καὶ οὐχί,
καὶ τόπον ἀλλάσσειν διά τε χροα φανὸν ἀμείβειν.

[3] Plato, *Theætet.* p. 151 E. sqq.

Briefly stated, the Eleatic doctrine was that the formula for the universal is *one* only; that of the Heracleiteans was that the universe can be regarded only as *many*.

Plato, perceiving that neither of these propositions was exclusively true, but that there was truth in each of them; that the Eleatics were wrong in annihilating the sensible world, and so depriving science of its materials, and the Heracleiteans equally wrong in denying the intelligible world, and so depriving science of its form; that philosophy was neither confined with the former to a problem of logic, nor with the latter to a registration of phenomena;—Plato, being convinced of this, adopted as the symbol of his own system the following comprehensive proposition—that the formula for the universal is neither *one* only, nor *many* only, but *one and many* (ἓν καὶ πολλά), *i. e.*, the subject of which many predicates may be asserted, and which therefore appears as manifold.[1] According to this view, the *one* and the *many* are terms which do not exclude, but rather presuppose one another; the one is many and the many one, for the general idea may be analyzed and divided into its subordinate ideas, the genus into its species, the one into the many; and conversely, we may ascend from the individual to the species, and the species to the genus, from the many to the one.[2] Thus we see that Plato's system, as distinguished from that of the two schools which he undertook to criticize, rests upon a proper conception of that which Leibnitz called 'the definition real.'[3] The definition, as Socrates too had seen, consists in generalization and division, *i. e.*, it is made *per genus et differentiam*;[4] and to reason scientifically, it is necessary that we should be able to generalize and classify (κατ' εἴδη σκοπεῖν and κατὰ γένος διακρίνειν).[5] Science then depends on dialectics, dialectics on the definition real, and the definition real on this

---

[1] See *Phileb.* p. 14 C. sqq., and Sydenham's note 51, pp. 86, sqq. Cf. *Republ.* V. p. 476 A. *Sophist.* p. 251 A. *Parmenid.* p. 129 E.

[2] This is what is meant by the συναγωγὴ and διαίρεσις mentioned in the *Phædrus*, p. 265.

[3] *Nouveaux Essais sur l'Entendement humain*, Liv. III. Chap. III. pp. 252, sqq.

[4] *Phædrus*, p. 249 B.: δεῖ γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ξυνιέναι κατ' εἶδος λεγόμενον ἐκ πολλῶν ἰὸν αἰσθήσεων εἰς ἓν λογισμῷ ξυναιρούμενον. Cf. *ibid.* 273 E., where the phrase is κατ' εἴδη τε διαιρεῖσθαι τὰ ὄντα καὶ μιᾷ ἰδεᾷ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον περιλαμβάνειν.

[5] *Sophist.* p. 253, 3 D.E. *Phileb.* p. 25 B. sqq. *Phædr.* p. 265 D.

power of synthesis and analysis.[1] So that Plato's ideas are, strictly speaking, nothing more than general terms, and Plato's dialectics necessarily rest on his examinations—the first that had been attempted—of the syntax of the Greek language.[2] His procedure is as follows. He perceived that every proposition or enunciation necessarily consisted of a *subject* or *name* of a thing (ὄνομα), which assumes its *being* or *entity* (οὐσία), and of a *predicate* or *assertion* (ῥῆμα), which affirmed or denied something of the subject. He says, however, that words, whether subjects or predicates, express neither entity nor action, neither being nor becoming, unless they are joined together in a sentence; and then some tense of becoming is predicated of some state of being—or the many are predicated of the one—for then it is that we have a declaration concerning existing things (subjects) as becoming, or having become, or being about to become, and then we have not merely names or subjects, but conclusions derived from the connexion of the subject with the predicate.[3] But how do we get the assumption of entity in the subject or name? Because the act of naming or affixing a general name, the name of the genus, is the first step in classification, and in itself gives a fixity to things, which is opposed to generation or becoming. The name is true and accurate in proportion as it rests upon the definition real, of which the main part is some general term including a multiplicity of objects, and the secondary part is an explanation of the difference between this object and others which belong to the same genus. This secondary process, or the *per differentiam*, is subordinate to the *per genus*, and the dialectician's

---

[1] *Phædr.* p. 266 B.: τούτων δὴ ἔγωγε αὐτὸς ἐραστής, τῶν διαιρέσεων καὶ συναγωγῶν.

[2] See *New Cratylus*, § 59, where we have given reasons for believing that Plato was, strictly speaking, a nominalist. This is shown incidentally by a comparison between the gentle reproach to the youthful Socrates in the *Parmenides*, p. 130 A.–C., for supposing that the science of names is not independent of any want of dignity in the objects which the names denote, and the distinct statement which we have quoted below from *Sophistes*, p. 227 A.

[3] *Sophist.* p. 262: ὅταν εἴπῃ τις "ἄνθρωπος μανθάνει" λόγον εἶναι φῂς τοῦτον ἐλάχιστόν τε καὶ πρωτον; ἔγωγε. δηλοῖ γὰρ ἤδη που τότε περὶ τῶν ὄντων ἢ γεγονότων ἢ μελλόντων καὶ οὐκ ὀνομάζει μόνον, ἀλλά τι περαίνει, συμπλέκων τὰ ῥήματα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, διὸ λέγειν τε αὐτὸν ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ὀνομάζειν εἴπομεν. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ πλέγματι τούτῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἐφθεγξάμεν λόγον.

great object is to ascertain what are those general terms which are the objects of thought. They cannot belong to the objects of sense—the phenomena—which are in a constant state of transition, but must of necessity be included among those things which we know by means of reflexion (*διάνοια*), through the understanding (*λογισμός, νοῦς, νόησις*); for these things, being fixed, may be referred to entity (*οὐσία*), and made the objects of science (*ἐπιστήμη*), or certain knowledge.[1]

This, then, is Plato's theory of ideas, considered as a reconciliation of the counter-propositions of the Eleatics and Heracleiteans. Asserting against the former that the sensible is true, he conceded that it is so only by partaking of the intelligible (*κατὰ μέθεξιν τοῦ ὄντος*); and while this is expressed dialectically by a system of scientific classification, it is metaphysically an effort to ascend to the supreme idea, which has in it nothing that is capable of being comprehended by the senses; for the subordinate ideas are but hypothetical notions from which we reach the true elevation by means of continually higher assumptions;[2] until at last we come to God, as the supreme idea; and thus the common standard of all things is not man, as Protagoras asserted, but God alone.[3]

In order to understand fully the manner in which Plato works out controversially this dialectical theory, it is necessary to read carefully the series of dialogues, which he seems to have written at brief intervals after his military service at Corinth, and in which he has immortalized the young philosopher and geometrician,[4] who was wounded by his side, when the Lacedæmonians outflanked and crushed the left wing of the Athenian hoplites.[5] We must content ourselves with a general sketch of this ingenious collection of criticisms in the form of dialogues. The first three, a report of which Eucleides reads to

---

[1] See *Parmen.* p. 129 E., *Phæd.* 65 C., *Resp.* VII. p. 532 A. According to Plato (*Theætetus*, p. 187 A.) science must be sought *ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ὀνόματι ὅτι ποτ' ἔχει ἡ ψυχή, ὅταν αὐτὴ καθ' αὑτὴν πραγματεύηται περὶ τὰ ὄντα.*

[2] *Resp.* VI. p. 511 B., comp. *Phædo*, p. 100 A. *Philebus*, p. 20 D. *Resp.* p. 610 C.

[3] *Leges*, IV. p. 716 C.

[4] Theætetus was the founder of the geometrical school, in which the great Euclid was formed; see below, ch. XLVI. § 6.

[5] *Theætet.* p. 142. See Grote, *History of Greece*, IX. p. 427.

his friend Terpsion, are represented as consecutive parts of a conference commenced between Socrates and Theodorus, the mathematician of Cyrene. The latter having spoken in high terms of a young Athenian named Theætetus, of Sunium, who resembled Socrates in person, and who had probably been Plato's friend and fellow-exile at Megara, introduces him to Socrates, who at once engages him in a discussion on science (ἐπιστήμη). The object of the dialogue called *Theætetus*[1] is to refute three definitions of this term, which are put into the mouth of the young student of philosophy: (I.) that science is sensation (αἴσθησις), which, as Socrates says, is much the same as the dogma of Protagoras, 'the individual man is the standard of all things;' (II.) that science is right conception (ἡ ἀληθὴς δόξα), from which we get a most subtle disquisition on the nature of false conception, with particular reference to the fallacies of the Megarics and Cynics, and with the celebrated illustration of memory as a waxen tablet;[2] (III.) that science is right conception combined with accurate definition or reasonable explanation (ἡ μετὰ λόγου ἀληθὴς δόξα).[3] The result of the dialogue is purely negative; it consists in showing that no one of these definitions of science

---

[1] We have given an analysis of this dialogue in our article on *Plato* in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, and we recommend the dialogue itself to the careful consideration of any young student, who wishes really to comprehend the dialectics of Plato, or the effects of his philosophy on the theories of his successors and the rival schools of philosophy. There can be little doubt, for example, that the speculations of Carneades have a direct reference to the *Theætetus* of Plato; see below, chap. XLVII. § 8.

[2] Professor Thompson remarks (Butler's *Lectures*, vol. II. p. 103 note, § 25) that 'to this part of the dialogue Locke's celebrated chapter on memory presents a striking parallel (Essay, B. II. chap. X. §§ 4, 5).'

[3] There is some difficulty as to the interpretation of λόγος in this third description of ἐπιστήμη. The elucidation added by Theætetus, where he gives this description at second-hand (201 D), ὃν μὴ ἐστι λόγος, οὐκ ἐπιστητὰ εἶναι, and the whole course of the argument which follows, show that λόγος must mean, as we have rendered it in the text, definition or explanation. So Stallbaum translates μετὰ λόγου, *cum explicatione verbis expressâ* (*Proleg.* p. 27), Schleiermacher 'die mit ihrer Erklärung verbundene richtige Vorstellung,' and Mr. Butler (*Lectures*, II. p. 104) says, 'Science is pronounced to be opinion μετὰ λόγου—a qualification, which seems from the subsequent tenor of the discussion, to signify judgment *with explication*.' The subdivisions carried on in the *Sophistes* are probably illustrations of that *explication*, which Plato meant by λόγος, as distinguished from the definition real. The *locus classicus* for the distinction between the οὐσία, the λόγος, and the ὄνομα, is in the *Laws*, X. pp. 895—6.

is capable of being sustained; but the author more than suggests in the course of the disquisition the positive result which he would substitute for these exploded hypotheses, namely, the method of true classification and real definition as the basis of dialectics. The abrupt termination of the *Theætetus* is excused by Socrates on the ground that he is obliged to attend at the porch of the king archon, and meet the indictment of Meletus; but he appoints the following morning for the adjourned discussion with Theodorus and his pupils. In accordance with this arrangement the mathematician of Cyrene comes to the rendezvous, bringing with him a foreign philosopher of the Eleatic school, and the second dialogue in this series, which is called the *Sophistes*, from the general subject of the definitions which it attempts, is mainly carried on between this Eleatic stranger and Theætetus, Socrates sitting by rather to watch and preside over the dialogue than to take any active part in it. The stranger, who is represented as a man of conspicuous moderation and courtesy, does not go to any great length in maintaining the principles of his school, but he is allowed to exhibit some of the trifling, in which the Eleatics, and, after them, the Megarics, were wont to indulge; and it was, no doubt, Plato's object to show that all the hair-splitting of these subtle analytical disputants,[1] with their perpetual bisection of the successive subdivisions, was, after all, only a play with words, which did not necessarily issue in a real definition, that, in fact, the ideal theory required the use of reflexion (διάνοια) and understanding (λογισμός), and was not attained merely by definition in words (λόγος), which led only to a sort of *primâ facie* classification. On the whole, then, we may say, that, as the *Theætetus* was designed to confute more especially the opinions of Protagoras and Heracleitus, so the *Sophistes* was intended, less directly but quite as intelligibly, to exhibit the deficiencies of the Eleatic and Megaric schools, into which Plato had passed

[1] Another Butler, not the Professor at Dublin, has very happily described the kind of explication by way of subdivision, which is exhibited in the *Sophistes* (*Hudibras*, I. 1, 65):

'He was in logic a great critic
Profoundly skilled in analytic;
He could distinguish and divide,
A hair 'twixt south and south-west side.'

from that of the Heracleitean Cratylus;[1] to show, in fact, that if the Heracleiteans were wrong in their annihilation of the intelligible world, neither were the Eleatics right in confining all truth to the predication of entity and unity. That his dissent from the philosopher, whose hospitality he had so recently enjoyed, was less marked than that which separated him from his first teacher, Cratylus, is shown by the general tone of the dialogue and by the manner in which he occasionally allows the Eleatic stranger to express his own thoughts and opinions. For example, he would not have repeated in the *Politicus*,[2] his assertion 'that in scientific classification we have nothing to do with the dignity or meanness of the subject-matter,' unless he had attached some importance on its own account to the statement in the *Sophistes*[3] that 'the science of definitions does not pay more or less attention to the art of purgation externally by the sponge than to that of purgation internally by medicine, because the benefits of the latter are more important; for, as its object is to understand the affinity or dissimilitude of all arts, in regard to their definition, this science attaches equal value to them all in this respect, and does not regard one art as more ridiculous than another in regard to that which they have in common; for example, it does not consider the man who illustrates the art of capturing by means of generalship more dignified, but only more ostentatious and pretentious, than the man who illustrates the same art by catching vermin.'[4] That in the midst of all his *persiflage* he intended to define the Sophist as contrasted with the true Statesman, whom he depicts in the *Politicus*, and the true Philosopher, whom he indirectly exhibits in the *Parmenides*, must be clear to all attentive readers. In the *Politicus*, Theætetus, who resembles Socrates in person, makes way for a younger

[1] There is a direct comparison of the two schools in the *Sophistes*, p. 242 C.

[2] p. 266 D. [3] p. 227 A.

[4] The connexion in thought between this passage and that in the *Parmenides* (p. 130 C.), when the question is raised, whether there is such a thing as the abstract idea of a hair, or mud, or filth, or any other of the vilest and most contemptible objects, appears to us to indicate not only the genuineness of the *Parmenides*, but also its connexion with the *Politicus* and the *Sophistes*. Aristotle's reference to the *Politicus*, which we have quoted below, is sufficient to establish the authenticity of that dialogue, and the connected works, must, as we think, stand or fall together.

Socrates, a namesake of the great philosopher, who, as in the former dialogue, takes no active part in the discussion. Although we have here also a sample of the same Eleatico-Megaric subtleties of successive subdivision, it is clear enough that the writer seriously intends to define the true—that is, the philosophical—Statesman, such as he or his imitator describes in the 7th epistle, such as he indirectly adumbrates in the *Gorgias*, such as he elaborately exhibits in his ideal *Republic*, such as he presents, in relation to the universal frame of nature, in the *Timæus*. Developing what Plato had already written in the almost contemporary dialogue of *Gorgias*, and in the first edition of the *Republic*,—if they preceded, as seems most probable, the publication of the *Politicus*, —and anticipating the views of the *Timæus*, which is manifestly one of the latest of Plato's works, this dialogue is a glimpse of Plato's ethical philosophy in the midst of his dialectical criticisms. Out of the fifty-four pages of which this dialogue consists, about one-half are purely dialectical,[1] the rest being either on the politico-ethical subject, or having reference to the original condition of man and his relations to the divine theocracy. That the author does not regard his dialectical minutiæ as uninstructive trifling is clear from the apology which he puts into the mouth of the Eleatic disputant:[2] 'Our discourse bids us regard, not in the first, but in the second place, in point of importance, that length of the investigation which is suitable to the subject under discussion, namely, that we may find the object of our search as early and as speedily as possible; but in the highest degree and in the first place it recommends us to honour on its own account the scientific procedure (μέθοδος), namely, the being able to divide the genus into its species (κατ' εἴδη διαιρεῖν); and with regard to the discourse, if, on the one hand, by being spoken at great length it shall make the hearer more inventive, we are enjoined to pursue it zealously, and not

[1] The dialectical part is from p. 258 C., to p. 268 E., and from p. 274 E., to p. 291 C.

[2] *Politicus*, p. 286 D. We must compare with this passage, Plato's candid admissions of his voluntary and intentional discursiveness in the *Republic*, VI. p. 487 B, and *Theætetus*, p. 173 B, and the recommendation to the youthful Socrates which puts into the mouth of the venerable Parmenides: ἕλκυσον σαυτὸν καὶ γύμνασαι μᾶλλον διὰ τῆς δοκούσης ἀχρήστου εἶναι καὶ καλουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀδολεσχίας, ἕως ἔτι νέος εἶ (*Parmen.* p. 135 C.).

be annoyed by its prolixity; and similarly if it be more concise. Moreover, the person, who complains of prolixity in discussions of this kind, and disapproves of round-about argumentation, must not so very quickly and at once dismiss the argument with the complaint that it is lengthy, but must show besides that, if it were shorter, it would render the disputants better dialecticians (διαλεκτικωτέρους), and more inventive in the art of explaining realities by means of language.' This passage should be in the recollection of modern readers when they find fault with what appears to them sometimes the purposeless and tedious perplexity of discussions which the ancient logicians valued on that very account and for their own sake. Plato's definition of the statesman's art is very plainly given in the *Politicus*. The faculty of the statesman (ἡ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ δύναμις) is, he tells us, that which rules and presides over all laws and public deliberations and guides them to their proper end,[1] and the best of all governments is that form of monarchy in which the state is ruled by a really wise and virtuous man.[2] If all states were equally bad, it would be best to live under a democracy; if all were equally good, the monarchical form of government would be most eligible. But the ideal state, in which the virtuous philosopher is the living interpretation of the law, is far better than any actual monarchy in the world.[3]

It is only an inference,[4] but we believe it to be a well-founded inference, that the *Parmenides* is the dialogue to which the *Sophistes* and *Politicus* refer as the coming discourses on 'the philosopher.' The passages, on which this conclusion depends, are those in the *Theætetus* and *Sophistes*, in which distinct reference is made to the fact that Socrates, when very young, held such a conversation with Parmenides as is represented in the dialogue so named,[5] those in the *Sophistes*,[6] in which the character of the philosopher is described, just as that character is fully exhibited in the *Parmenides*, and those in the *Sophistes* and *Politicus*, in

[1] p. 304 D. The direct reference to this dialogue at the very beginning of Aristotle's *Politics* (I. 1, § 2, comp. with Plato, *Politicus*, p. 258 E.) shows the importance of the work in those days. [2] p. 301 D. [3] p. 303 A.

[4] This inference is due to Stallbaum, *Prolegom. ad Parmen.* (Lips. 1839), p. 334; *Proleg. ad Sophist.* (Gothæ, 1840), p. 52; *Proleg. ad Politic.* (Gothæ, 1841), p. 33, and to Zeller, *Platonische Studien*, p. 236.

[5] *Theætet.* p. 183 E. *Sophist.* p. 217 C. [6] *Sophist.* p. 253 D, E.

which a discourse on the philosopher is promised as a necessary sequel.[1] The chief difficulty in accepting this conclusion is occasioned by the fact that in the *Parmenides*, as we have it, there is no mention of Theætetus, Theodorus, the Eleatic stranger, and the other persons present in the three connected dialogues. In the *Parmenides*, as it stands, Cephalus, the Clazomenian,[2] begins at once, without a word of preface, and without any intimation of the persons whom he is addressing, to narrate how, on his arrival at Athens from his house at Clazomenæ, he fell in with Adeimantus and Glauco, and was by them taken to Antipho's house, who told them, on the authority of Pythodorus, the details of the conversation between Socrates and Parmenides, when the former was quite a young man,[3] and the latter sixty-five years old. The other parties to the dialogue, thus reported at third hand—for Pythodorus tells Antipho, Antipho relates it to Cephalus and his two companions, and Cephalus recounts it to his unknown auditors—are Zeno, the philosopher, and Aristoteles, who was afterwards one of the thirty tyrants. To the difficulty occasioned by the independent preface to the *Parmenides* it has been thought a sufficient answer that, as we are not told to whom Cephalus recounted the dialogue, there is nothing to prevent us from supposing that his hearers were the persons who had taken a part in the three connected dialogues. And to this solution there is no chronological objection; for the *Theætetus* and its associated dialogues are represented as taking place in B.C. 399, and Cephalus, the Clazomenian, is made to speak of the conversation, which he relates, as having happened very long before the time when he repeats it.[4] Our conclusion is

[1] *Sophist.* p. 216 E. sq., 254 B. *Polit.* p. 257 A.

[2] The mention of Glauco and Adeimantus, who appear in conjunction with Cephalus, the father of Lysias, in the *Republic*, might lead us to conclude that the Cephalus of the *Parmenides* was the same person. But the latter was a Clazomenian, probably one of the school of Anaxagoras, like his companions who are described as μάλα φιλόσοφοι (*Parmen.* p. 126 B.), and the former was a Syracusan, who had lived 30 years at Athens (above, ch. XXXV. § 1), whereas the Clazomenian had not been at Athens since he was a boy.

[3] Synesius (*Calv. Enc.* 17) says, he was then 25 years old.

[4] He says he was a boy when he first came to Athens, πολὺς δὲ ἤδη χρόνος ἀπ' ἐκείνου, and he speaks of the λόγους οὓς ποτε Σ. καὶ Ζ. καὶ Π. διελέχθησαν, and implies that Antipho recollected them (ἀπομνημονεύει) from frequent repetitions.

this: as the Eleatic stranger is indicated as the person from whom we are to expect the description of the philosopher, and as the philosopher introduced is one of his own school, we must suppose that he reads the report of Cephalus from some manuscript left in his possession by that respectable old man, and the loss of the connecting prefatory matter must be explained in the same way as the similar omission in the *Republic,* where we are left to conclude from the *Timæus* and *Critias,* who are the persons favoured with this narrative of a conversation in ten books. We have mentioned above[1] some of the reasons for supposing that the *Republic,* as we have it, in its lengthened form, but without any introduction, was the revised and enlarged edition of a work originally written about the same time as the *Gorgias;* and we are convinced that the *Parmenides,* also, in its present state, was the result of the recasting and almost re-writing of a dialogue, which had been published long before, as the *Philosopher,* and as a connected sequel to the *Theætetus, Sophistes,* and *Politicus;* and that the loss of the introductory matter, in this as in the *Republic,* is due to the fact that Plato was still at work about them both at the time of his death. If we had the preface to the *Parmenides,* it would probably tell us that Socrates left to the Eleatic stranger the task of narrating the conversation, because he professed to forget what he had heard and said so many years before. It would be impossible to give any idea, to a person who has not read the dialogue, of the subtle and elaborate reasonings of the *Parmenides,* which is perhaps the most remarkable specimen of dialectical power to be found in the whole range of philosophical literature. We must be satisfied with saying[2] that the *Parmenides* discusses at length the various forms and consequences of the hypothetical propositions which rest on the suppositions: (1.) 'If the One is;' (2.) 'If the One is not;' the apodosis or conclusion being an answer to the question—'what are we to understand by the One and by the things other than One?' There are nine forms, according to this dialogue, of the apodosis, five for the positive, and four for the negative assumption; or

[1] See above, § 6.

[2] In the text we have followed Renouvier's account of the *Parmenides,* which gives perhaps the simplest analysis of this subtle dialogue; see *Manuel de Philo-*

if we regard the third as merely a natural consequence of the second, we shall have four of each. Now the last four, or the results of the negative hypothesis, are a *reductio ad absurdum* of those who maintain the theory of multiplicity without the real unity, the πολλὰ without the ἕν—of the Heracleiteans, in fact; for the 7th and 9th propositions compel them to deny the existence of plurality, while they reject even the name of unity, and the 6th and 8th propositions oblige them to recognize in the One and in other things the same properties contrary to those which they would have if the One existed really. And the first four (or, if we prefer it, five) propositions are divided between the Megarics and Plato. The first and last of this set (propositions 1st and 5th) reduce the Megarics to a profession of *nihilism*, because assuming the ἓν without the πολλά, they place each of the ideas by itself and deny their participation in one another. The intervening propositions (2, 3 and 4) contain the system of Plato. The One exists and partakes of being, and the other ideas partake of it, so that Unity as well as Plurality—the ἓν καὶ πολλά—both belong to existence or entity, which thus combines the apparent contradictions. Considered then as an exhibition of the ideal philosopher, the *Parmenides* shows that this ideal is not to be found either in the Eleatico-Megaric or in the Heracleiteo-Cratylean

---

sophie Ancienne, II. pp. 24, 25. The following is his statement of the nine hypothetical propositions:

POSITIVE ASSUMPTIONS.

If the one is:

1. There is no science, sensation or opinion of this *one*, when it is absolute.

2. There is science, sensation, &c., of the one, if it admits of logical predications or may be distributed in predicates; so that the one is combined with the many.

3. There is a co-ordinate possibility of similitude and dissimilitude, &c., in the latter case.

4. Also a compatibility of contraries.

5. But when the many and the one are absolutely contrasted and opposed, there is no possibility of logical predications.

NEGATIVE ASSUMPTIONS.

If the one is not:

6. There must be contradictory predications.

7. There can be no science, &c.

8. Other things must exist, because we speak of them; and therefore they both exist and do not exist.

9. Nothing exists.

school, but might be manifested by one, who, like himself, brought to a review of these systems the dialectical method of Socrates and the abstract speculations of the Pythagoreans. It seems to us that Plato had a special object in giving this development of his philosophical principles in a dialogue which represents his teacher Socrates, while still a young man, in direct intercourse with Parmenides, from whose school, combined with that of Socrates, the Megaric philosophers derived their doctrines. The compliments paid to Socrates by the veteran philosopher, the warning to him to avoid the influences of current opinions, and the recommendation to examine the negative as well as the positive assumption in his hypothetical reasonings, all seem to show that Plato wished to represent Socrates as the true founder of his own school, no less than of the Megaric, and to indicate the importance of the rules which Socrates had not applied, which the Megarics had deliberately set aside, and which he adopted as the clue to the solution of the problem respecting the One and the Many. The sequel and supplement to this series of four dialogues is the *Cratylus*. Although it was the natural tendency of Plato's system to make general terms the proper objects of reasoning and the materials of science, although he was, like his predecessor Socrates, a nominalist rather than a realist, he was not the less on this account opposed to the extravagances of ultra-nominalism. And when he found the two schools, which he made the chief objects of his criticisms, the Eleatics as well as the Heracleiteans, engaged in etymological researches, which presumed that truth and science were to be discovered in sounds and signs, the spoken elements of a living language, especially when he saw that Aristippus had given a still more pernicious extension to these theories,[1] he felt himself obliged to add to his general review of the two counter-systems an exposure of the absurdities which had resulted from an attempt to deal prematurely with the great problem of language.[2] As the Eleatics, in this and in other matters, were much less opposed to Plato's views than the Heracleiteans, we find that Cratylus, the original

[1] Above, chapter XXXVII. § 6.

[2] See *New Cratylus*, § 60.

instructor of Plato, who gives his name to the dialogue, is made to bear the chief brunt of the irony and ridicule; while Hermogenes, the brother of Callias, who appears as a supporter of the Eleatic doctrines, is allowed to speak contemptuously of Protagoras' book called 'Truth.' The general result of the dialogue is that, as words are merely the images of things, it would be much better, even if we could learn the nature of things from their names, to make the truth a criterion as well of itself as of its image.[1]

§ 8. The moral and political philosophy of Plato rests entirely on his dialectics. Indeed the ethical and political dialogues are so interspersed with logical and metaphysical disquisition that it would be impossible to separate the method of language and thought from its practical applications.[2] It may be said, however, that if we add the *Gorgias*, the *Republic* and the *Laws* to those works which Plato published after opening his school in the Academia, we shall have the bulk of what he wrote respecting the nature of virtue, the objects of life, and the duties of man as an individual and a citizen. Our limits will not permit to give a lengthened analysis of this long series of elaborate essays, but it will not be difficult to indicate the general views which they develope, and the many details in which they contribute respectively to the ethical theory of Plato.

The main principles, which form the basis of these speculations are,—that the soul is independent of the body,—that it is tripartite,—and that its three divisions, with their due combination,

---

[1] *Cratylus* p. 439 A.: *εἰ οὖν ἔστι μὲν ὅτι μάλιστα δι' ὀνομάτων τὰ πράγματα μανθάνειν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν, ποτέρα ἂν εἴη καλλίων καὶ σαφεστέρα ἡ μάθησις; ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνος μανθάνειν αὐτήν τε αὐτήν, εἰ καλῶς εἴκασται, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἧς ἦν ἡ εἰκών, ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτήν τε αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτῆς, εἰ πρεπόντως εἴργασται;*

[2] There are in fact many passages in which Plato recognizes a subordination of virtue in general to wisdom, on the true Socratic principle; see especially *Phædo* p. 69 A, where even the other three cardinal virtues *ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη*, are to be purchased by the fourth *φρόνησις* as the only true coin—*ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκεῖνο μόνον τὸ νόμισμα ὀρθόν, ἀνθ' οὗ δεῖ ἅπαντα ταῦτα καταλλάττεσθαι, φρόνησις, καὶ τούτου μὲν πάντα καὶ μετὰ τούτου ὠνούμενά τε καὶ πιπρασκόμενα τῷ ὄντι ᾖ, καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ξυλλήβδην ἀληθὴς ἀρετὴ ᾖ μετὰ φρονήσεως.* So that this one virtue plays the part of virtue in general in the lines of Euripides (*Œdipus* fr. IX. Dind.), attributed to Sophocles by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV. p. 574, Potter:

οὗτοι νόμισμα λευκὸς ἄργυρος μόνον
καὶ χρυσός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ χἠρετὴ βροτοῖς
νόμισμα κεῖται πᾶσιν ᾗ χρῆσθαι χρεών.

are indicated by the relations of the four cardinal virtues. This view, which is supported throughout by suggestions derived from the Pythagoreans, is opposed, like his dialectics, to the counter systems of the Heracleiteans and Eleatics, and in many respects also to that of Socrates. While he at once discards the notion that pleasure resulting from sensible impressions can be the highest good—for this would be to admit *morally* what he had denied *scientifically* in the *Theætetus*, namely, the paramount influence of the senses,—he also rejects the claim of knowledge alone to be considered as the chief good, which would have brought him back to the views of the Eleatics, the Megarics, and some other Socratic schools.

The allegory or mythus in the *Phædrus* opens the way to a comprehension of the principles which Plato wished to enforce.[1] The soul, we are told, is immortal, because it is self-moved; it not only does not perish with the body, but it existed before it was enveloped in any bodily frame. It is god-like also; but the human soul differs from that which belongs to the deities in one of its three parts. For the soul may be compared to a charioteer driving a pair of winged steeds. Now the horses and drivers of the gods are all both good themselves and of good extraction; but, in the case of men, the charioteer, the Reason, has to drive two horses of opposite descent and opposite character; one of them is well-bred and well-trained, and the other quite the reverse:[2] the quiet horse,—the Will—is obedient to the rein and strives to draw its wilder yoke-fellow,—the Appetite—along with it, and to induce it to listen to the voice of the charioteer, the Reason: but they have much pain and trouble with it, and the whole object of the charioteering is lost if it contrives to get the better of them. In this allegory it is intimated that the Reason exacts obedience from the lower faculties, not merely for the sake of that subordination which constitutes the moral goodness of man, but also because it is thus enabled to take a calm view of abstract truth, and to gaze on the eternal realities, which in this world are clothed in the garb of space and time. According to the allegory, the soul in

[1] *Phædrus*, p. 245 sqq.

[2] In the elaborate description of the unruly steed (*Phædr.* p. 253 E), we should adopt Porson's unpublished emendation περὶ τὰ ὦτα λασιόκωφος for λάσιος, κωφός.

its previous state of existence, traverses the circuit of the universe, in the train of the gods, with Zeus at their head, and if the Reason can control his restive steed so far as to be able to raise his own head above the heavenly vault, he is borne round by the revolution of the celestial sphere, and though sore encumbered with his horses, sees, however faintly and imperfectly, the essences of things, which are there disclosed to his gaze; for 'real existence, colourless, formless, and intangible, visible only to the intelligence which guides the helm of the soul, and with which the family of true science is conversant, finds its abode in that region.'[1] And it is the remembrance of this gaze which furnishes the soul of man with its ideas of the true and the beautiful after it has descended to this lower world and become united with a body. This figurative picture contains the germs of the thoughts which are developed in the connected dialogues. The doctrine of the soul's reminiscences in a previous state, becomes the argument for its immortality in the *Phædo,* and it helps to solve the question as to the teachableness of virtue in the *Meno.* The same Phædrus, who evokes the discourse about love in the dialogue called by his name, is declared to be the father and founder of the argument[2] in the *Symposium,* where the guests at Agatho's table make a series of panegyrics on love, which are finished off by the discourse put into the mouth of Socrates, but attributed to the Arcadian prophetess Diotima; and here we have the same doctrine as in the *Phædrus,* that virtue and science spring from that true love which is produced by the contemplation of ideal beauty. 'What effect,' says Diotima,[3] 'would the sight of beauty itself have upon a man were he to see it pure and genuine, not corrupted and stained all over with the mixture of flesh and colour, and suchlike perishing and fading trash, but were able to view that divine essence, the beautiful itself, in its own simplicity of form? Do you not perceive, that in beholding the beautiful with that eye with which alone it is discernible,[4] thus and thus only could a man generate not the images or semblances of virtue, but virtue itself, true, real, and substantial, by conversing

---

[1] *Phædr.* p. 247 C: ἡ γὰρ ἀχρώματός τε καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος καὶ ἀναφὴς οὐσία ὄντως οὖσα ψυχῇ κυβερνήτῃ μόνῳ θεατὴ νῷ, περὶ ἣν τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐπιστήμης γένος, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τόπον. [2] *Sympos.* p. 177 D. [3] *Ibid.* p. 211 D.
[4] ὁρῶντι ᾧ ὁρατὸν τὸ καλόν *i.e.* νῷ. *Phædr.* p. 247 C.

with and embracing that which is real and true. Thus, begetting true virtue and bringing her up to maturity, he would become a favourite with the gods, and at length he would be, if man ever was so, himself one of the immortals.'

But the practical development of these lofty and transcendental views of morality is to be found most fully in the *Republic*, and their metaphysical elaboration is reserved for the *Philebus*. The criticisms on the rhetorical school of Lysias, Thrasymachus, and Gorgias, bring the *Phædrus* into one contact with the *Gorgias* and the *Republic*, which are connected also by the general objects referred to above, and by their *eschatology* or doctrine of retribution in a future state.[1] But we think that the *Republic*, most probably in a later edition,[2] was intended especially to develope the connexion between the tripartite division of the soul, and the four cardinal virtues, to which so much importance was attached. According to Plato,[3] moral virtue is the due subordination of man's lower faculties to his reason; in other words, man is virtuous when the *Will* acts as the servant of *Reason* in controlling the *Appetite*.[4] Considered as an individual, man is righteous and just, or generally virtuous and good, in proportion as this subordination is complete. In his social capacity, as a state or republic, man attains to this perfection in proportion as the guards, or military

[1] Among the striking similarities of the *Republic* and the *Gorgias*, we may mention particularly the refutation of Polus in the latter as compared with the *Republic*, p. 445, where at B we ought to read ἐπείπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐληλύθαμεν ὅπου for ὅσον.

[2] One of the most decisive proofs that the *Republic*, as we have it, is a second and enlarged edition of a work originally published some years previously, is furnished by the manner in which the discussion in the 5th book is introduced. Socrates there says that he would have been satisfied with a brief statement of his views respecting the community of women and children, and it would appear as if some criticisms had compelled him to elaborate this part of his theory. It seems probable that the sixth book was the conclusion of the *Republic* in its original form; at least there is a trace of this in p. 506 D, where Glaucon says to Socrates, μὴ πρὸς Διός, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τέλει ὢν ἀποστῇς.

[3] *Respublica*, IV. pp. 427 sqq.

[4] Plato's phrases are τὸ λογιστικόν, τὸ θυμοειδές, τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν (p. 439 D). The second of these, representing the better steed in the *Phædrus*, is sometimes rendered the 'irascible principle,' and Cicero translates it by *iracundia* (*de Republ.* I. 38): but Hooker and Hemsterhuis the younger more properly render it 'the will,' *la velleité*; for it is the natural auxiliary of the reason (τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἐπίκουρον τῷ λογιστικῷ φύσει *Resp.* IV. p. 441 A), and the idea of spirit and courage implied in the word θυμὸς is well illustrated by the figurative statement that when a sedition arises in the soul, the will draws itself up in battle array by the side of the reason (ἐν τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς στάσει τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τοῦ λογιστικοῦ, *Resp.* IV. p. 440 E).

caste, representing the Will, subserve the philosophical rulers, representing the reason, in controlling the turbulent populace, representing the Appetite. Now, the four cardinal virtues, by which, according to the ancients, the whole province of morality was exhausted, were—(1.) Prudence or Wisdom, (φρόνησις); (2.) Courage or Fortitude, (ἀνδρεία); (3.) Temperance, or Self-control, (σωφροσύνη); (4.) Justice or Righteousness, (δικαιοσύνη). In the individual the first is the virtue of the Reason, the second of the Will, and the third of the Appetite, while the fourth represents the state or condition resulting from the harmony of the whole. In the republic or society, the first is the virtue of the rulers, the second of the valiant standing-army, the third of the well-conducted populace; and the remaining virtue is the virtue of the whole, the principle and cause of the existence of the three others, compelling each portion of the commonwealth to keep to its own business, and to abstain from all interference with the affairs of the other departments, (that is, in the Greek sense, to avoid πολυπραγμοσύνη).[1] So then in the virtuous man and in the righteous republic, the Reason is full of wisdom, the Will is strong in fortitude, and the Appetite under the healthy influence of self-control; and all these are kept together in one concert or harmony by justice, just as the musical harmony combines the highest, the lowest, and the middle sound.[2] This due subordination and harmony

---

[1] IV. p. 434 B, 443 D, 444 B.

[2] IV. p. 443 D: ξυναρμόσαντα τρία ὄντα ὥσπερ ὅρους τρεῖς ἁρμονίας ἀτεχνῶς νεάτης καὶ ὑπάτης καὶ μέσης. It is now admitted that Shakspere must have been acquainted, by means of some translation, with this passage, and that he was not merely following Cicero's imitation when he wrote (*Henry V.*, Act I., sc. II.):

Exeter. While that the armed hand doth fight abroad
The advised head defends itself at home:
For government through high, and low, and lower,
Put into parts, doth keep in one concent,
Co-greeing in a full and natural close
Like music.
Canterbury. Therefore doth heaven divide
The state of man in divers functions,
Setting endeavour in continual motion,
To which is fixed, as an aim or butt,
Obedience.

See the note in Knight's *Pictorial Shakspere*, p. 328. There is also something more than fortuitous in the correspondence between the praise of love in the *Sympos.* p. 196 B, and that in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act IV. sc. III.

are necessary to the proper contemplation of the idea of the good, which, with Plato, is the essence of true religion.[1] On this subject, Plato has expressed his meaning in a remarkable passage of the *Republic*. The sun, he says, is a visible image of the idea of the good. For while the other senses, such as the hearing, need nothing intermediate or additional, in order to the perception of objects, the sight, on the other hand, does need the intervention or mediation of light, otherwise the colour and the form will not be visible. Now this light is derived from the sun; and the benefit, which our sight derives from the sun, is analogous to the benefit which our reason derives from the idea of the good; for, as the eye cannot see without the intervention of light, so the reason cannot discern the things of the ideal world without the light of truth. Consequently, the idea of the good is that which imparts truth to the objects of our reason, and the power of discerning truth to the reason itself. The idea of the good, therefore, is far above truth and the knowledge of truth; and as light and the faculty of vision are akin to the sun, but not identical with it, so truth, and the knowledge of truth, are related to the idea of the good, but are not identical with this idea. The sun is also an image of the idea of the good in another way. As the sun not merely enables the eye to see, but likewise supplies nourishment and growth to the visible objects, so the idea of the good not merely enables the reason to discern and know, but likewise gives to the ideas of the reason their being and reality. Accordingly as the sun, in Milton's phraseology, 'looks from his sole dominion like the god' of this lower world of sense, so the idea of the good, the sovereign good, even God himself, reigns supreme in the higher world of ideas, which is cognizable only by the reason.

It does not fall within our province, in writing a history of Greek literature, to discuss the visionary proposal for the arrangement of a commonwealth, which forms a distinct feature in the treatises on the *Republic* and the *Laws*. We are willing to admit that the former at least is a genuine *Utopia*—a place which is no place,[2]—and that some of its provisions amount to

---

[1] *Resp.* VI. p. 507 B.

[2] The word *Utopia*, Οὐτοπία, is formed like Οὐκαλέγων and similar negative words, and signifies a *Weissnichtwo* or *Kennaquhair*; see *New Cratylus*, § 189.

heartless socialism, inconsistent alike with morality and civilization.[1] And it is much to be regretted that Plato should have added these details to a general view of the constitution of man which approves itself to our best instincts, and is confirmed by the teaching of Christianity. Leaving these fruitless dreams of a dissatisfied politician, we have to examine the machinery by means of which Plato had intended to connect his *Republic* with three other dialogues—the *Timæus*, which is complete, the *Critias*, which is a mere fragment, and the *Hermocrates*, which is lost. Socrates is supposed to narrate to the interlocutors, who were to give their names to the other three treatises, a long conversation which took place at the house of old Cephalus, the father of Lysias, on the preceding day, when he had gone down with Glauco to see the Bendideïa at the Peiræus; and, in return for this, *Timæus* undertakes to explain how men such as they ought to be came into being; *Critias* is to show that such men really existed, and to describe, on the strength of an old family record derived from Egypt, the golden age of primeval Athens, and the overthrow of the wonderful island of Atlantis; and *Hermocrates* is to finish with an essay on nature and nourishment.[2] We cannot see our way to any explanation, which will remove the anachronisms and impossibilities from this dramatic framework. We have already mentioned the reasons which render it probable that the *Republic* in its first form was written or published along with the *Gorgias*, *i.e.* soon after B.C. 395. That it did not then reach its present form, and was not connected with the other dialogues of the tetralogy, is shown not only by the story that the beginning was found in

---

[1] The socialism of Plato's *Republic* is severely, but by no means fairly or adequately criticized in the first five chapters of Aristotle's second book of *Politics*. A modern writer, Mr. Mitchell, in the preliminary discourse to his translation of Aristophanes denounces Plato's fifth book as 'lying,' 'absurd,' 'unfeeling,' and 'guilty,'—*lying*, because it makes the useful the measure of the honourable; *absurd*, because it stifles the natural instincts of humanity; *unfeeling*, because it obliterates the domestic affections; and *guilty*, because it makes lying a statutable virtue in the governors. Many of the criticisms on the *Republic* would be obviated if we could believe with Morgenstern (*Commentat. de Plat. Republicâ*), that it had no political reference, but was merely an allegory of the human soul, like Bunyan's.

[2] *Timæus*, p. 20 A.

the author's tablets, with various transpositions of the words,[1] and by the fact that the third dialogue is an unfinished fragment, and the fourth non-existent, but also by many internal evidences, such as the Pythagorism, the unmistakeable references to Dionysius, and the like. There is also a distinct tradition, preserved by Aulus Gellius, that the *Republic* originally appeared in two books only, and in that form was controverted by Xenophon.[2] But no conclusions respecting the date of the work will remove the objections to the machinery, otherwise than by the supposition that at the end of his life Plato's historical recollections had become somewhat hazy and indistinct. It has been mentioned above that the imaginary conversation recorded in the *Republic* has been referred by Böckh to the year 411 B.C.;[3] and intercourse between Socrates and Critias at this time was possible enough. But Timæus, whom Plato had to seek in Italy, was not very likely to have been at Athens at the time when the Athenians were in the midst of their difficulties after the Sicilian disaster; and it is, of course, quite impossible that Hermocrates should have been there, when we know he was commanding a fleet against Athens in the Ægean. C. F. Hermann would place the fictitious date of the supposed discourses about the time of Plato's birth, in B.C. 429, *i.e.* in Ol. 87, 2 or 3. But the appearance of Hermocrates at Athens at any time after the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war involves the utmost improbability, and an earlier date would not be consistent with the extreme old age of Cephalus,[4] to say nothing of the statement of the scholiast on Thucydides, that Hermocrates was a young man B.C. 415.[5] We can only conclude that Plato was either very oblivious or very careless of historical verisimilitude. His selection of Hermocrates as his mouthpiece is even

---

[1] Quintilian VIII. 6, § 63. Dionys. Halicarnass. *De Compositione Verborum*, p. 208, Reiske.

[2] *Noctes Atticæ* XIV. 3: 'Xenophon incluto illi operi Platonis, quod de optimo statu reipublicæ civitatisque administrandæ scriptum est, lectis ex eo duobus fere libris, qui primi in volgus exierant, opposuit contra scripsitque diversum regiæ administrationis genus, quod παιδείας Κύρου inscriptum est.'

[3] See chapter XXXV. § 1.

[4] *Resp.* I. p. 328 E: ἐπειδὴ ἐνταῦθα ἤδη εἶ τῆς ἡλικίας ὃ δὴ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ φασιν εἶναι οἱ ποιηταί.

[5] *ad Thucyd.* VI. 38.

less patriotic than his choice of Critias in the character of *laudator temporis acti*. But it is very explicable on the supposition that his frequent visits to Sicily, in spite of the misconduct of Dionysius, who represented the party of this valiant oligarch, and had married his daughter, had enabled Plato to form a very high opinion of his character, and, perhaps, induced him to believe that, if Hermocrates had succeeded in establishing himself at Syracuse, he would have introduced a form of government far superior to that of the Dionysii, and even of Dion.

While the *Republic* gives us more directly Plato's solution of the great problem of moral philosophy, the *Philebus* is one of Plato's critical reviews of the systems of his contemporaries and predecessors in regard to the chief good of man, which was, with the ancients, essentially an ethical question. There can be no doubt that the *Republic*, in its present form, makes direct reference to the *Philebus*,[1] and we should conclude that the latter was written expressly as an introduction both to the ethical speculations of the *Republic*, and to the psychological physics of the *Timæus*. The general purport of the *Philebus* is thus given by a modern writer:[2]—'The Pythagoreans, as interpreted by the *rédacteur* of their doctrines, Philolaus, looked upon the infinite (τὸ ἄπειρον) as the mere rude material element of the universe, which, naturally devoid of all definite limits, measure, and rule, must receive its form, and so its positive existence, from the finite or limiting (τὸ πέρας ἔχον, τὸ περαῖνον, τὸ πεπερασμένον), which is likewise the natural element. The ideas of finite and infinite are also, and more commonly, represented by the terms "the one" and "the many," especially in the Platonic philosophy. Plato, who borrowed the Pythagorean doctrine, but extended and enlarged its sphere, in his elaborate inquiry into the nature of the *summum bonum* in the *Philebus*, in like manner places the infinite (or particulars as opposed to general notions), in which pleasure is found to consist, at the bottom of his graduated scale of moral perfection, the finite (τὸ πέρας ἔχον), including sciences, arts, and right opinions, occupying the place

[1] *Resp.* VI. p. 505 B, where the οἱ πολλοὶ are Aristippus and the general public to whose lower views of happiness he pandered, and the κομψότεροι are Eucleides and his school.

[2] Mr. E. M. Cope, in the *Cambridge Essays* for 1856, p. 146.

next above them; the highest place of all being assigned to "measure, and that which is in due measure and due season" (*τὸ μέτριον καὶ τὸ καίριον*),[1] by which Plato seems to mean the highest and universal moral law, which embraces all subordinate laws, regulates the entire system of things, and assigns to all their due place and order.' The doctrines,[2] which Plato submits to his searching criticism in the *Philebus*, are those of the two Socratic schools, who took the most opposite views on the subject of the highest good—the Cyrenaics, who held that it was pleasure, and the Megarics, who maintained that it was intelligence in its various manifestations. The former are represented in the dialogue by Philebus and his friend Protarchus, the latter by an unknown person, probably Eucleides himself. Plato, speaking in the person of Socrates, maintains that the highest good is not to be found in either of these states, but in one which he proceeds to investigate in a most elaborate and complicated argument. First of all he developes the meaning of 'the One' and 'the Many,' showing that this formula denotes the relation of monads (*i.e.*, ideas or universals), to sensibles (*τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ ἄπειρα*), and then argues that it is the dialectician's first problem to find 'the One' in 'the Many,' his second task to find 'the How Many,' or definite quantity in 'the One.' For example: voice is one, but voices are innumerable. And between this One and these innumerables intervenes a definite number of kinds of voice, which the grammarian and musician ascertain and classify. Now the formula of the One and the Many is equally applicable to the ideas of pleasure and intelligence, the manifestations of both being unlimited, but their species limitable. Applying this to the case before him, Socrates maintains that, as the Good must be conceived as self-sufficing and perfect; and as neither pleasure nor intelligence is by itself self-sufficing and perfect, we cannot find the good in either of them separately, but must seek it in a life

---

[1] For the etymology of *καιρός*, and its connexion in meaning with *μέτρον* see our note on Pindar, *Ol.* IX. 38, 39, and *Varronianus*, p. 392 note; and for Plato's identification of *μέτρον* and *καιρός*, see *Politicus* p. 284 E: *ὁπόσαι πρὸς τὸ μέτριον καὶ τὸ πρέπον καὶ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὸ δέον καὶ πανθ' ὅποσα· εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀπωκίσθη τῶν ἐσχάτων.*

[2] Here we have to acknowledge our obligations to Professor Thompson's introductory lecture on the *Philebus*, delivered at Cambridge, in October, 1855.

which blends pleasure with intelligence. Consequently this mixed life is better than either of the other two. But if we wish to fix the relative places of pleasure and intelligence, we must start with a tetrad of forms or principles (εἴδη); namely: (1.) πέρας, limit; (2.) ἄπειρον, unlimited; (3.) τὸ ξυμμισγόμενον (=γένεσις εἰς οὐσίαν), the concrete, created being, or procession into being; (4.) αἴτιον, the cause, which makes up the third by mixing the former two. Now the mixed life is evidently referable to the third form—that of the *genesis*, or coming into being; as pleasure is unlimited in respect to less and more, the life of pleasure must belong to the second form, or that of the unlimited; and as intellect plans the order of the universe, the intellectual life must fall under the fourth form. 'By these distinctions,' says Sydenham,[1] 'the philosopher leads Protarchus to recognize the superior excellence of the science of mind above all others—a science conversant in those subjects only, which are *the same for ever*. In the third and last argumentative part of this dialogue, those moral truths are shown, which it is the whole intent of it to show, in the following order: the first is, that neither pleasure alone, nor theoretical wisdom or knowledge alone, is sufficient for the happiness of any man; the second is, that the best and happiest of all human lives is that life in which the best and highest science, the knowledge of true good, produces the moral virtues; the third is this, that in a life where pleasure and knowledge are thus amicably joined, and operate together for the good of the whole man, symmetry, harmony, and beauty appear throughout; the last and highest truth, no less theological than moral, is this, that the cause of happiness found in such a life is the same with the cause of harmony, symmetry, and beauty through the universe; and the same with the principle and essence of moral virtue, namely, measure itself and truth itself, the idea of good, the great object of the divine mind, in which universal idea the true measures of all things are contained.'

§ 9. The physical speculations of Plato would have very little interest for us, if we were obliged to regard them as contributions to natural philosophy in the modern sense of the term.

[1] Translation of the *Philebus*, London, 1779, pp. 27–29.

It cannot be said, however, that Plato ever proposed to himself any such object. To him researches into the visible phenomena of nature had no special value except as enabling him to show how the idea of law and order and numerical symmetry is to be detected in the complex machinery of the outer world, so that here also, we discern the One in the Many, and may separate science from the province of opinion.

We have some hints as to the manner in which Plato read the book of nature in the *Phædo*,[1] some in the *Republic*;[2] his general views are involved in the argumentation of the *Philebus*;[3] and he gives us a strangely fanciful theory respecting the counter revolution of the globe, and its effects on the inversion of human life, in the *Politicus*.[4] But his book expressly written on this subject is the *Timæus*, which forms the second part in the intended tetralogy of dialogues beginning with the *Republic*. This work is professedly a fictitious κοσμοποιία, or history of the creation. The contemplation of mutable nature is taken up as a relaxation and amusement by the abstract philosopher, and the results assumed merely pretend to be as probable as any others which have been stated.[5] And in freely indulging his fancy, Plato takes as the basis of his speculations the details which were well known to the students of natural science in his time. The numerical system of the Pythagoreans plays a prominent part in the *Timæus*;[6] he makes direct reference to the theories of Heracleitus, Anaxagoras, and Empedocles; and here, as elsewhere, the unitarian hypothesis of the Eleatics is subjected to his criticism.[7] Plato, following Parmenides, supposes the existence of two worlds—the world of matter and the world of mind—the ὁρατὸς τόπος, or visible world, and the νοητὸς τόπος, or ideal world—the former being on the model of the latter.[8] Now Plato argues that as the visible world is within the domain of

---

[1] *Phædo*, pp. 97 C, 98 B.

[2] *Respubl.* X. pp. 614 A—621 A.

[3] *Philebus*, pp. 27 B sqq.

[4] *Politicus*, pp. 269 D seqq.

[5] *Timæus*, p. 29 D: ὁ λέγων ἐγὼ ὑμεῖς τε οἱ κριταὶ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἔχομεν, ὥστε περὶ τούτων τὸν εἰκότα μῦθον ἀποδεχομένους πρέπει τούτου μηδὲν ἔτι πέρα ζητεῖν.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 34 C sqq.

[7] See Professor Thompson's note on Butler's *Lectures*, II. p. 189.

[8] *Timæus*, p. 29 E sqq.

the senses, it is for this reason one of the things which are liable to generation and decay. It must therefore have been created, *i.e.*, it must have come into being. And its maker could be no other than the One, τὸ ἕν, of the Ionics, and this is the Entity, τὸ ὄν, of the Eleatics, which reduced to order the infinite plurality of visible substances, and so exhibited itself as the formative principle. From the symmetry and order discernible in this lower world, it is clear, Plato says, that the Creator must have constructed it after the model or pattern of a perfect and eternal world, and in order that this might be done in the most perfect manner possible, he made it 'a living animal, gifted with intelligence, by enduing it with a living soul.'[1] The body of this animal was composed of the four elements (and here Plato combines and modifies the theories of Empedocles and Anaxagoras),[2] and the soul of the world was not, as the Eleatic pantheism would have maintained, God himself, but an emanation and product of that intelligence which is the cause of all things.[3]

Both in the *Timæus* and in the *Philebus* Plato speaks of intelligence as very near akin to the causative principle. In the *Philebus* he says:[4] 'We find that fire, water, air, and earth must naturally be in the composition of all bodies. These elements, which we find in individual bodies, receive their being from the elements which we find in the universe, and this little body of ours owes its nourishment, and all that it has received or possesses, to the great body of the world. Now these bodies of ours are animated by souls; and from whence should they derive these souls, if the great body of the universe, which has all the same elements with them, only in far greater purity and perfection, did not possess a soul as our bodies do? Since then we admit in all bodies four sorts of being—the limit, the unlimited, the compound of these, and the cause—and since we find in the part of the universe to which we belong that there are causes which create souls, produce health of the body, and effect cures for diseases of the body, and causes, which put together other compositions and amend them when impaired, all of these

---

[1] *Timæus*, p. 30 B.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 31 B—32 C, 53 C—56 C.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 35 A.
[4] *Philebus*, p. 29 A.

causes having names which betoken some kind of wisdom or skill,—this being the case, we cannot but think that the whole heaven, possessing the same four sorts of beings, but possessing them pure and undepraved, has for its cause the nature of those things which are most beautiful and noble, a cause which may most justly be called wisdom and mind; and as wisdom and mind cannot be without soul, it follows that the world has a soul and mind from the power of the cause, and that mind is of the nature of the cause of all things.' In thus allowing a cause and beginning to the world, Plato naturally maintained, in opposition to Parmenides, the reality of time.[1] As the multiplicity of things (τὰ πολλά) presumes the universal (τὸ ἕν), and as the limit controls the infinite, so there must be time as the image and product, the limitation or bound of eternity.

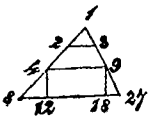
The recognition of an analogy between the soul of man and the soul of the universe, and the perception of a harmony in each, is naturally connected in Plato's speculations with the view of the Pythagoreans that numbers are the principles and essence of all things, and that the world subsists by a numerical harmony,[2] a view which Heracleitus adopted under a modified form.[3] The system of the heavenly bodies is, according to this view, represented by the intervals of the musical scale, these intervals making what is called the Platonic *tetractys*, branching from unity on one side by doubling, and on the other side by trebling the preceding number; thus: 1, 2, 4, 8, and 1, 3, 9, 27.[4] He estimates the durability of his Republic by a still more complicated numerical process, involving, however, the mean proportionals 12 and 18 between the last two terms in these series, and introducing the γαμήλιον διάγραμμα or right-angled triangle, of which the sides are 3, 4, and 5.[5] Even in his *Laws* we find that Plato limits his citizens to 5040 for the sake

[1] See *Timæus*, pp. 37 A, 38 B, &c.

[2] Aristotle, *Metaphys.* A. I. c. 6, p. 987, b. 11.

[3] Plato, *Sympos.* p. 187 A.

[4] See Stallbaum's note on the *Timæus*, p. 35 B. The figure presumed is



[5] The writer of these pages has examined the celebrated passage (*Respublica*,

of a fitting number,'[1] this number being the continued product of the first seven digits, a calculation having the same mystical value as the discovery that 27, the last of the seven terms in the double tetractys, is both the sum of the other six terms, and also equal to the sum of the first six digits after unity. There is the same sort of arbitrary fancy in the astronomy of Plato, as exhibited in the *Timæus*;[2] and, on the whole, we must admit, with a modern writer, that 'the *Timæus* is a physical romance, with a mighty moral.'[3] At the same time, the speculations of Plato, wild and fanciful as they seem to us, have very often made nearer approximations to the truth than the more elaborate and serious investigations of his pupil Aristotle; as, for example, 'in his notions of a centripetal force, of the causes of gravity, of antipodes, and of the nullity of the popular distinction of *up* and *down*.'[4] And if his separate conjectures had been entirely devoid of truth, or even plausibility, we could not fail to recognize, as quite worthy of a great philosopher, the general principles of his theory, and the grand truth with which he starts, that the moving cause of creation was the unenvying goodness of the Creator, and His wish that all things should as far as possible resemble Himself.[5]

§ 10. The style of Plato is in every way worthy of his position in universal literature; and the critical taste of modern scholars has fully confirmed the general encomium of Aristotle, that 'all his dialogues exhibit extraordinary acuteness, elaborate elegance, bold originality, and curious speculation.'[6]

VII. p. 546), in a special essay 'on Plato's Number' in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, Vol. I. No. 8, and has shown that the number itself is $216 = 6^3$, and that the calculations involved are the proportion $8:12::18:27$, and the equations $\left(\frac{4}{3}\times 5\right)^2 = 100 \times \frac{2^2}{3^2}$ and $\left(\frac{4}{3}\times 5\right)^3 = \frac{(48+5+27)100}{27} = 1000\times\frac{2^3}{3^3}$.

[1] Plato, *Leges*, V. p. 737: ἀριθμοῦ τινος ἕνεκα προσήκοντος. In the *Republic*, IX. p. 587 C, because the tyrant is nine times as wretched as the oligarch, 9^3 or 729 represents his misery.

[2] *Timæus*, p. 35 B.

[3] Butler's *Lectures on Ancient Philosophy*, II. 196.

[4] Professor Thompson's note on Butler's *Lectures*, II. p. 171.

[5] *Timæus*, p. 29 D, E.

[6] Aristot. *Pol.* II. 6, 5: τὸ μὲν οὖν περιττὸν ἔχουσι πάντες οἱ τοῦ Σωκράτους λόγοι καὶ τὸ κομψὸν καὶ τὸ καινοτόμον καὶ τὸ ζητητικόν· καλῶς δὲ πάντα ἴσως χαλεπόν. The last words show that these expressions are not ironical. Mr. Congreve says,

Panætius used to call him the Homer of philosophers,[1] and others declared that, if Jupiter himself had spoken Greek, he would have adopted the majestic dignity of the Platonic eloquence.[2] The celebrated critic, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, though he reserves the highest stretch of his admiration for Demosthenes, is inclined to admit that no master of eloquence could successfully compete for the second place with Plato.[3] He considers him, in fact, as the best example of the middle or mixed style of composition, which was initiated by Thrasymachus, and systematically taught and exemplified by Isocrates.[4] This intermediate or mixed style combined the simple diction of Lysias with the more ponderous eloquence of Thucydides and Gorgias, and the process in the case of Plato is thus described by Dionysius:[5] 'He was nurtured in the Socratic dialogues, meagre and exact as they are in the fullest sense, but did not abide in them, being enamoured of the language[6] of Gorgias and Thucydides; accordingly, it is not surprising that he acquired some of their characteristic faults as well as their excellences.' The same critic classes the style of Plato with that of Herodotus and Demosthenes, as exhibiting in the highest degree those pauses and changes of rhythmical structure, and that variety of elegant figures, which he considers as the greatest perfections of style;[7] and he places the philosopher below the great orator

---

in his note on the passage: 'This just and high compliment on his master's writings is not easy to translate. It bears witness, if such were needed, to Aristotle's careful study and correct appreciation of their beauties, as well as their more solid merits. I venture the following translation: All the dialogues of Plato alike are characterized by brilliancy, grace, originality, and profound inquiry.'

[1] Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* I. 32, § 79.

[2] Cic. *Brut.* 31, § 121: 'quis enim uberior in dicendo Platone? Jovem aiunt philosophi, si Græce loquatur, sic loqui.' Dionys. Hal. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* xxiii. p. 1024, Reiske: ἤδη δέ τινων ἤκουσα ἐγώ λεγόντων, ὡς εἰ καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς διάλεκτός ἐστιν, ᾗ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κέχρηται γένος, οὐκ ἄλλως ὁ βασιλεὺς ὢν αὐτῶν διαλέγεται θεὸς [l. Ζεὺς] ἢ ὡς Πλάτων.

[3] *De adm. vi Dem.* p. 1043: Πλάτων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα γράφων· ὃς εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα οἴσεται τῆς λέξεως, περί γε τῶν δευτερείων πολὺν ἀγῶνα παρέξει τοῖς διαμιλλησομένοις.

[4] *Id. ibid.* pp. 958, 1083.

[5] *Id. ibid.* p. 968.

[6] κατασκευή, *i.e.* the apparatus of words as distinguished from their arrangement, their *copia verborum* in fact; see above, chapter XXIV. § 3, note.

[7] *De Compos. Verborum*, p. 133.

chiefly because the former departs occasionally from that judicious choice of words by which Demosthenes is distinguished. 'Plato,' he says,[1] 'was most admirable in perceiving the harmony and rhythm of style, and if he had been as excellent in the selection as he was in the composition of his words, he might have outstripped Demosthenes, or made his superiority doubtful; as it is, he commits some faults in his choice of expressions, especially when he aims at a lofty, elegant, and elaborate (ἐγκατάσκευον) phraseology.' In comparing these two masters of Greek eloquence, Dionysius has given us a very felicitous analogy. 'It seems to me,' he says,[2] 'that we should not err if we compared the diction of Plato to a meadow gay with flowers, and furnished with pleasant arbours and transient gratifications; whereas, the language of Demosthenes might be likened to a fruitful field, rich in produce, and wanting neither the necessaries of life nor the superfluities of enjoyment.' Although these remarks of Dionysius will be endorsed by most of the critical readers of Plato in our days, it will be felt that in some respects he has not done full justice to the literary merits of the great philosopher. In Plato the powers of the imagination were just as conspicuous as those of reasoning and reflexion; he had all the chief characteristics of a poet, especially of a dramatic poet; and if his rank as a philosopher had been lower than it is, he would still have stood unrivalled, except by Shakspere, in the power of exhibiting dramatically, and in the form of dialogue, a consistent development of character, and so giving to his interlocutors all that is required in a lifelike representation of the personages whose opinions he wishes to combat or defend. The slightest touch sometimes lends a finish to the picture, as when the equestrian Antipho is found in the act of ordering a bit,[3] or the bare-footed Socrates either in his ordinary[4] or his exceptional attire.[5] The more elaborate and fanciful pictures which he introduces are not less remarkable for their descriptive power, than the dramatic incidents are for their vivid reality. Nothing can be better told than the

---

1 *De Compos. Verborum*, p. 117.
2 *De adm. vi dic. in Dem.* p. 1056.
3 *Parmenides*, p. 127 A.
4 *Phædrus*, p. 229 A.
5 *Sympos.* p. 174 A.

strange story of the world's inverted rotation in the *Politicus*,[1] or the allegory of the cavern,[2] and the tale of Er, the Armenian, in the *Republic*,[3] or the fable about the soul's state after death in the *Gorgias*.[4] The periodical structure of the sentence in Plato is principally distinguished by an intentional laxity, and by the frequent introduction of explanatory circumstances, which, either following or preceding the main predication, give to the whole an appearance of grammatical irregularity.[5] Many of the peculiarities of Plato's style are due to his adoption of the language of ordinary conversation, with its conventional words and phrases, and its abrupt transitions.[6] He has few technical words, and none of any importance, except the terms by which he designates the typical forms of things and the general conceptions by which they are represented in the mind.[7]

---

[1] *Polit.* p. 269 D sqq. [2] *Resp.* VII. pp. 514—517 B.

[3] *Ibid.* X. pp. 614 A—621 A. [4] *Gorg.* pp. 523 A—526 C.

[5] See Dissen's Essay *de structurâ periodorum oratoriâ* prefixed to his edition of Demosthenes *De Coronâ*, pp. LXX. sqq.

[6] As for example his use of *αὐτίκα*, *πολλάκις* for *ἴσως*, *κινδυνεύω* for *ἔοικα*, *ἄλλοτι* for *ἄλλο τι ἤ*, his asyndeton in the adverb *πάντως*, &c.

[7] In Plato's language *εἶδος* is the mental apprehension, and *ἰδέα* its counterpart in nature, but the words are often used as synonyms. See Professor Thompson's note on Butler's *Lectures*, vol. II., p. 127.

CHAPTER XL.

ARISTOTLE.

§ 1. Life of Aristotle. § 2. General view of his writings. § 3. His metaphysics and psychology. § 4. Logic. § 5. Rhetoric and criticism. § 6. Moral philosophy. § 7. Politics. § 8. Natural history and general physics. § 9. Miscellanies. § 10. Form and style of his writings.

§ 1. 'THE Master of them that know,' as Dante calls Aristotle,[1] occupies a position among the leaders of human thought, scarcely inferior to that which we have claimed for his teacher Plato. Indeed, one modern writer has not hesitated to say that every man is born either a Platonist or an Aristotelian,[2] meaning by this that Plato and Aristotle represented the two modes in which men philosophize, if they philosophize at all. It would, however, be more true to say, historically, that the influence of Aristotle's writings has been felt directly or indirectly, wherever it is not anticipated or superseded by a method of reasoning which may be traced back to his great teacher. To treat, therefore, of Aristotle in a manner suitable to his importance, would involve a distinct literary effort not less considerable than that which would be implied in a similar treatment of Plato's writings; and there are not a few works on the subject to which the student might be referred with great profit to himself.[3] For our present purpose it is sufficient to deal with the

---

[1] *Inferno*, IV. 131:

Vidi 'l maestro di color che sanno
Seder tra filosofica famiglia:
Tutti l'ammiran, tutti onor gli fanno.

[2] Coleridge, *Table Talk* (July 2nd, 1830, I. p. 182): 'Every man is born an Aristotelian or a Platonist. I do not think it possible that any one born an Aristotelian can become a Platonist; and I am sure no born Platonist can ever change into an Aristotelian. They are the two classes of men, beside which it is next to impossible to conceive a third. The one considers reason a quality or attribute; the other considers it a power. I believe that Aristotle never could get to understand what Plato meant by an idea.'

[3] As for example, the works of Stahr, Jourdain, and Brandis.

questions of literary history which are involved in a general survey of Aristotle's life and labours.

The materials for Aristotle's life are very scanty, and all the ancient biographies of the philosopher are full of exaggerations and misstatements. Nevertheless the dates are tolerably accurate, and we can form to ourselves a general picture of his career which is sufficient for all the purposes of literary history.[1] Aristotle's life may be divided into five epochs; the first includes the period of his boyhood and youth; the second, his residence at Athens, as a pupil of Plato; the third, his three years' sojourn at Assos after Plato's death; the fourth, his establishment in Macedonia, as tutor to Alexander; and the fifth, his final settlement at Athens, as a teacher, during the last thirteen years of his life.

First Period—ARISTOTLE was born at Stageirus, or Stageira, one of the Chalcidian cities on the Strymonian gulf. Originally an Andrian colony, it had received an accession of population from Chalcis, in Eubœa, and though not in itself a place of any importance, it was a member of the Olynthian league, and shared in the destruction of those Greek cities which resisted the ambition of Philip. Aristotle's father, Nicomachus, belonged to the clan or guild of the Asclepiads, and was therefore a member of a family in which the medical profession was hereditary.[2] His skill as a practitioner and his reputation as a man of science had recommended him to Amyntas, the father of Philip, at whose court he lived as the king's medical adviser and confidential friend.[3] Phæstis, the mother of Aristotle, was descended from one of the Chalcidian colonists of Stageirus, and it is worthy of remark that Aristotle died at

---

[1] In the account of Aristotle's career which is given in the text, the author feels that he is greatly indebted to the admirable lectures on the *Ethics* and *Politics* which Dr. Thirlwall delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1833, and which were prefaced by an elaborate discussion of Aristotle's literary history. Mr. Blakesley, who probably enjoyed the advantage of hearing these lectures, published, in 1839, a very clear and able *Life of Aristotle, including a critical discussion of some questions of literary history connected with his works.* To this book the writer has occasionally referred with much profit. And he has had before him Stahr's *Aristotelia* (Halle, 1830), which is quite a storehouse of materials.

[2] See below, chapter XLIV. § 2.

[3] Diogenes says: *συνεβίω Ἀμύντᾳ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ ἰατροῦ καὶ φίλου χρείᾳ.*

Chalcis, the metropolis of his maternal relatives. Aristotle was born in Ol. 99, 1. B.C. 384, two years before his great contemporary Demosthenes,[1] and he died in the same year with that orator and his rival Hypereides. We do not know when his parents died. It appears that they were dead when he went to Athens, at the age of eighteen, and it is also probable that he had lost both his father and mother at a much earlier period; for we are told that he was for some little time under the guardianship of one Proxenus of Atarneus. That his education was at least partly undertaken by his father may be inferred from the fact that he had acquired some practical acquaintance with the hereditary art of medicine; and the partiality, which he exhibited in his later years, for all subjects connected with natural history, may have been due to his early initiation into this branch of study. His estate must have been well managed, for we find him, as a young man, at Athens, living in perfect leisure, and not only so, but able to collect books, to dress well, and indulge in gaiety and luxury. He retained a deep sense of the obligations conferred upon him by his guardian, for he afterwards adopted Nicanor, the son of Proxenus, and appointed him joint guardian with Antipater of his own son Nicomachus. And his will gives directions for the setting up of a statue in honour of Proxenus and his wife.

Second Period.—Without noticing the contradictory accounts that have been given of Aristotle's early life,—that he squandered his property, and became a soldier or a vender of medicines,[2]—we pass on to the first visit to Athens in B.C. 367, when Plato had just started on his second journey to Sicily. This latter circumstance explains the statement of Ammonius that Aristotle first studied under Socrates, a statement obviously

[1] This is the usual opinion, adopted by Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, p. 104. Other scholars have come to the conclusion that the great orator and the great philosopher were born in the same year. See Stahr, *Aristotelia*, p. 31; Thirlwall, 'On the birth year of Demosthenes,' *Philol. Mus.* II. pp. 389 sqq.

[2] Athenæus VIII. p. 354; Ælian, *V.H.* V. 9; Aristocles *apud Euseb. Præp. Ev.* XV. 2, p. 791 A.: πῶς γὰρ οἷόν τε νέον μὲν ὄντα καταφαγεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύεσθαι συνῶσαι, κακῶς δὲ πράττοντα ἐν τούτοις ἐπὶ τὸ φαρμακοπωλεῖν ἐλθεῖν, ἔπειτα ἀναπεπταμένου τοῦ Πλάτωνος περιπάτου πᾶσι παραβαλεῖν αὐτόν; ἢ πῶς ἂν τις ἀποδέξαιτο Τιμαίου τοῦ Ταυρομενείτου λέγοντος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἀδόξου θύρας αὐτὸν ἰατρείου καὶ τὰς τυχούσας ὀψὲ τῆς ἡλικίας κλεῖσαι;

inconsistent with chronology, but quite explicable on the supposition that the story meant to inform us, that he studied in the school of Socrates, and not under Plato in the first instance. For in Plato's absence his school was conducted by Heracleides of Pontus, and Aristotle may have received his first lessons from this Socratic philosopher.[1] There is no doubt, however, that on Plato's return, Aristotle became his regular hearer, and indeed the chief ornament of his school. That the characters of the master and pupil were quite uncongenial, and their intellectual tendencies diametrically opposed, is sufficiently well known. But beyond this there is no foundation for the report that Plato and Aristotle were personally on bad terms, and that the latter was not only unfriendly but ungrateful to his teacher. On the one hand, it is clear that Plato used to express a very high opinion of Aristotle, whom he called 'the soul of his school,'[2] and whose house he designated as 'the house of the reader.'[3] On the other hand, we are told that Aristotle erected an altar to Plato after his death, with an inscription describing him as 'a man whom the bad could not even praise without sacrilege;'[4] and in opposing the Platonic doctrine of ideas in a passage of the Nicomachean Ethics, which has become proverbial as an expression of the duty of preferring our conscience to our private predilections,[5] Aristotle says[6] that he feels himself obliged to enter on this discussion, 'although

---

[1] Mr. Blakesley (p. 18, note) supposes that *Xenocrates* was mentioned as Aristotle's first instructor, and that his name has been carelessly or officiously altered into that of Socrates.

[2] *νοῦς τῆς διατριβῆς* (Philoponus, *De æternitate mundi adversus Proclum*).

[3] *οἶκος ἀναγνώστου*, Pseudo-Ammonius.

[4] Βωμὸν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐνιδρύσατο τόνδε Πλάτωνος
ἀνδρὸς ὃν οὐδ' αἰνεῖν τοῖσι κακοῖσι θέμις.

[5] The usual form of the proverb is 'Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica veritas.' It is stated that Plato himself used to confess: *φιλὸς μὲν Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ φιλτάτη ἡ ἀλήθεια*. He makes Socrates remark (in the *Phædo*, p. 91 B): *σμικρὸν φροντίσαντες Σωκράτους, τῆς δὲ ἀληθείας πολὺ μᾶλλον*. And he also says, in the *Republic*, X. p. 595 B: *καί τοι φιλία γέ τίς με καὶ αἰδὼς ἐκ παιδὸς ἔχουσα περὶ Ὁμήρου ἀποκωλύει λέγειν—ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ πρό γε τῆς ἀληθείας τιμητέος ἀνήρ*, which is just the sentiment expressed by Aristotle. Probably this passage or that in the *Phædo* was the reference which Stahr could not recal (p. 59).

[6] *Ethica Nicom.* I. 6, § 1. Mr. Blakesley suggests that the phrase *τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀναιρεῖν* is an allusion to such cases as that of Iphigenia (p. 27); others suppose that the philosopher is referring to opinions, not to persons.

the inquiry is repugnant to our feelings, because the doctrine of ideas was introduced by persons whom we regard with affection (φίλους ἄνδρας); but it would seem to be better, and indeed our duty, to sacrifice even our own children for the vindication of truth, especially as we are philosophers; for between two friends it is a religious obligation to prefer the truth.' There could have been no animosity in the mind of a man who approached a speculative discussion in such a spirit as this. The story that Xenocrates was mixed up in a quarrel between Plato and Aristotle is sufficiently refuted by the circumstance that, after the death of the former, Aristotle and Xenocrates travelled together at Atarneus.

During the period of nearly twenty years which Aristotle spent at Athens, he was not merely a hearer of Plato and a learner. 'The house of the reader' fully justified its name; Aristotle was engaged continually in the most profound and varied studies, and was laying the foundations of that encyclopædia of learning, which he considered it as his special vocation to elaborate. It was at this time, in all probability, that he drew up his lost work on the various systems of rhetoric which had appeared before his time.[1] Perhaps, too, he now wrote his book on the principles of government adopted by different states,[2] and commenced, at all events, his grand historico-political work on the Constitutions of 255 different Commonwealths.[3] Anecdotes are preserved which tell of his intense application to his studies. But he was anything but a book-worm, and in his hours of relaxation he exhibited an attention to dress and a love of pleasure, which were not usually observed in professed philosophers. He was a public teacher, too, as well as a writer; and it seems that he adopted the profession of a rhetorician, which was the ostensible avocation of the Sophists, and was then practised with eminent success by 'the old man eloquent,' Isocrates. Indeed it is stated, and we see no reason to doubt

---

[1] Συναγωγὴ Τεχνῶν. Cic. *de Oratore*, II. 38, *de Inventione*, II. 2. The nature of such a work is well exemplified by Spengel's essay under the same title; Stuttgardt, 1828.

[2] Δικαιώματα πολέων, Diog. Laërt. V. 26.

[3] See Neumann, *Aristotelis Rerumpublicarum Reliquiæ*, reprinted in the Oxford edition of Aristotle's works, vol. X. pp. 233 sqq.

the truth of the story, that Aristotle set up his rhetorical school in direct opposition to that of Isocrates.[1] Cicero says distinctly[2] that 'when Aristotle saw Isocrates flourishing and surrounded by the most illustrious pupils, having transferred his disputations from forensic and popular subjects to the mere cultivation of an elegant style, he suddenly changed the whole form of his teaching, and by a slight alteration in a verse of the *Philoctetes*, where the poet said: "it was disgraceful to hold one's peace, *and suffer barbarians*,"—he said: "*and suffer Isocrates* to speak." Accordingly, he adorned and embellished the whole science of rhetoric, and combined a knowledge of things with the practice of speaking.' The celebrated quotation in reference to Isocrates, thus put into the mouth of Aristotle, is taken from a scene in the *Philoctetes* of Euripides,[3] in which an embassy from Troy offers that hero the throne; and when the foreign orator has concluded his speech, Ulysses begins his reply by saying, that, whatever may be his deficiencies, yet, on behalf of the Greek armament, it is disgraceful to leave all the speaking to a barbarian. And though the Stagirite, himself a resident alien at Athens, could not with propriety class the native Athenian Isocrates with the un-Greek orator of the play, still he may have regarded the affected style of the veteran rhetorician as tending to corrupt the purity of the Hellenic idiom, and so he might say—combining in one sentence both the word which he omitted and the proper name which he substituted:—

> When Greece at large demands a bold reply,
> 'Tis great disgrace to sit in silence by,
> And leave Isocrates unchecked to teach
> The outlandish jargon of his fulsome speech.

---

[1] See Spengel, Συναγωγὴ Τεχνῶν, p. 167 sqq.

[2] *De Oratore*, III. 35, § 141 (cf. *Orator*. c. 13. Quintil. *Inst. Or.* III. 1, 14). Cicero's words are: 'Itaque ipse Aristoteles, quum florere Isocratem nobilitate discipulorum videret, quod ipse suas disputationes a caussis forensibus et civilibus ad inanem sermonis elegantiam transtulisset, mutavit repente totam formam prope disciplinæ suæ, versumque quendam Philoctetæ paullo secus dixit. Ille enim *turpe* sibi ait *esse tacere, quum barbaros;* hic autem *quum Isocratem pateretur dicere*. Itaque ornavit et illustravit doctrinam illam omnem rerumque cognitionem cum orationis exercitatione conjunxit.'

[3] Plutarch, *Moral.* p. 1108 B, Diog. Laërt. V. 3. The words are:

> ὑπέρ γε μέντοι παντὸς Ἑλλήνων στρατοῦ
> αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν, βαρβάρους δ' ἐᾶν λέγειν.

For he may have considered the rhetoric of Isocrates as depraved by some of the florid ornaments of the Sophistic schools, and it must be admitted that even the language of this pupil of Gorgias and Tisias is not always free from a taint of foreign idiom, which is shown in the occasional adoption of unusual forms and inflexions. The other story, that it was Xenocrates, and not Isocrates, whom he introduced into this sarcastic parody, is set aside by the friendly relations between him and that teacher, and by the inapplicability of the verse to any but an orator. It seems, too, that in his treatise on rhetorical systems he handled Isocrates very severely, insomuch that the rhetorician's scholar, Cephisodorus, or Cephisodotus, thought it necessary to come forward in his defence with a treatise in four books, which not only met the criticisms but attacked the moral character of the assailant.[1] Why, with all this, Aristotle so often quotes from Isocrates in his later treatise on rhetoric, we shall see when we come to speak of that work.

Third Period.—On the death of Plato, in B.C. 347, but not necessarily in consequence of that event, Aristotle accepted an invitation from Hermias, the tyrant of Atarneus and Assos, to visit him in one of those Mysian cities. Hermias, who had been the eunuch, and probably chief minister, of Eubulus, a Bithynian banker who had established an independent monarchy in Mysia, had spent some time at Athens, and had studied there under Plato and Aristotle;[2] and his invitation to Aristotle, in which Xenocrates was no doubt included, probably originated in a wish for literary society and a renewed acquaintance with his two fellow-students. Their residence at the court of Hermias was of short duration. In B.C. 345 the Persians, under a Rhodian captain of mercenaries, named Mentor, advanced against Atarneus; Hermias was decoyed by the treacherous promises of this leader, sent up to Susa and strangled there; and his cities fell into the hands of the Persians.[3] The two philosophers made their escape to Mytilene, taking with them Pythias, the sister and adopted daughter

[1] Aristocles apud Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* II. p. 792 A; Athenæus, II. p. 60 E.

[2] Strabo, XIII. p. 126.

[3] Strabo, *ubi supra*; Diodor. XVI. 52–54.

of Hermias, whom Aristotle married in gratitude and friendship, and in order to protect her under the destitution in which the death of Hermias had left her.[1] This connexion exposed Aristotle to the most virulent calumny, and he was obliged to explain and defend his marriage in a letter to Antipater, which is still extant, and does him the greatest credit. Pythias died not long after, leaving Aristotle one daughter, and it is a touching circumstance that, in his will, he directs the bones of his wife to be taken up and laid in his grave, wherever he might be buried, according, as he says, to her injunctions. He honoured the memory of Hermias in a *scolium*, or drinking-song in praise of virtue, which is still extant,[2] and also erected a statue to his memory at Delphi, with an inscription stating how he had been slain, not in open fight, 'but because he had trusted to the honour of a perfidious villain.'[3]

Fourth Period.—While residing at Mytilene, in B.C. 343, Aristotle received from Philip of Macedon, with whom he had some previous acquaintance, and to whom he was at all events recommended by the intimacy between Amyntas and Nicomachus, an invitation to go to Pella, and undertake the literary education of Alexander, who was at that time thirteen years old. This charge lasted about three years. The previous teachers of the young prince had been Lysimachus, an Acarnanian, and Leonidas, a relation of his mother Olympias; the latter a rough soldier, and the former a dexterous flatterer. Under the discipline of the one he gained the contempt of danger and luxury which always distinguished him; under the management of the other he became intolerant of the truth,

---

[1] Aristocles *apud Eusebium, ubi supra.* In the letter to Antipater, the personal qualities of Pythias are mentioned as an additional reason for the marriage; Aristotle says she was σώφρων καὶ ἀγαθή, and the circumstance mentioned in the text shows that her husband was really attached to her.

[2] Athenæus, p. 696; Stobæus, *Serm.* I. p. 2; Diog. Laërt. V. 2. He compares his hero to Hercules, the Dioscori, Achilles, and Ajax: 'they died for thee, O virtue, and for the sake of thy dear form he, too, who was reared in the lap of Atarneus, renounced the bright beams of the sun.'

[3] The inscription runs thus (*Anthol. Pal.* appendix 8):—

Τόνδε ποτ', οὐχ ὁσίως παραβὰς μακάρων θέμιν ἀγνήν,
ἔκτεινεν Περσῶν τοξοφόρων βασιλεύς,
οὐ φανερῶς λόγχῃ φονίοις ἐν ἀγῶσι κρατήσας
ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς πίστει χρησάμενος δολίου.

and eager for servile compliances, even to the extent of deification. From neither of them could he get much of literature or philosophy. All his love of books and science was due to the better tastes with which Aristotle inspired him. He might have got to the Punjab without the education which he had received from Leonidas and Lysimachus, for he had all the elements of a conqueror in his nature. But it was Aristotle who made him what Plutarch describes him as being—a lover of language, learning, and literature.[1] It was Aristotle's corrected edition of the *Iliad* which was Alexander's travelling companion, and was placed with his dagger under his pillow at night.[2] The literary tastes which Aristotle instilled into him are exhibited in the letter to Harpalus, in which Alexander, at that time in the extremity of Asia, requests that a collection of historical, dramatic, and lyrical works should be sent to him.[3] That Aristotle had introduced Alexander to the more abstruse parts of philosophy is shown by the celebrated letter in which the king complains of the publication of the esoteric works.[4] It is clear too that Aristotle took great pains to enlarge Alexander's ideas of government. For this purpose he wrote for him a treatise on monarchy. Not that Alexander's liberal policy is to be referred to the influence of the philosopher. On the contrary, Plutarch tells us that Alexander's attempt to amalgamate the Greeks and barbarians was in spite of the advice of Aristotle, who recommended him to treat the Greeks like a general (ἡγεμονικῶς) and the barbarians like a master (δεσποτικῶς),[5] and in his *Politics* Aristotle recognizes an essential distinction between the Hellenic world and all without it. In the instructions which he gave to his illustrious pupil,[6] Aristotle did not forget his hereditary profession of medicine, which the king

[1] Plutarch (*Vita Alexandri*, c. 8), attributes this to Alexander's natural disposition: ἦν δὲ καὶ φύσει φιλολόγος καὶ φιλομαθὴς καὶ φιλαναγνώστης. But these tastes are acquired and not inherent.

[2] Plutarch, c. 8, on the authority of Onesicritus.

[3] The books sent to him were the works of Philistus, many of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus, and the dithyrambs of Telestes and Philoxenus (Plutarch, *ubi supra*).

[4] Plutarch, *Vita Alex.* c. 7; Aulus Gellius, *N. A.* XX. 5.

[5] Plutarch, *De Vitâ et Fort. Alexandri*, p. 329.

[6] Plutarch, *Vita Alex.* c. 8: δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὸ φιλιατρεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσ-

sometimes practised for the benefit of his friends; and it seems that Alexander had a decided predilection for natural history in general.

Aristotle made use of his influence with Philip to induce him to rebuild his native city of Stageirus, and to restore it to more than its former splendour. Plutarch says that he built a temple to the Nymphs, which served for a Lyceum.[1] Aristotle drew up a constitution for the resuscitated community,[2] and occasionally retired thither from Pella. There were some walks and seats at Stageirus called after Aristotle, and in after-times the inhabitants celebrated an annual festival called the *Aristotelia*.[3]

It is not probable that the tuition of Alexander lasted more than two or three years. When about sixteen the young prince had sovereign power at court during the absence of Philip. He fought at Chæroneia in 338 B.C., and afterwards engaged in state intrigues till his father's death in 336 B.C., so that the connexion between the tutor and pupil could not have been uninterrupted after the latter had attained his sixteenth year. Callisthenes, who accompanied Alexander to Asia, Marsyas, the brother of Antigonus, afterwards king of Lycia and Pamphylia, and Theophrastus, Aristotle's successor at Athens, were either fellow-pupils of Alexander, or at least received some instruction from Aristotle at this time.[4]

Fifth Period.—When Alexander crossed the Hellespont, in B.C. 334, Aristotle returned to Athens. We are told that the Athenians invited him on the death of Speusippus, and as his friend Xenocrates was established at the Academy, Aristotle opened his school in a gymnasium called the Lyceum, from the neighbouring temple and grove of Apollo Lyceus; and here he used to deliver his lessons, not sitting down, but walking to and fro;[5] and from these lounges or saunters (περίπατοι), his scholars were called the *peripatetics*, or saunterers.[6] Aulus

τρίψασθαι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων Ἀριστοτέλης· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν θεωρίαν ἠγάπησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ νοσοῦσιν ἐβοήθει τοῖς φίλοις, κ.τ.λ.

[1] *Vita Alex.* c. 7.

[2] Plut. *adv. Colot. ad fin.*

[3] Pseudo-Ammonius and *Vita Latina.*

[4] Suidas, s.v. Μαρσύας; Diog. *Vita Theophrasti*, 39.

[5] Cicero, *Academ. Post.* I. 4.

[6] Diogenes (V. p. 301 C, Casaubon), says that Aristotle got into the practice of

Gellius gives us some interesting particulars respecting the organization of this school. There were two classes of pupils. The morning lounge (ἑωθινὸς περίπατος) was designed only for the higher and more advanced students, and at the evening saunter (δειλινὸς περίπατος) he used to give a more popular lecture for the benefit of those who had not passed through the preparatory discipline. The former of these were called *acroamatic* discourses, and comprised theological, physical, and dialectical investigations; the latter were termed the *exoteric* discourses, and comprehended rhetoric, sophistic disputations, and politics.[1] We do not know whether his lectures were formal, or merely conversational; but we may infer that he did not adopt the catechetical method to any great extent. To keep up a friendly and instructive intercourse with his hearers, Aristotle had periodical entertainments after the manner of Xenocrates, and at these banquets of the wise there were rules for decency of dress and decorum of manner which contrasted favourably with the noisy vulgarity of the usual Greek symposium.[2] He also imitated Xenocrates in the institution of scholastic disputations under the presidency of a moderator, who held office for ten days.[3] This practice formed the basis of the teaching and examination in the universities of Europe during the middle ages, and it is not yet extinct at Cambridge.

It was during this second residence at Athens that Aristotle composed most of his extant works. And his situation during the greater part of the time must have been very enviable. We are told by Athenæus that Alexander placed at his disposal, principally with a view to his collections in natural history, a sum of no less than 800 talents, about £200,000 of our money;[4] Pliny informs us that some thousands of men were employed by Alexander to procure specimens for his museum, and the materials for his great work, and that Aristotle wrote fifty volumes

---

teaching while taking his exercise, from his habit of walking about with Alexander during his convalescence after some illness, ὅτι ἐκ νόσου περιπατοῦντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συμπαρὼν διελέγετο ἅττα.

[1] Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticæ*, XX. 5), is our only authority for this statement.

[2] Athenæus, p. 186.

[3] Diog. Laërt. V. 4, p. 302 C: ἐν τῇ σχολῇ νομοθετεῖν μιμούμενον Ξενοκράτην, ὥστε κατὰ δέκα ἡμέρας ἄρχοντα ποιεῖν.

[4] IX. p. 398 E.

on the subject.[1] That these inquiries in natural history had commenced at an earlier period is indicated by Ælian's statement[2] that Philip had supplied Aristotle with money for the prosecution of these researches. But these happy days of sunshine and tranquillity were destined to be speedily overcast. On the one hand it is clear that some estrangement of Alexander from Aristotle took place towards the end of the philosopher's stay at Athens;[3] and on the other hand, his residence in this city was suddenly terminated by the threat of a prosecution for impiety, which might have produced a second edition of the death of Socrates. The misunderstanding with Alexander seems to have been connected with the downfall of his pupil and relative Callisthenes, who had accompanied the king to Asia. This Callisthenes, who was a rhetorician of considerable ability, but sadly deficient in common sense,[4] had opposed himself to Anaxarchus, and the other flatterers who followed in the train of the Macedonian conqueror, and gave expression to his opinions with an unreserved and offensive bluntness, which was, under the circumstances, eminently imprudent.[5] He also allowed himself to talk very foolishly to Alexander's pages, which led to his implication in their conspiracy against the king.[6] According to some he was put to death by Alexander's express orders.[7] Others say that he was abandoned to his enemies, in whose hands he perished by violence or neglect.[8] Now it seems that for some reason Alexander connected Aristotle with the unjustifiable language of his kinsman; perhaps because Callisthenes had hinted to Philotas, one of the pages, that Athens would furnish a safe refuge to tyrannicides;[9] perhaps Alexander's mind had been poisoned by Olympias, who was violently opposed to Aristotle's friend Antipater. Plutarch mentions a letter from Alexander to Antipater, in which he alludes

---

[1] *Hist. Nat.* VIII. 17.

[2] *Var. Hist.* IV. 19.

[3] The words of Aristotle in the *Nicom. Eth.* VIII. 7, where he speaks of too great inequality as a bar to friendship, have been supposed to refer to the interruption of his friendly relations with Alexander.

[4] Aristotle is reported to have said of him: ὅτι Καλλισθένης λόγῳ μὲν ἦν δυνατὸς καὶ μέγας, νοῦν δ' οὐκ εἶχεν. (Hermippus *apud Plut. vit. Alex.* c. 54.)

[5] Plutarch, c. 52.

[6] Arrian, IV. 13, 14.

[7] Curtius, VIII. 8, § 21.

[8] Plutarch, c. 55.

[9] *Idem, ibid.*

to the conspiracy of the pages, and states that they had been stoned by the Macedonians, but that he intended to punish the Sophist, and those who had sent him out, and those in the cities who had harboured conspirators against him.[1] The same biographer tells us, on the authority of Chares, that Alexander intended to have Callisthenes re-tried in the presence of Aristotle. Be this as it may, Alexander took no steps against Aristotle, and the story that the philosopher availed himself of the fact that one of Antipater's sons was Alexander's cup-bearer, to poison him with the water of the Styx, is a silly fiction.[2] On the contrary, it is obvious that the death of Alexander rendered Aristotle's position at Athens less secure, and exposed him to risk of religious persecution. Eurymedon, the hierophant, aided by Demophilus, indicted him for blasphemy, on the pretext that he had paid divine honours to Hermias, and his own wife Pythias.[3] The charge was contemptible in itself, but Aristotle knew that the Macedonian party at Athens had lost the power to protect him, and that it would be easy enough to induce the Athenians to treat him as they had treated Socrates. 'Let us not give them,' he said, 'a second opportunity of committing sacrilege against philosophy.' Accordingly, he retired betimes with all his property, not forgetting his *batterie de cuisine*,[4] to Chalcis in Eubœa, the native place of his maternal ancestors, where, no doubt, he had some personal friends. In his absence the Athenians rescinded a decree which had been made in his honour, and added the insulting imputation that he had acted as a Macedonian spy.[5] This derogatory treatment he received in a spirit worthy of a great philosopher. 'My mind is so constituted,' he said, 'that I neither care very much about these things, nor on the other hand do I altogether disregard them.'[6]

---

[1] *Idem, ibid.* : οἱ μὲν παῖδες ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατελεύσθησαν· τὸν δὲ σοφιστὴν ἐγὼ κολάσω καὶ τοὺς ἐκπέμψαντας αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑποδεχομένους ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας.

[2] Diodorus, XIX. 11. Plutarch, *ubi supra.*

[3] Phavorinus *apud Diog.* 5, p. 303 C. Ælian, *Var. Hist.* III. 36. Aristocles *apud Euseb. Præp. Ev.* XV. 2. Origen *c. Celsum* I. p. 51.

[4] It is said that he took no less than 75 copper saucepans to Chalcis (Aristocles *apud Eusebium*, ubi supra).

[5] Aristocles, u.s.

[6] Ælian, *Var. Hist.* XIX. 1: οὕτως ἔχω ὡς μήτε μοι σφόδρα μέλειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μήτε μηδὲν μέλειν.

It was in B.C. 323 that Aristotle retired to Eubœa, and he lived there only a few months, for he died of some illness, probably a disease of the intestines,[1] in the following year, shortly after his great contemporary Demosthenes, also an exile from Athens, was obliged to save himself from a worse fate by taking poison at Calauria. It is scarcely worth while to notice the absurd stories that Aristotle also committed suicide by drinking hemlock, or by throwing himself into the Euripus, because he could not discover the cause of the seven tides there. By his wife Pythias he left behind him a daughter named after her mother, who married (1.) Nicanor, son of Proxenus, and adopted son of Aristotle; (2.) Procles, a lineal descendant of the Spartan king Demaratus, by whom she had two sons, Procles and Demaratus, both scholars of Theophrastus; (3.) Metrodorus, a physician, by whom she had a son called Aristotle. Aristotle also left an infant son called Nicomachus, by his concubine Herpyllis; he became a scholar of Theophrastus, and died in battle at an early age.

An abstract of Aristotle's will, or a codicil to it, is preserved by Diogenes. It is a very interesting document. It makes no mention of his literary property and his valuable library, which Strabo tells us[2] were left to Theophrastus. Antipater, Theophrastus, and four others are designated as provisionary executors, until Nicanor's return to take possession.

Aristotle's person is described by Timotheus.[3] He had some bodily defects or deformities, and made the most of himself by a diligent attention to his dress. In fact, he was no Cynic. In his private character he was extremely amiable and exemplary. His worth as a philosopher will be best exhibited if we take a general survey of his writings.

§ 2. In looking at a mere catalogue of the works of Aristotle, we must be struck at once with the vast range of his knowledge. He aimed at nothing less than the completion of a general

---

[1] Censorinus (*De die natali*, c. 14) speaks of his 'naturalem stomachi infirmitatem crebrasque morbidi corporis offensiones' as of long duration.

[2] XIII. p. 124.

[3] περὶ βίων apud Diog. V. p. 300 B. 'He had a lisping utterance, thin legs, little eyes, but wore a handsome dress, and rings, and shaved carefully.'

encyclopædia of philosophy.[1] He had divided the collective acquirements of his age into their several branches, and had formed his own opinion on every one of them. In all this mass of learning his originality is as remarkable as his powers of research. He was, in fact, the author of the first scientific cultivation of each science, and he digested all the materials that he found so as to reproduce them in a manner peculiar to himself. There was hardly any quality distinguishing a philosopher as such, which he did not possess in an eminent degree. We cannot indeed compare him with Bacon and the experimental philosophers of modern Europe; and any such comparison would be quite unfair. But he was undoubtedly a great observer, and in this respect he stands in favourable contrast to all who preceded him, not excepting Plato. Above all, we must be struck with the great sobriety of his speculations, a sobriety which is found in none of the elder schools, and is set at nought by the poetical genius of the great founder of the Academy. This indeed is so marked a feature in Aristotle, that some have reckoned it among his defects, and have attributed to it the dryness of his style, and the jejuneness of his expositions.

The interest which, from an early period, attached itself to the works of Aristotle, led to the adoption of a very strange story about their preservation. They are said to have been buried under ground, and not brought to light for some 200 years after the writer's death. This story rests mainly on a passage in Strabo,[2] which Plutarch partly confirms,[3] though perhaps only on the authority of Strabo himself. This geographer tells us that Aristotle's works were sold by the descendants of Neleus of Scepsis, who had got them from Theo-

[1] It must be remarked that, though Aristotle has attempted the *thing*, the barbarous name *encyclopædia* is not due to him. The ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, or *orbis doctrinæ* (Quintil. *Inst. Or.* I. 10, § 101), corresponding generally to the seven liberal arts of the middle ages, was first described in these terms by the later Greek writers. Aristotle uses ἐγκύκλιος in the sense of 'trivial, vulgar, common-place, routine, ordinary' (see *Pol.* I. 7, § 2, *Meteor.* I. 1). The idea that Aristotle wrote a treatise 'on the elements of general knowledge' (περὶ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας) seems to be a mere inference of Diogenes and the commentators from such passages as *Eth. Nic.* I. 5. § 6: ἱκανῶς γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις εἴρηται περὶ αὐτῶν, where the reference is to the λόγοι ἐξωτερικοί.

[2] XIII. p. 124. [3] *Vita Sullæ*, c. 26.

phrastus, to one Apellicon of Teos, a book collector, after they had been lying for many years in a cellar under ground; that immediately after the death of Apellicon, Sulla, having taken Athens, got possession of Apellicon's library, and sent it to Rome, where Aristotle's books fell into the hands of Tyrannio the grammarian, who undertook an edition of them. Plutarch, who repeats the principal part of this story, adds that Andronicus the Rhodian published tables of the contents of Aristotle's works (πίνακες) from the edition of Tyrannio. This is the whole authority for the story, which is completely overthrown both by direct testimony, and by valid inferences. In the first place, we have the statement of Athenæus, a learned and diligent collector, who, as an Egyptian Greek, was well acquainted with Alexandrian bibliography, and who says[1] that Ptolemy Philadelphus bought the whole of the works of Aristotle from Neleus, who had preserved them, and carried them away to his beautiful Alexandria. This statement is confirmed by the fact that Aristotle was included in the canon of classical writers. Then, again, the Scholia on Aristotle, which were compiled out of a variety of works of the Alexandrian school, often refer to the works of Aristotle, coupled with the name of an Alexandrian writer; and this amounts almost to a direct proof that Aristotle's works were known at Alexandria. Then, again, the encyclopædic form of Aristotle's writings shows that they would be published altogether, if published at all. Then, again, the polemics of Xenocrates, who defended Plato's doctrine of ideas against Aristotle, and of Chrysippus, who attacked many of Aristotle's doctrines, show that Aristotle's works must have been extant and available. Lastly, Cicero makes such frequent mention of Aristotle, and so directly refers to the degeneracy of the later Peripatetics,[2] that he could not have failed to allude to the recent appearance of

[1] Athen. I. p. 3 D. After mentioning a number of book collectors, including Aristotle, he adds: καὶ τὸν τὰ τούτων διατηρήσαντα βιβλία Νηλέα· παρ' οὗ πάντα πριάμενος ὁ ἡμεδαπὸς βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος, Φιλάδελφος δὲ ἐπίκλην, μετὰ τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥόδου εἰς τὴν καλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετήγαγε.

[2] *De Finibus*, V. 5, 12, 13: 'teneamus Aristotelem et ejus filium Nicomachum. Theophrastum tamen adhibeamus ad pleraque. Simus igitur contenti his; namque horum posteri, meliores illi quidem quam reliquarum philosophi disciplinarum, *sed ita degenerant*, ut ipsi ex se nati esse videantur.'

Aristotle's works, if the want of this source of information had been the true explanation of the fact, that the successors of Theophrastus exhibited no family likeness to the founder of the school. Still there must have been some grounds for the story which finds a place in the pages of such an accurate writer as Strabo; and we may conclude with safety, that Apellicon of Teos really became possessed of an autograph of Aristotle's works, and that the later Peripatetics knew but little of the works of their master, not because they were in a cellar at Scepsis, but because they were more common at Alexandria than at Athens, and because they were considered too abstruse and too voluminous for general use.

In speaking of the arrangement of Aristotle's works as they have come down to us, we are first led to the well known distinction of the *esoteric* and *exoteric* writings, by which we generally understand the more scientific and recondite, as opposed to the more popular and superficial treatises. It was in reference to this division of Aristotle's works that Lucian, in his auction of lives, puts the philosopher up for sale as 'a double man,'[1] and Cicero often refers[2] to the *exoteric* works of Aristotle. There is no use of the word *esoteric* in the writings of Aristotle himself, and when he employs the word *exoteric*, he does not refer to a special class of his writings, but to a discussion which is extrinsic and foreign to the subject before him, so that the phrase, 'this has been treated of in the exoteric discourses,' merely means 'this has been discussed elsewhere.'[3] It is true that in the *Eudemian Ethics*, which were drawn up by his pupil Eudemus, the epithet *exoteric* is opposed to the definition, 'according to philosophy,' *i.e.* 'scientific.'[4] And there can be little doubt that, after the time of Andronicus of Rhodes,

---

[1] *Vitarum Auctio*, c. 26: *Emtor.* ποῖος δέ τις ἐστί; *Merc.* μέτριος, ἐπιεικής, ἁρμόδιος τῷ βίῳ, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον διπλοῦς. *Emtor.* πῶς λέγεις; *Merc.* ἄλλος μὲν ὁ ἔκτοσθεν φαινόμενος, ἄλλος δὲ ὁ ἔντοσθεν εἶναι δοκεῖ· ὥστε ἦν πρίῃ αὐτὸν μέμνησο τὸν μὲν ἐσωτερικόν, τὸν δὲ ἐξωτερικὸν καλεῖν.

[2] *De Finibus*, V. 5, § 12. *ad Att.* IV. 16, § 2. *et alibi.*

[3] *Eth. Nic.* I. 13, § 9. *Met.* M. p. 1076 a 28: τεθρύλληται γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν λόγων.

[4] *Eth. Eudem.* I. 8, § 4: ἐπέσκεπται δὲ πολλοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν τρόποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν.

the works of Aristotle were technically distinguished into the *acroamatic*, or *autoprosopic* writings, which were systematic treatises, addressed to duly prepared hearers, and delivered in the writer's own person, and the *exoteric*, or *dialogical*, which were occasional and desultory essays, in the form of dialogues. This division does not apply to the works as we now have them, for they are all in the writer's proper person, and all more or less scientific and methodical. We have only one original specimen of the Aristotelian dialogue, in a quotation of about thirty lines, preserved by Plutarch.[1] Cicero has given us translations of two other fragments.[2] We can see that in these light popular essays Aristotle adopted a style more like that of the Scolium on Virtue than that of the Nicomachean treatise on the same subject, and justified the expression of Cicero, who speaks of his 'pouring forth a golden stream of language.'[3] In seeking a proper arrangement of the *acroamatic* works which have come down to us entire, we may either adopt the classification of Ammonius or Simplicius, or make one for ourselves. These commentators, who agree in the main, the latter having been a pupil of the former, adopt a primary division of Aristotle's works into 'the particular' (τὰ μερικά), 'the general' (τὰ καθόλου), and 'the mixed' (τὰ μέσα or τὰ μεταξύ); the first being confined to the Epistles, the third to the Natural History, and the second including most of the extant writings. In this second class, the *hypomnematic* works, or draughts and notes of books, which Cicero calls *commentarii*,[4] are distinguished from the *syntagmatic*, or complete and formal treatises; and these latter, again, are discriminated as *exoteric* or dialogues, and *acroamatic*, *autoprosopic*, or treatises delivered *propriâ personâ*; then these latter, again, are *theoretical*, *practical*, and *organical*, *i.e.* referring to language as an instrument of thought. The *theoretical* are, *physiological*, *mathematical*, and *theological*. The *practical* include the treatises on *ethics*, *politics*, and *economics*. The *organical* com-

[1] *Consolatio ad Apollon.* p. 115 B; cf. *vita Dionis*, c. 22.

[2] *De Naturâ Deorum*, II. 37. *De Officiis*, II. 16.

[3] *Acad. Prior.* II. 38: 'veniet flumen orationis aureum fundens Aristoteles.'

[4] Cic. *De Fin.* V. 5.

prise the *logical, rhetorical,* and *critical* treatises.[1] It seems to us that the order most convenient, in a general review of this great and diversified contribution to Greek literature, will be one analogous to that which we have adopted in discussing the works of Plato. We shall first consider Aristotle's treatises on the history of philosophy, and the books in which he directly exhibits his own views of metaphysics and psychology. This includes what he calls *theologia,* and 'the first philosophy.' We then pass on to the logic, which he substituted for the dialectics of the Socratic School, and the rhetorical and critical discussions, which he considered as correlative to it. In the next place, as in Plato's system, we shall consider his ethical and political writings. Then will follow his speculations in natural history and general physics; and the miscellaneous works may be considered in the light of an appendix.

§ 3. The title of *Metaphysics* (*μετὰ τὰ φυσικά*) was conferred, long after Aristotle's time, on a collection of treatises more or less connected, in which the philosopher had given a sketch of the views of his predecessors, and expounded his own, on some of the primary subjects of general speculation. The name denoted merely the place 'after the physical treatises,'

[1] The following is the arrangement of Simplicius (Stahr, *Aristotelia,* II. p. 260):—

I. *τὰ μερικά.* (As the treatise on Monarchy.)

II. *τὰ μέσα.* (As the Natural History.)

III. *τὰ καθόλου.*

1. *ὑπομνηματικά.*
   - *α. μονοειδῆ.*
   - *β. ποικίλα.*

2. *συνταγματικά.*
   - *α. αὐτοπρόσωπα.*
   - *β. διαλογικά.*

α. θεωρητικά.
- *α'. θεολογικά.*
- *β'. φυσιολογικά.*
- *γ'. μαθηματικά.*

β. πρακτικά.
- *α'. ἠθικά.*
- *β'. οἰκονομικά.*
- *γ'. πολιτικά.*

γ. ὀργανικά.
- *α'. περὶ τῆς ἀποδεικτικῆς μεθόδου.* (Analyt. Post.)
- *β'. περὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς ἀποδεικτικῆς μεθόδου.* (Analyt. pr. Interpr. Categoriæ.)
- *γ'. περὶ τῶν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ὑποδυομένων.* (Topica, Sophist. Elench. Rhet.)

assigned to this book in certain arrangements of the philosopher's works,[1] but has become a general designation for formal treatises on the subject of mental philosophy, and for that branch of study itself. If Aristotle had given a name to all these treatises he would perhaps have included them under the general head of 'wisdom,' (*σοφία*), by which he meant 'the theory of the first elements and causes of things, including the good and the motives of action;'[2] and this would be our definition of the modern term *Metaphysics*, namely, the 'investigation of the causes and principles of things, as far as reason can penetrate and arrange them.'[3] Considered as the first and highest of all branches of speculation, Aristotle would term this 'the first or mother science,' (*ἡ πρώτη σοφία, φιλοσοφία, ἐπιστήμη*), and with reference to its supremacy he would identify it with *theology*, (*ἡ θεολογική*),[4] though perhaps, in the order of study, he would place it, like his commentators, after the contemplation of visible nature.[5] That there is no inconsistency in thus viewing the question from two sides, he has fully explained in a remarkable passage. He says:[6] 'If there is no existence distinct from the concrete realities of nature, physics must be the first science. But if there is an immutable existence, it must take precedence of the former, and its science must be the first, and because it is the first it must also be the universal science. And it must pertain to this philosophy to contemplate existence as such, both in its proper definition and in its essential attributes.' Accordingly, what we call the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle includes what Plato meant by his *Dialectic* and the theory of ideas to which it led. Aristotle, however, used *Dialectic* in a much narrower sense than Plato. In one passage, he says that 'dialectic is merely tentative, where philosophy is cognizant, and

---

[1] Especially in that of Andronicus the Rhodian. See Michelet, *Examen Critique de l'Ouvrage d'Aristote intitulé Metaphysique*. Paris, 1836, p. 20.

[2] *Met.* I. 2, p. 982, b 9: *δεῖ γὰρ ταύτην (σοφίαν) τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν καὶ αἰτιῶν εἶναι θεωρητικήν· καὶ γὰρ τἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα ἓν τῶν αἰτίων ἐστίν.*

[3] Butler's *Lectures on Ancient Philosophy*, I. p. 74.

[4] *Met.* XI. 5, p. 1061, b 5.

[5] He gives the three speculative sciences in this order: *Mathematics, Physics, Theology* (*Met.* VI. 1, p. 1026, a 19): *ὥστε τρεῖς ἂν εἶεν φιλοσοφίαι θεωρητικαί, μαθηματική, φυσική, θεολογική.*

[6] *Met.* V. 1, p. 1026 a 29.

sophistic merely assumes an appearance while it abandons the reality.'[1] In another he defines the dialecticians as merely 'those who syllogistically develope the contradictions implied in popular notions,' and even makes dialectic one of the four methods of conversational discussion, (τὸ διαλέγεσθαι).[2] The metaphysical speculations of Aristotle reduce themselves in a great measure to a refined system of scientific terminology. Indeed, one of the fourteen books in our collection is confined to definitions, and may be even considered as a special tract on the subject.[3] In discussing the theories of others, he tests them by their views respecting the four principles of things, namely the *formal*, the *material*, the *efficient*, and the *final*. The four causes are thus described:[4] 'One of these causes we call the *substance*, (οὐσία), and the *what-it-was-to-be* (τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι), for the *wherefore* (τὸ διὰ τί) is the last point in the definition, though it is really the cause and the first principle, because it is necessarily antecedent;[5] the second cause we call the *material* (ὕλη), and the subject (ὑποκείμενον); the third, we call that whence is the beginning of the movement; the fourth, the opposite of this, namely, the motive (τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα) and the good,—for this is the end of all generation and change.' We thus see that the formal or ideal cause is the 'definition real,' which forms the basis of Plato's theory of ideas. And the phrase 'the what-it-was-to-be,' which Aristotle invented to describe the abstract or general term, which was antecedent to any particular or concrete exis-

[1] *Met.* IV. 2, p. 1004, b 25: ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ διαλεκτικὴ πειραστικὴ περὶ ὧν ἡ φιλοσοφία γνωριστική, ἡ δὲ σοφιστικὴ φαινομένη, οὖσα δ' οὔ.

[2] *Sophist. Elench.* 2.

[3] Aristotle seems to refer to *Met.* IV. [V.] under the title of τὰ περὶ τοῦ ποσαχῶς λέγεται, cf. *Met.* V. [VI.] 4, 1028, a 4; VI. [VII.] 1, 1028, a 10; IX. [X.] 1, 1052, a 15.

[4] *Met.* I. 3, p. 983, a 26. Mr. R. L. Ellis observes in a note to Bacon, *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, lib. III. cap. IV. p. 550: 'These four kinds of causes may be divided into two classes, extrinsic and intrinsic, the *efficient* and *final* belonging to the first class, the *material* and *formal* to the second. It is obvious that these distinctions involve the postulate of what has been called the theory of physical influence, that is, that one substance really acts on another, and must at least be modified, if we adopt any such theory on this subject as that of Leibnitz or of Herbart.'

[5] 1. 28: ἀνάγεται γὰρ τὸ διὰ τί εἰς τὸν λόγον ἔσχατον, αἴτιον δὲ καὶ ἀρχὴ τὸ διὰ τί πρῶτον. Here it is obvious that ἔσχατον is a secondary predicate and must be construed with ἀνάγεται, and that πρῶτον is to be similarly taken with τὸ διὰ τί, 'the *wherefore*, as being the first, is the cause and the first principle.'

tence, merely indicates the πρώτη οὐσία or abstraction which belongs to all things capable of definition.[1] By the use of the past tense in this phrase, Aristotle indicates that the formal cause has only an inferential existence,[2] whereas by the phrase 'the what-it-is' (τὸ τί ἐστι), he implies not only the formal cause or abstract idea, but all the particulars of the definition, all, in fact, that is included in the category of *entity* or *quiddity*.[3] It is also a special part of Aristotle's business in these speculations, to establish the distinction between the *virtual* or *potential* and the *actual* state of things. The eighth book of the *Metaphysics* is mainly occupied with this discussion. A thing exists *potentially* or *virtually* (δυνάμει), when it *may* be made to exist actually (ἐνεργείᾳ). Thus the statue is *virtually* in the wood before it is *actually* a representation of Hermes or any other god.[4] From this opposition of the *virtual* to the *actual*, combined with the view which Aristotle takes of the formal cause, we get his celebrated term *Entelechy* (ἐντελέχεια) or completeness, which is, to a certain extent, synonymous with *substance* (οὐσία), distinguished from *actuality* (ἐνέργεια), and opposed to *matter* (ὕλη). The formal cause is an *entelechy*, the definition of that which exists potentially is an *entelechy*, and the soul is the primary *entelechy* of a natural body virtually alive.[5]

The proper arrangement and mutual relations of the books called the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle have formed the subject of much discussion among scholars. The following conclusions, adopted by the latest editor, seem, on the whole, to be quite

---

[1] *Met.* VI. [VII.] 4, p. 1030 a 6: τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι ἐστιν ὅσων ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν ὁρισμός. 1030 b 4: ἐκεῖνο δὲ φανερὸν ὅτι ὁ πρώτως καὶ ἁπλῶς ὁρισμὸς καὶ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐστίν.

[2] See *New Cratylus*, §§ 192, 343, 344.

[3] *Met.* VI. [VII.] 10, p. 1035 a 2: οὐσία ἥ τε ὕλη, καὶ τὸ εἶδος, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτων.

[4] *Met.* VIII. [IX.] 6, p. 1048 a 30. See *New Cratylus*, § 341.

[5] See the passages quoted in the *New Cratylus*, §§ 337—344. Perhaps the word 'completeness' is the only single term which can be accepted as an equivalent for ἐντελέχεια. If we were not restricted to a single term, we might call it 'an organizing force.' Mr. Maurice says (*Ancient Philosophy*, p. 191): 'εἶδος expresses the substance of each thing viewed in repose—its form or constitution; ἐνέργεια, its substance considered as active and generative; ἐντελέχεια seems to be the synthesis or harmony of these two ideas. The *effectio* of Cicero therefore represents the most important side of it, but not the whole.' We fear that this explanation will not be very intelligible to an ordinary reader.

satisfactory.[1] The fourteen books of the *Metaphysics* are generally distinguished by the first thirteen letters of the Greek alphabet; the first and second, however, being designated as Α μεῖζον and α̂ ἔλαττον.[2] Now it appears that Books A, B, Γ, E, Z, H, Θ, exhibit a continuous and connected development of one and the same argument. Book A treats of 'wisdom' (σοφία), and of the principles which it involves, and criticizes the systems of the philosophers who preceded Aristotle. Book B discusses seventeen problems in ontology. Book Γ treats of the unity of science. Book E investigates substance or entity. Books Z, H, and Θ, are occupied with concrete reality, the substantial form, the universal actuality and virtuality. The subject of Books B, Γ, E, is briefly sketched in Book K, chapters 1—8. The same discussion is also the subject of Books I, M, and N, which treat of unity, ideas, and numbers. Book Λ, which treats of God or 'the good,' does not belong to the general question of the primary philosophy, but contains a special treatise. Book Δ is a genuine tract of Aristotle, but does not belong to the metaphysical works. It is inserted among these books, and immediately before Book E, which refers to the discussion περὶ τῶν ποσαχῶς λεγομένων, because it seemed to be a convenient appendix or supplement to them. It is by no

---

[1] *Aristotelis Metaphysica recognovit et enarravit* Hermannus Bonitz. Bonn. 1848. The views maintained by Bonitz are, in the main, the same as those put forth by Brandis.

[2] The following table will show the different arrangements of the *Metaphysica*, and the different modes of citing the books; see Blakesley's *Life of Aristotle*, p. 156.

Greek MSS.	Du Val.	Petitus.	Diogenes Laërtius.
A I.	1	5	περὶ ἀρχῶν δ.
α II.	2	3	περὶ ἐπιστημῶν δ.
B III.	3	6	περὶ ἀρχῶν β'.
Γ IV.	4	4	περὶ ἐπιστημῶν β'.
Δ V.	5	1	περὶ τῶν ποσαχῶς λεγομένων.
E VI.	6	7	
Z VII.	7	8	περὶ εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν.
H VIII.	8	9	περὶ ὕλης. } not mentioned
Θ IX.	9	10	περὶ ἐνεργείας. } by Diogenes.
I X.	10	2	ἡ ἐκλογὴ τῶν ἐναντίων.
K XI.	13	14	περὶ ἐπιστήμης.
Λ XII.	14	13	περὶ φιλοσοφίας δ.
M XIII.	11	11	περὶ φιλοσοφίας β'.
N XIV.	12	12	περὶ φιλοσοφίας γ'.

means certain that Book *a* was written by Aristotle, and some have attributed it to his scholar Pasicles the Rhodian; at any rate it is out of its place in this collection, and is merely a brief essay on truth. The latter half of Book K, chapters 9—12, is an extract carelessly made by some later writer from Aristotle's *Physica Auscultatio*. On the whole, then, it may be said, that we have seven continuous books, interpolated with a tract probably written by some scholar of Aristotle, and with a book of definitions by Aristotle himself; that these are followed by a book (I,) connected, but not immediately, with them, by a recapitulation (K, 1—8) of the three which follow the first (B, Γ, E,) by a careless extract from the physical works (K, 9—12), by a special treatise on theology (Λ,) and by two books, (M, N,) whose place in the first seven cannot be accurately determined.[1]

Aristotle's mental philosophy, in connexion with his physical science, forms the subject of a special treatise concerning the soul (περὶ ψυχῆς) in three books.[2] In this work, as in his *Metaphysics*, the philosopher begins with a criticism on the systems of his predecessors, which occupies the greater part of the first book. In the second book he enters on the distinction between soul and body, and all the principal questions connected with the theory of sensation. And here we are at once brought back to the phraseology on which he dwells so much in the metaphysical books. A body, from its conformation, has a *potentiality* or *virtuality* of existence.[3] Its *entelechy* or completeness is the soul. But even when animated by the soul, and so, completely alive, it may have a dormant instead of an operating activity, it may have *entelechy* (ἐντελέχεια) without *energy* (ἐνέργεια), *completeness* without *actuality*. The soul then is the primary or antecedent completeness of the body, which is virtually alive;[4] it is that which informs the material

---

[1] Mr. Maurice has drawn up an able review of the *Metaphysica* in his *Ancient Philosophy*, chapter VI. § 5, pp. 178—198.

[2] There is a full analysis of this book in Butler's *Lectures on Ancient Philosophy*, II. pp. 370 foll.

[3] All substance consists of matter and form, and the matter is a δύναμις or capacity, but the form is an *entelechy* or completeness (*De Animâ*, II. 1, 2).

[4] διὸ ψυχὴ ἐστιν ἐντελέχεια ἡ πρώτη σώματος φυσικοῦ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος,

(ὕλη), and makes the actuality of life inevitable, whenever there is the corresponding exertion. If the eye were an animal, the faculty of vision would be its soul, its *entelechy*, or completeness, and this would not be less real and complete if the eyelid were closed over it, though in that case it would not *actually* see. Without its *entelechy*, the eye could not be truly called by this name, but only homonymously so.[1] The soul, then, is something necessarily pertaining to the body, and 'each soul is in its own proper body; for such is the nature of things, that the *entelechy* or completeness of each thing is in that particular thing which virtually exists;'[2] and thus the form (εἶδος) is always necessarily inherent in its own proper matter (ὕλη). These definitions at once connect themselves with Aristotle's views respecting the gradations of organic beings, and his subdivisions of the human soul into the vegetable, the rational, and the partly rational.[3] The intellect he regards as both passive and active (*νοῦς ποιητικός, νοῦς παθητικός*).[4] The latter *makes*, the former *becomes* all things. Taken together, he regards it as recipient or susceptible of general impressions or forms. But the soul is so connected with the body that it cannot act without the aid of the senses, or of that imagination which retains the pictures of perception without the materials (ὕλη). As we are not writing a history of Greek philosophy, it is sufficient merely to indicate the tendency of these psychological speculations, and to show how diametrically they are opposed to that doctrine of the soul's independent existence which forms a key to the philosophy of Plato.

§ 4. From a consideration of the soul and its functions, we pass on to language as the instrument of thought. By his labours in this field—his *organic* works, as they are called—Aristotle has obtained the foremost place among those who have attempted the solution of the problem of logic; and though in the appli-

---

τοιοῦτο δὲ ὃ ἂν ᾖ ὀργανικόν (*De Animâ*, II. 1, § 5); and again: εἰ δή τι κοινὸν ἐπὶ πάσης ψυχῆς δεῖ λέγειν εἴη ἂν ἐντελέχεια ἡ πρώτη σώματος φυσικοῦ ὀργανικοῦ (ibid. § 6.).

[1] *Ibid.* § 9: εἰ γὰρ ἦν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ζῷον ψυχὴ ἂν ἦν αὐτοῦ ἡ ὄψις κ. τ. λ.

[2] *Ibid.* II. 2, § 14, 15: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν σώματι ὑπάρχει καὶ ἐν σώματι τοιούτῳ . . . . ἑκάστου γὰρ ἡ ἐντελέχεια ἐν τῷ δυνάμει ὑπάρχοντι καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὕλῃ πέφυκεν ἐγγίνεσθαι.

[3] See below, § 6.

[4] *De Animâ*, III.

cation of his principles of reasoning to the discovery of truth by induction, Aristotle's system was altogether defective, and his *Organon* was necessarily superseded by the *Novum Organon* of Francis Bacon,[1] his regulation of the laws of speech is still admitted to be sound and valid, and his analytical treatises are the basis, at all events, of all that modern science has attempted in the same field. We have seen[2] how Plato was led to his dialectical conclusions by an examination of the opposing systems of the Heracleiteans and Eleatics, and that his main object was to obtain a criterion of truth and science. Among those who admitted that there must be such a criterion, he found that some, like Heracleitus and Protagoras, maintained that every man was to himself the standard of truth; others, like Parmenides, required a scientific cultivation before any man could come to a true judgment. Plato inclined to this class, and Aristotle would not accept the famous maxim of Protagoras except on the condition that the sense and reason were in a perfect and healthy condition.[3] Still less could Aristotle adopt the Heracleitean hypothesis, that all things were in a state of perpetual flux or motion, so that nothing could be considered as in the same state for two successive moments. If this were so, the primary axiom of reasoning—the same thing cannot be and not be[4]—would fail to establish itself, for we might connect contradictory predicates with the same subject at inappreciable intervals of time. Aristotle's logic, then, like Plato's dialectic, rested upon a previous examination of the general questions of ontology, hypothesis, axioms, and causation. But while Plato considered dialectics as including metaphysics or philosophy as well as the principles of reasoning, Aristotle, as we have seen,

---

[1] The *Novum Organon* had an antagonistic reference to the *Organon* of Aristotle, just as the *New Atlantis* entered into professed rivalry with the *Critias* of Plato. On Bacon's design in his great philosophical works, the English reader can now consult the admirable introductions of R. L. Ellis, and J. Spedding.

[2] Above, chapter XXXIX. § 7.

[3] *Met.* X. 1, p. 1053 a 35. XI. 6, p. 1062 b 12.

[4] *Met.* III. 3, p. 1005, b. 23: ἀδύνατον ὀντινοῦν ταὐτὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι. *Analyt. Pr.* I. 40: φάσις καὶ ἀπόφασις οὐχ ὑπάρχουσιν αἱ ἀντικείμεναι ἅμα τῷ αὐτῷ . . . . . κατὰ παντὸς ἑνὸς ἡ φάσις ἢ ἀπόφασις ἀληθής. *Analyt. Post.* I. 25: διὰ γὰρ τὴν κατάφασιν ἡ ἀπόφασις γνώριμος καὶ προτέρα ἡ κατάφασις ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ εἶναι τοῦ μὴ εἶναι.

discussed the primary philosophy in a separate work, and examined the laws of reasoning by themselves.

The logical works of Aristotle consist of the following treatises:—The *Categories*, the book on *Interpretation*, the former and latter *Analytics*, the *Topics*, and the *Sophistical Proofs*. These five treatises, together with Porphyry's introduction to the first of them, are generally called the *Organon*. The *Categories* are a list of the ten most general forms under which separate terms may serve as the subject or predicate of a proposition.[1] This list seems to be founded chiefly on grammatical considerations;[2] and the categories, according to the instances which Aristotle has given of them, are merely a syntactical arrangement of certain parts of speech. The first, or the category of substance or *quiddity*, includes nouns substantive; the next three, *quantity*, *quality*, and *relation*, are different sorts of adjectives; the 5th and 6th are adverbs of place and time; and the last four are verbs considered as intransitive (7th), perfect passive or the effect of action (8th), active (9th), and passive (10th). Adrastus wished to regard the *Categories* as an introduction to the *Topics* (τὰ πρὸ τῶν τοπικῶν), and the latter does contain an enumeration of the six *categoremata* or predicables which are supplementary to the ten *categories* or predicaments; but Porphyry rejected this appellation, and it seems better to consider the *Categories* as the treatise on separate terms, which precedes the *Interpretation* or treatise on propositions, and forms a preface to the whole body of logical books. This essay on *Interpretation* is a discussion of nouns and verbs considered as the necessary parts of an enunciation or sentence. We have seen that this

[1] Ritter says that 'the categories according to Aristotle are the most general forms of that which is denoted by the simple word;' Hegel defines them as 'simple essences, universal designations' (*Bestimmungen*); Biese as brief definite data (*Angaben*), which are to be considered in the investigation of the question; Quintilian (II. 6. § 23) says: 'Aristoteles *elementa* decem constituit circa quæ versari videatur omnis quæstio.' According to Waitz, the last editor of the *Organon*, κατηγορία in Aristotle means (1) *quodcunque prædicatur*, (2) *genera eorum quæ prædicantur*, (3) *ipsa prædicandi ratio*, (4) *propositio simplex*. Κατηγορία and κατηγόρημα are sometimes used as synonyms; Simplicius, fol. 36, distinguishes them as λέξις and πρᾶγμα. See also Plotinus, *De categ. Ennead.* IV. 1.

[2] *New Cratylus*, § 125. Trendelenburg, *Geschichte der Categorienlehre*, Berlin, 1846, pp. 384 foll.

analysis of the sentence was adopted by Plato, and that ὄνομα, the 'name' or 'noun,' was the original designation of the subject, and ῥῆμα, the 'assertion' or 'verb,' was the original designation of the predicate. From the complete sentence he passes on, in 'the former *Analytics*' (*Analytica Priora*), to a discussion of the syllogism, which implies the combination, by means of a middle term, of the three complete sentences, which involve the two premisses and their conclusion.[1] Here he falls back on the first principles of his metaphysical reasoning; for 'the principle involved in all syllogism is the *dictum de omni et nullo*, which is identical with the axiom or the principle of contradiction.'[2] The former *Analytics*, then, were well described in their old title, 'On the Syllogism' (περὶ συλλογισμοῦ). The latter *Analytics* are entitled 'On Demonstration' (περὶ ἀποδείξεως); and the whole work may be described, in the words of an English commentator, as falling into three divisions: (A) the generic branch, which treats of reasoning in general, whether the result is Opinion or Science; (B) the specific branch, which treats of reasoning, the result of which is Science, Inductive or Deductive; (C) the specific branch, which treats of Dialectical reasoning, the result of which is Opinion. Or, as Induction is not sufficiently confined to scientific reasoning by Aristotle, whose topics are lax, and whose observation of phenomena was scanty and careless, we may say that the *Organon* may be 'divided into four parts—General Logic, the Logic of Deduction, the Logic of Induction, and the Logic of

[1] Aristotle's account of induction in the *Prior Analytics* was criticized by Dr. Whewell in 1850 (*Trans. of the Cambr. Phil. Soc.* vol. IX. part 1), and the text and reasoning of the philosopher were defended by Mr. H. A. J. Munro, of Trinity College, in a very able paper, which has not, we believe, been published. Mr. Munro says (p. 9): 'The object of Aristotle in his *Prior Analytics* is to give a technical exposition of the syllogism and its various moods and figures. In the concluding chapters of the work he maintains, in order to give his treatise a formal completeness, that any kind of proof may be put into the syllogistic form,' and thus he 'does not say that induction is a syllogism, but that any proof, and therefore induction, may be put into a syllogistic form.'

[2] *The Posterior Analytics of Aristotle*, by Edward Poste, Oxford, 1850, p. 8. Mr. Poste adds: 'When Dugald Stewart observes that the whole of the science of syllogism is comprised or implied in the terms of one single axiom, his assertion is quite correct, the doctrine of syllogism merely determining, on the authority of the axiom itself, under what conditions the axiom is applicable.'

Opinion; the third not sufficiently articulated and disengaged from the fourth, and hence the necessity of a *Novum Organon*.'[1] The *Topics*, which Cicero had studied so carefully that he was able to make an epitome of the book from memory in the course of a voyage from Velia to Rhegium,[2] is an examination of the different dialectical maxims or secondary axioms, from which we derive the middle terms of our syllogisms, and so frame the demonstrative argument; and the treatise on *Sophistical Proofs* (*περὶ σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων*)[3] is an analysis of the different forms of fallacy, with a view to their detection and confutation.

The *Organon*, as it has come down to us, does not include all or nearly all the books which Aristotle wrote on logic. The old commentators mention forty books attributed to the philosopher, many of which they rejected as not genuine.[4] Diogenes Laërtius enumerates about twenty logical treatises besides those that we have; he says that there were eight, or, as one manuscript has, ten books of the former *Analytics*.[5] The *Methodica*, in eight books, which are quoted in the *Rhetoric*,[6] may have been this very collection, and perhaps the same work is referred to in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

§ 5. The treatise on *Rhetoric* which has come down to us is apparently one of the latest of Aristotle's extant writings. His earlier work on the subject—the Συναγωγὴ Τεχνῶν—was rather a history of Rhetorical Literature, than a philosophical essay like that which we have, and was written probably during his first residence at Athens. Our present book refers to the *Politics*, which were a continuation of the *Ethics*, were written after the *Poetics*, and mention the death of Philip;[7] and it has

---

[1] Poste, *Posterior Analytics*, pp. 8, 32, 36.

[2] Cic. *Topica*, I. 5: 'itaque hæc, quum mecum libros non haberem, memoriâ repetita, in ipsâ navigatione conscripsi.' Mr. Maurice remarks (*Ancient Philosophy*, p. 174): 'To understand Aristotle rightly, the *Topics* should be read together with the three books on rhetoric. . . . . It (the *Rhetorica*) is closely connected with this work on probable arguments. The *Topics* are to it what the six books of Euclid are to a treatise on practical mechanics.'

[3] 'This work has a natural connexion with the *Topics*, as Aristotle himself remarks in the beginning of the last chapter of the second book."—Blakesley, *Life of Aristotle*, p. 144.

[4] Blakesley, u.s. [5] § 23. [6] I. 2, § 10.

[7] That the *Rhetoric* was written after the *Poetics* appears from the latter, c. 19: *ἐν τοῖς περὶ ῥητορικῆς κείσθω*. That the *Politics* followed the *Poetics* appears from

therefore been inferred by a modern critic that the *Rhetoric* must have been written about 330 B.C.[1] But although the existing treatise belongs to the last years of Aristotle's literary activity, it is quite clear that its subject was one of the earliest which engaged his attention both as a teacher and as a writer. It is also certain that he regarded it as a necessary supplement to his dialectical treatises. The book begins by defining rhetoric as the correlative (*ἀντίστροφος*) of dialectic;[2] and the author is at great pains to show how the rhetorical *enthymeme* (*ἐνθύμημα*) is related to the logical *syllogism*, the two modes of reasoning, though identical in their form, being different in their matter, because the topics or commonplaces of rhetoric do not admit of strictly scientific demonstration.[3] Aristotle, however, justly claims to have raised rhetoric to the rank of an applied science, or at least of an art resting on scientific principles. 'Those,' he says,[4] 'who have hitherto composed treatises on rhetoric (*τὰς τέχνας τῶν λόγων*) have introduced but little art into their systems. For the discussion of proofs (*πίστεις*) is the only part of their treatises that can be regarded as belonging to the art (*ἔντεχνον*); all the rest consists in merely accessory matter (*προσθῆκαι*). Besides, they say nothing about enthymemes, which are the substance of proofs, and busy themselves generally with extraneous discussions.' As might be expected from a work on which Aristotle has bestowed the results of his mature knowledge and literary experience, and the subject of which had always occupied his attention, the *Rhetoric* is one of the most perfect of his compositions. Diogenes quotes only two books, and it is possible that the first two were originally a separate treatise, to which the third

---

Pol. VIII. 7. B, 41. b, 39. The mention of the death of Philip in the *Politics* is in 8 (V.), 10. § 16.

[1] L. Spengel, *Munich Transactions*, VI, for 1852, p. 496.

[2] *Rhet.* I, 1: *ἡ ῥητορικὴ ἐστιν ἀντίστροφος τῇ διαλεκτικῇ· ἀμφότεραι γὰρ περὶ τοιούτων τίνων εἰσιν, ἃ κοινὰ τρόπον τινὰ ἁπάντων ἐστι γνωρίζειν καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιστήμης ἀφωρισμένης.* He defines rhetoric (I. 2, § 1) as: *δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρῆσαι τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν*, and says, I. 1, § 14: *οὐ τὸ πεῖσαι ἔργον αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ τὸ ἰδεῖν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πιθανὰ περὶ ἕκαστον.*

[3] I. 2, § 8. The relation of the *enthymeme* to the *syllogism* is well discussed in a paper on rhetoric in *Blackwood's Magazine* for December, 1827.

[4] I. 1, § 3.

was subsequently added as an appendix. This view is borne out by the divisions of the work.[1] The first two books treat of the doctrine of proofs (πίστεις), which Aristotle regarded as the most scientific part of his subject; and the third discusses the rules of diction (λέξις) and arrangement (τάξις). So that the first two teach *what* the rhetorician ought to say; the third *how* he ought to say it; and the three together comprise the three departments known to the Roman teachers of rhetoric as *inventio, elocutio,* and *dispositio.*[2] According to Aristotle, rhetoric is an offshoot of dialectics and politics:[3] of the former, because the *enthymeme* or oratorical syllogism, which is intended only to persuade, rests upon its dialectical parent, which is calculated to convince;[4] of the latter, because a knowledge of ethical philosophy is essential to the artificial preparation of an argument. As the enthymeme is an application of the syllogism, so the example (παράδειγμα) is the oratorical form of logical induction.[5] The inquiry about dispositions and

---

[1] The following is the general analysis of the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle.

Books I. and II. (*a*) ἐκ τίνων αἱ πίστεις ἔσονται.

I. 1, 2. Definitions.
3. Three provinces of rhetoric—deliberative, forensic, epideictic.
4–8. The deliberative.
9. The epideictic.
10–14. The forensic.
15. (*α*) Formal and inartificial proofs (ἄτεχνοι πίστεις)—laws, witnesses, agreements, torture, oaths.

II. 1. (*β*) Artificial proofs (ἔντεχνοι πίστεις): dependent (I) on the character of the speaker and the state of the hearer, (II) on the speech itself.
1–17. (I) Theory of the affections.
18–26. (II) The common proofs (κοιναὶ πίστεις).

Book III. (*b*) περὶ τὴν λέξιν.

III. 1–12. General remarks on oratorical style.
(*c*) πῶς χρὴ τάξαι τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου.
13–19. On the parts of the oration.

[2] Spengel, u.s. p. 477.

[3] I. 2, § 7: ὥστε συμβαίνει τὴν ῥητορικὴν οἱόν παραφυές τι τῆς διαλεκτικῆς εἶναι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἤθη πραγματείας, ἣν δίκαιόν ἐστι προσαγορεύειν πολιτικήν· διὸ καὶ ὑποδύεται ὑπὸ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἡ ῥητορική.

[4] Aristotle tells us that the γνώμη, or general sentiment, is μέρος ἐνθυμήματος (II. 20, § 1); for the causal sentence with γάρ, added to the γνώμη, makes an enthymeme or rhetorical argument (II. 21, § 2).

[5] I. 2, § 8: καλῶ δ' ἐνθύμημα μὲν ῥητορικὸν συλλογισμόν· παράδειγμα δὲ ἐπαγωγὴν

characters, which occupies the first seventeen chapters of the second book, is a valuable addition to Aristotle's moral philosophy; and it is a just tribute to the accurate observation of the Greek philosopher and the English dramatist, when attempts are made to exemplify the precepts of Aristotle by examples taken from Shakspere.[1]

It is interesting to consider the relations between the rhetorical system of Aristotle and those of Plato and Isocrates. Throughout the rhetoric there is a tacit reference both to the *Gorgias* and the *Phædrus*.[2] The latter especially, which contains Plato's views of scientific rhetoric, anticipates Aristotle's views in so many respects, that it would be surprising that he does not directly refer to it, if this circumstance were not explicable, according to the ancient rules of citation, by the fact that Aristotle so completely agreed with its general scope. When Plato says[3] that, 'as the power of speaking is just a sort of soul-leading (ψυχαγωγία), he who would be a rhetorician must know all the forms of the soul,' he states generally what Aristotle discusses in detail in the second book of his rhetoric.[4] And throughout the latter work we see a general recognition of the principles laid down by Plato. The great discrepancy between the master and pupil on this subject is suggested by the opposition between the favourable opinion respecting Isocrates, which is expressed in the *Phædrus*, and the well known antagonism between Aristotle and that orator. We have noticed above the reasons which have been advanced against the common opinion that the *Phædrus* was one of the earliest, if not the very earliest, of Plato's dialogues, and that therefore the opinion about Isocrates was really a prophecy, which he never fulfilled.[5] Plato and Aristotle might very well entertain different opinions

---

ῥητορικήν. The different kinds of examples are discussed in II. 20, and the enthymemes are considered in II. 21—26.

[1] We believe that a little book illustrating Aristotle's *Rhetoric* by extracts from Shakspere appeared at Oxford some twenty years ago.

[2] See Spengel, *ubi supra*, pp. 458 sqq.

[3] *Phædrus*, p. 271 C: ἐπειδὴ λόγου δύναμις τυγχάνει ψυχαγωγία οὖσα, τὸν μέλλοντα ῥητορικὸν ἔσεσθαι ἀνάγκη εἰδέναι, ψυχὴ ὅσα εἴδη ἔχει. Cf. 261 A: ἆρ' οὖν οὐ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἡ ῥητορικὴ ἂν εἴη ψυχαγωγία τις διὰ λόγων;

[4] *Rhet.* II. 1–17. Cf. Spengel, u.s. p. 466.

[5] Above, chapter XXXIX. § 6, pp. 221, 222 [61, 62].

respecting this orator, and their personal relations with him might have contributed to this discrepancy. There is no reason to doubt that Plato and Isocrates were on friendly terms; and it is distinctly stated that this was far from being the case with the latter and Aristotle. We have seen how Aristotle spoke of Isocrates,[1] and it has been inferred that the orator glanced at Aristotle in the passage of his *Panathenaicus*, where he speaks of 'certain vulgar Sophists of the Lyceum that professed to know everything,'[2] and in his fifth epistle, which is considered genuine, there is a direct attack on the philosopher.[3] It will be remarked, however, that there are no symptoms of hostility in the many references to Isocrates which are found in the *Rhetoric*. This frequency of citation has been explained by the fact that Aristotle was not himself a professed orator, like Anaximenes, and did not make examples;[4] so that he would naturally take his illustrations from the best known and most available specimens of the art.[5]

Diogenes Laertius gives a list of six rhetorical treatises attributed to Aristotle;[6] one is the collection (Συναγωγή) already referred to, another is a book called *Gryllus*, another is the *Rhetoric to Theodectes*, which is quoted as the *Theodectea*[7] in the third book of the great work, and the remaining three are merely designated as 'the art of rhetoric in two books,' 'the art in one book,' and 'another art in two books.' Diogenes does not mention the *Rhetoric to Alexander*, which is still preserved among Aristotle's writings, and which has been proved

---

[1] Above, p. 265 [105]. Spengel considers that the reproach in *Eth. Nic.* X. 10, 1181, 12, refers to the *Antidosis* of Isocrates, § 83.

[2] *Panathenaicus*, § 20, p. 236 D: ἀπαντήσαντες γάρ τινές μοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔλεγον ὡς ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ συγκαθεζομένων τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρες τῶν ἀγελαίων σοφιστῶν καὶ πάντα φασκόντων εἰδέναι καὶ τάχεως πανταχοῦ γιγνομένων. This speech was not finished till B.C. 340, when Aristotle was at the court of Philip, so that the reference to Aristotle and his friends must be quite general and perhaps retrospective.

[3] Spengel, *ubi supra*, pp. 472 sqq. [4] Spengel, p. 474.

[5] Demosthenes is quoted twice only, II. 23, § 3; III. 4, § 3. Lysias is referred to only once (III. 10, § 7), and Æschines, Antiphon, Andocides, Isæus, Hypereides, and Lycurgus, are not mentioned at all. He refers to orators of inferior reputation, like Cleophon, Mœrocles, Autocles, &c.

[6] See I. T. Buhlii *Argumentum librorum Aristotelis de Rhetoricâ*, prefixed to the Oxford edition, 1833; Spengel, u. s. p. 476.

[7] III. 9, § 9: αἱ δ' ἀρχαὶ τῶν περιόδων σχεδὸν ἐν τοῖς Θεοδεκτείοις ἐξηριθμηνται.

to be the work of his contemporary Anaximenes of Lampsacus.[1] It has been inferred also that the *Theodectea* was not written by Aristotle, but by his friend and scholar Theodectes.[2] The *Gryllus*, which is entirely lost, is cited by Quintilian as furnishing examples of Aristotle's subtlety.[3]

Aristotle's essay on the *Poetic Art* (περὶ ποιητικῆς) is a mere fragment, abounding in interpolations.[4] Some have supposed that it is an excerpt carelessly made from the two books *on Poets*, quoted by Macrobius.[5] It seems, however, that in its complete and original form it must have been quite as methodical and scientific as the *Rhetoric*. And it is a remarkable fact that, imperfect and fragmentary as the work now is, the *Poetic* was accepted as a sort of critical gospel at the very time when Aristotle's philosophical reputation was at its lowest point. His briefly expressed doctrine that poetry takes its rise in the tendency to imitation which is natural to man,[6] his hint that the drama originated in the recitations of the dithyrambic leaders,[7] and the laws of unity which he prescribed, were made

---

[1] This was first shown by Victorinus and Majoragius, and has been abundantly proved by Spengel (*Artium Scriptores*, p. 182 sqq.), who has edited the treatise, as 'Anaximenis Ars Rhetorica, quæ vulgo fertur Aristotelis ad Alexandrum, Turici et Vitoduri, 1844.'

[2] That Theodectes wrote a τέχνη is well known. It is referred to by his contemporary Antiphanes, the comic poet (*ap. Athen.* IV. p. 134 B):

ὁ τὴν Θεοδέκτου μόνος ἀνευρηκὼς τέχνην :

and is said by Suidas to have been written in verse: ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τέχνην ῥητορικὴν ἐν μέτρῳ. Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Φάσηλις. But the book was attributed to Aristotle at an early period; Quintilian speaks doubtfully on the subject (II. 15, § 10). The words in the spurious letter to Alexander (prefixed to the τέχνη of Anaximenes, p. 4, l. 23, Spengel) are quite unintelligible: 'aut ego stupidus,' says Spengel, 'et talpâ cæcior sum, qui nullum horum sensum videam, aut ineptus fuit auctor, qui quæ nemo intelligere posset scriberet.' On Theodectes in general the reader may consult Märcher, *De Theodectis Phaselitæ Vitâ et Scriptis Commentatio*, Vratislaviæ, 1835.

[3] II. 17, § 14: 'Aristoteles, ut solet, quærendi gratiâ quædam subtilitatis suæ argumenta excogitavit in *Gryllo*.'

[4] See F. Ritter's edition of this tract, *Coloniæ*, 1839, and our reprint of Twining's translation in the *Theatre of the Greeks*, ed. 6; and compare Spengel's essay in the *Munich Transactions*, 1837, II. pp. 209 sqq.

[5] *Saturnalia*, V. 18, § 19, p. 460, Jānus; and cf. Stahr, *Aristot. b. d. Römer*, pp. 190 sqq.

[6] I. § 2; see Raumer, in the *Berlin Transactions* for 1828.

[7] IV. § 12; see *Theatre of the Greeks*, ed. 6, pp. 13 sqq.

the texts for long disquisitions and complete works on the subject, at the time when Bacon's inductive philosophy had driven Aristotle's *Organon* out of the field, and stigmatized him as the author of a false and erroneous method. In spite of its mutilated condition,[1] this relic exhibits the genuine style of Aristotle, and justifies in a great measure even the exaggerated importance which has been attributed to it.

§ 6. Three works on the subject of moral philosophy are included in the extant collection of Aristotle's writings. They are generally distinguished as the *Ethica Nicomachea,* the *Ethica Eudemia,* and the *Magna Moralia.* Their comparative genuineness has formed the subject of a good deal of discussion. Cicero's supposition that the *Nicomachean Ethics* were not written by Aristotle, but by his son Nicomachus,[2] was probably occasioned merely by the title, which may be explained in many ways, and is, in itself, quite insignificant. Schleiermacher believed[3] that the *Magna Moralia* were a genuine work, and that the *Eudemian Ethics* were a report of Aristotle's lectures published by his pupils. All these treatises are noticed by Diogenes, and it is clear that they are all three of great antiquity. The most probable conclusion[4] is that the *Nicomachean Ethics* contain the authentic and original system of the philosopher himself; that the *Eudemian Ethics*[5] were the work of his pupil Eudemus of Rhodes; and that the *Magna Moralia* were merely a later extract from this second work.

Of all Aristotle's writings there is no one which retains its

---

[1] If we compare the tract as it stands with the design as stated in the first section, we shall see that the book originally contained discussions on comic and lyric poetry, which are now lost. To the lost remarks on comedy, Aristotle himself refers, in his *Rhet.* III. 18, § 7: εἴρηται πόσα εἴδη γελοίων ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ποιητικῆς.

[2] *De Finibus,* V. 5, § 12.

[3] Werke, III. *Abth. zur Philos.* vol. III. pp. 306 sqq.

[4] This is Spengel's view (*Munich Transactions,* vol. V. pp. 458 sqq.)

[5] The genuineness of books V. VI. VII. of the *Nicomachean Ethics,* which correspond to books IV. V. VI. of the *Eudemian Ethics,* has been well maintained by Bendixen in two articles on the seventh book of the former, in Schneidewin's *Philologus* for 1855, pp. 199, sqq., 263, sqq. He has called attention, *inter alia,* to the perpetual reminiscences of the seventh book in the *Politics* of Aristotle (p. 290), and this applies particularly to the main stumbling-block, *Eth. Nic.* VII. cc. 14, 15, for there is a distinct reference to c. 14, p. 1153 b 7—18 in the *Politics* IV. 11, p. 1295 a 35 (see Bendixen pp. 201, sqq.).

value and importance more entirely than the *Nicomachean Ethics*, especially if we consider them in connexion with his *Politics*. Indeed, this branch of philosophy has been retrograding rather than advancing. In point of systematic connexion the *Ethics* may hold a place by the side of any modern book on the subject, and the searching logic, with which it is sifted in the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas, shows the exactness and coherency of its framework. The great distinction between Aristotle and his predecessors, in regard to the discussion of moral philosophy, consists in the thoroughly practical view which he takes of happiness and virtue. Altogether rejecting the doctrine of Socrates, a doctrine partly adopted by Plato, that virtue consisted in the knowledge of what was right, Aristotle believed that a general knowledge of what was good might perfectly well consist with doing what was wrong in particular instances, under the influence of passion or inclination. And herein consists the distinction, on which he lays so much stress in his seventh book, between the man who is incontinent (ἀκρατής), that is, habitually unable to control his inclinations, and the man who is intemperate (ἀκόλαστος), that is, intentionally devoted to self-indulgence;[1] the former being much less vicious than the latter, more likely to regret a misdoing, and more open to correction and amendment.[2]

The *Nicomachean Ethics* are divided into ten books. It has been supposed by a German critic that the eighth and ninth books, which treat of friendship, formed a separate work, and that the discussion about pleasure in the tenth book was an addition by Aristotle's son, Nicomachus.[3] And an English

[1] In *Eth. Nic.* VII. 4, § 6, he says: 'some act from deliberate choice (προαιροῦνται), but others do not: so that the name of intemperate (ἀκόλαστος) should rather be given to him who, either without a passionate impulse, or with only a moderate one (ὅστις μηδ' ἐπιθυμῶν ἢ ἥρεμα), pursues excessive pleasures, and eschews moderate annoyances, than to him who does this under a strong inclination; for what would the other do, if a violent impulse were superadded, and some overpowering feeling of uneasiness in regard to necessary wants?'

[2] *Eth. Nic.* VII. 8, § 1: ἔστι δὲ ὁ μὲν ἀκόλαστος, ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη, οὐ μεταμελητικός, ἐμμένει γὰρ τῇ προαιρέσει· ὁ δ' ἀκρατὴς μεταμελητικὸς πᾶς· διὸ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἠπορήσαμεν, οὕτω καὶ ἔχει· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀνίατος, ὁ δὲ ἰατός.

[3] Pansch, *De Ethicis Nicomacheis*, Bonn, 1833. The eighth and ninth books of the *Ethics* have been published separately, as: Ἀριστοτέλης περὶ φιλίας, by A. T. H. Fritzsch, *Gissæ*, 1847.

scholar[1] has quite recently advanced the theory that the fifth, sixth, and seventh books were borrowed from the *Eudemian Ethics* to supply a gap which was observed in the treatise which bears the name of its editor Nicomachus, and that the essay on friendship, though by Aristotle himself, is an unessential adjunct, originally in the form of a special essay.

But these are mere conjectures, and it is not difficult to see that the work, as we have it, is a continuous essay, in three main subdivisions. The first part, which comprises the first and second books, and five chapters of the third, treats of the chief good and virtue; the second part, which includes the remainder of the third book, and the fourth, fifth, and sixth, discusses the different virtues; the third part, which contains the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth books, investigates the outward furniture of virtue, namely, continence, which belongs to the rational part of the soul, friendship, which pertains to the social appetite, and pleasure, which is referred to the instinct of self-preservation. And these points being discussed, the author returns to the subject of the first book, namely, happiness, and with an accurate recapitulation on this subject he passes on to the treatise on *Politics*.[2]

The *Nicomachean Ethics* begin with an inquiry respecting the ends of human action. The chief of these ends being admitted to be happiness, it is of course the main point to determine wherein happiness consists. It cannot be limited to pleasure, honour, or intellect, for these, though desirable on their own account, are chiefly sought on account of the felicity to which they contribute. Admitting the importance of external adjuncts, as the necessary furniture of good fortune, Aristotle is content to define happiness as 'an activity, operation, or function of the soul, in accordance with perfect virtue' (ἡ εὐδαιμονία ἐστι ψυχῆς ἐνέργειά τις κατ' ἀρετὴν τελείαν).[3] And hence it follows that the question respecting the ends of action resolves

[1] Sir Alexander Grant, in the introduction to his edition of the *Ethics*, London, 1857, p. 43. See also Mr. Munro's paper in the *Journal of Philology* for 1855, pp. 68 sqq.

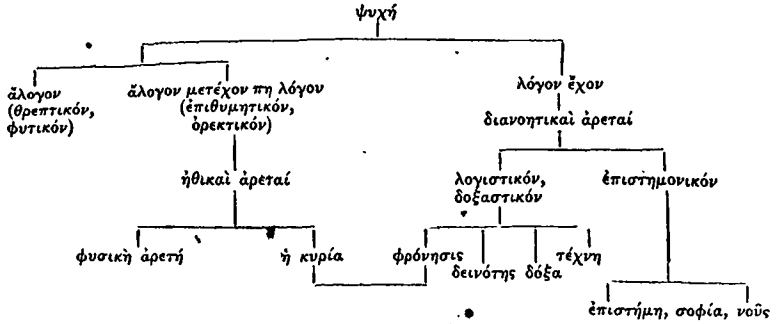
[2] The student will find a good analysis of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, especially with reference to Aristotle's treatment of ustice and friendship, in Mr. Maurice's *Ancient Philosophy*, pp. 200—208

[3] *Eth. Nic.* I. 13, § 1.

itself into an inquiry respecting the nature of virtue. As the seat of virtue is the soul, the moral philosopher is required to have some knowledge of mental philosophy. Aristotle indicates that the soul is bipartite.[1] Considered as the vital principle, it is either rational or irrational. As far as it is merely irrational, it is common to men and brutes, and therefore does not enter into the question about human virtue and happiness. So far, however, as it partakes of, or is capable of listening to reason—that is, so far as it belongs to appetite and desire—the irrational part of the soul may be regarded as constituting the seat of a particular class of virtues. Accordingly Aristotle distinguishes between the intellectual virtues (*ἀρεταὶ διανοητικαί*), such as wisdom, understanding, and prudence, which belong strictly to the rational part of the soul, and the moral virtues (*ἀρεταὶ ἠθικαί*), such as liberality and temperance, which are referred to the commendable habits (*ἕξεις ἐπαινεταί*) of the irrational or merely appetitive branch of the soul. Passing on to the definition of virtue, Aristotle gives us an elaborate discussion in support of his view, that virtue is a mean between two extremes of vice; that it always stands half-way between the too much and the too little. Thus true courage is a mean between temerity and cowardice. The two opposites, and even the virtues themselves,[2] are not always recognized or indicated by names in ordinary language, and sometimes those who are guilty of one

---

[1] The following is the subdivision suggested in the *Nicomachean Ethics* I. 13; see *Pol.* 4 (VII.) 15.



[2] Thus there is a nameless virtue, which bears the same relation to magnanimity that liberality does to magnificence, and which observes the proper mean between the excessive and defective pursuit of honour: *Eth. Nic.* IV. c. 4.

or the other extreme consider their vicious opposite to be the man who adheres to the golden mean of virtue. Still this definition is the necessary result of a scientific analysis of every moral virtue. This analysis Aristotle undertakes in the second part of his work, examining the moral virtues in general in the third and fourth books, and justice in particular in the fifth; because, as we have seen, Plato had made this the regulative principle of all morality, and, also, because justice is not, like the other virtues, a mean between two opposite extremes of vice, but rather belongs to that which is the mean between the too much and too little of a man's rights, whereas injustice belongs to both extremes in this respect.[1] The sixth book is devoted to the intellectual virtues. He then, as he says, makes another beginning in the seventh book, and treats here of continence and incontinence, the general result of his investigation being given in the words which Dante puts into the mouth of Virgil. 'Do you not remember,' says the poet,[2] 'those words in which your Ethics thoroughly discuss the three habits or dispositions which are offensive to heaven, incontinence (*ἀκρασία*), malice (*κακία*), and low brutality (*θηριότης*), and how it is that incontinence incurs the least blame of the three?' In fact, Aristotle regards incontinence rather as a weakness incident to the composite nature of man, than as a vice springing from a depravity of will or choice, and, therefore, makes great allowances for it. These three important discussions on justice, the intellectual virtues, and incontinence, which occupy the fifth, sixth, and seventh books of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, re-appear, *in extenso*, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth books of the *Eudemian Ethics*; and there is no doubt that they were regarded by the followers of Aristotle as constituting one of the most characteristic and instructive portions of his moral philosophy. The eighth and

---

[1] *Eth. Nic.* V. 9: *ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη μεσότης οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ταῖς πρότερον ἀρεταῖς, ἀλλ' ὅτι μέσου ἐστίν· ἡ δ' ἀδικία τῶν ἄκρων.*

[2] *Inferno* XI. 79:

Non ti rimembra di quelle parole
Con le quai la tua Etica pertratta
Le tre disposizion ch 'l ciel non vuole,
Incontinenza, malizia, e la matta
Bestialitade? e come incontinenza
Men Dio offende e men biasimo accatta?

ninth books contain an interesting inquiry respecting friendship, in which it is shown not only that virtue is essential to true friendship, but also that true friendship is essential to perfect happiness. In the first part of the tenth book, we have an essay on pleasure, practically considered; and, while it is admitted that pleasure is a good, it is proved that it cannot be regarded as the *summum bonum*. Aristotle defines pleasure as that which perfects the operation (τελειοῖ τὴν ἐνεργείαν ἡ ἡδονή),[1] for, as pleasure is found by the side of every sensation, and in like manner may be produced by every exertion of the intellect and every speculation, that which is most perfect and complete is also most pleasurable. From pleasure he returns to happiness. As happiness is not a habit (ἕξις), but an activity or operation (ἐνέργεια) in itself desirable, and as the best of these operations is that of the intellect itself, he concludes that the highest of all happinesses is the contemplative (θεωρητική). This is superior to active happiness, for, while the latter is human, the former is divine. In the epilogue to the whole work he shows that, with a view to the practice of virtue, not only moral discipline, but civil government, are necessary, and so paves the way for the political theory which is the proper supplement to his moral philosophy.

The tract *On Virtues and Vices*, which is printed among Aristotle's writings, is obviously the work of some later Peripatetic.

§ 7. It is now generally admitted that Aristotle's important treatise on *Politics*, in which he carries out the views propounded in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, has come down to us in a very confused arrangement of the eight books of which it consists. The following is the order which best preserves the sequence of thought in the work:[2]—the first three books retain their original places; they are followed by the seventh and eighth; the sixth place is assigned to the fourth book of the manuscripts; and the work is concluded by the sixth and fifth books in this inverted position.[3] 'The new arrangement,' says

---

[1] *Eth. Nic.* X, 4, § 7.

[2] See Spengel, in the *Munich Transactions* for 1849, and the introductory matter to Mr. Congreve's edition of the *Politics*, Oxford, 1855.

[3] Marking the books of the older editions by Roman letters, and those of the

the latest editor of the *Politics*,[1] 'brings into close juxtaposition two books, 6 and 7 (IV. VI.), whose separation is clearly the result of some accident, and whose re-arrangement is advocated even by the staunchest opponents of the change in general. Again, by placing 4 and 5 (VII. VIII.) immediately after 3 (III.), the new order makes Aristotle's aristocracy, or ideal state, the second of the two correct forms of government, follow directly on his treatment of monarchy or the first, and precede his treatment of *Politeia* or the third. Whereas, in the existing arrangement, this third form is interposed between the first and second. Lastly, after the analysis of the two first ideal forms has been gone through, he proceeds, by a separate treatment of the elements of the third form, to prepare a way for the treatment of those elements in combination—in other words, for the treatment of that third form. Its discussion over, he goes through the problems connected with existing governments, their formation and their organization—he elaborates, that is, the statics of Greek Society. Then, in the absence of any theory or expectation of change, there is nothing left for him but to treat of the diseases to which that society was liable, its chronic state of dissension, its acute one of revolution.'

The first book of the *Politics* is a general introduction, connecting this work with the *Nicomachean Ethics*. It is, in fact, a discussion on the principles of *Œconomics*, on which we have a separate treatise in our collection of Aristotle's works. Aristotle passes briefly over the relations of male and female, as the origin of social union, examines at great length the questions relating to slavery and property in general, and finishes with a summary review of the family relation, and the qualifications and duties of the governed. It is his theory that the female and the slave are essentially and naturally inferior to the male and the master. 'Nature,' he says, 'makes nothing in a niggardly manner, as the cutlers make the Delphic knife to serve a variety of purposes,[2] but everything is made separately

improved arrangement by Arabic numerals, they will stand thus: 1 (I), 2 (II), 3 (III), 4 (VII), 5 (VIII), 6 (IV), 7 (VI), 8 (V).

[1] Mr. Congreve, *Preface*, p. V.

[2] *Pol.* I. 2: *οὔθεν γὰρ ἡ φύσις ποιεῖ τοιοῦτον οἷον χαλκοτύποι τὴν Δελφικὴν μάχαιραν πενιχρῶς ἀλλ' ἓν πρὸς ἕν.* A good deal has been said by the commentators about this *Δελφικὴ μάχαιρα.* Göttling has a strange notion as to its being made of

with a view to its special and proper work.' One cannot read without astonishment the arguments by which Aristotle endeavours to justify slavery. Considering that this relationship so often sprung from the accidents of war, and that the most cultivated Athenian might at any time become the slave of an uncivilized foreigner, it seems difficult to understand how Aristotle's acuteness and common sense could acquiesce in the sophistical and fallacious reasoning, that there was an analogous difference between the Greek and the barbarian, between the master and the slave, between the soul and the body, and his notion of government as presuming a regard for the interest of the governed is subverted by the fact that the state of slavery can never be beneficial to the slave. However, these opinions, strange as they seem to us, were really entertained by Aristotle, and are involved in his famous recommendation to Alexander, to treat the Greeks as their general (ἡγεμονικῶς) and the barbarians as their master (δεσποτικῶς).[1]

The second book is, in one sense, an episode, which might have been dropped without much injury to the general course of the reasoning. But Aristotle considered it necessary, perhaps, to prefix to the statement of his own theory on the subject a review, not only of former speculations, but also of existing polities. The first five chapters examine the *Republic*, the sixth the *Laws* of Plato; he then passes on to the proposed constitution of Phaleas the Chalcedonian, who argued for an equalization of property; to that of Hippodamus of Miletus, with his minute and refined distinctions; then to those of the Spartans, Cretans, and Carthaginians; and finishes the book with miscellaneous remarks on Solon and other lawgivers.

In the third book, Aristotle undertakes a development of his own ideal. After a preamble, in five chapters, defining the citizen

---

different materials. It was manifestly used for more than one purpose, and was, in all probability, a *ξιφομάχαιρα*, having a straight edge and point at the back, and a concave edge in front. The Romans had a complicated instrument of the same kind called the *falx vinitoria*, which was furnished with a variety of edges in order to meet the various operations required in vine-pruning. Plato refers to the specific use of the *μάχαιρα* as distinguished even from that of the *δρέπανον* in *Resp.* I. p. 353 A. The story of the Delphic priest Machæreus, who killed Neoptolemus with his *μάχαιρα* (see commentators on Pind. *N.* VII. 42), shows that this instrument had its special use in that temple.

[1] Above, p. 268 [108].

and the identity of the state, and discussing the questions whether the good man and the good citizen are one and the same, and whether the mean handicraftsman (*βάναυσος*) can be regarded as a citizen, Aristotle proceeds to consider the different kinds of government. According to the unity, plurality, or multeity of the governing body, the state is a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a commonwealth (*πολιτεία*), and if these act up to their true principles, they consider the interest of the governed; otherwise, the monarchy becomes a tyranny, the aristocracy an oligarchy, and the commonwealth a democracy. All these varieties are adequately examined, and the philosopher gives the preference to an aristocracy in which the ruling body is duly qualified by moral and intellectual education; and this, as we have seen,[1] is the established conclusion of the Socratic schools.

As the third book concludes by referring the best form of government to the best and most desirable life (*πρὸς τὴν αἱρετωτάτην ζωήν*),[2] the fourth book (4, VII.) in the improved arrangement begins with inquiring what this best life is. The discussion of this is expressly regarded as a preface;[3] and then follows the detailed argument about the best form of the state, the number of its citizens, the geographical features of the country, the situation of the city, the character of the people, the castes and constitution, and, above all, the education of the burgesses. This last and most important question is pursued in the following book (5, VIII), which is unfortunately left in a fragmentary state, and it has been conjectured that this incompleteness has been one of the reasons why the fifth book has been placed at the end of the work in the old arrangement.

In the last three books (6, IV., 7, VII., 8, V.), Aristotle applies his practical observations and philosophical theory to a consideration of the actual governments of Greece. Tyranny being much less common than oligarchy and democracy, it is of these two that he chiefly speaks. Like the literary men of the

[1] Above, chapter XXXVII. § 2.

[2] *Pol.* III. 18: *ἐπεὶ δὲ τρεῖς φαμὲν εἶναι τὰς ὀρθὰς πολιτείας, τούτων δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἀρίστην εἶναι τὴν ὑπὸ ἀρίστων οἰκονομουμένην, τοιαύτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν ᾗ συμβέβηκεν ἢ ἕνα συμπάντων ἢ γένος ὅλον ἢ πλῆθος ὑπέρεχον εἶναι κατ' ἀρετήν, τῶν μὲν ἄρχεσθαι δυναμένων τῶν δ' ἄρχειν πρὸς τὴν αἱρετωτάτην ζωήν.*

[3] *Pol.* 4, VII. 4: *ἐπεὶ δὲ πεφροιμίασται τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα.*

preceding century, he thought that the best average government was that in which the rulers were found in the middle class;[1] and between oligarchy and democracy, he gives the preference to the latter; showing, at length, that the tendency to faction (στάσις) and revolution (μεταβολή) was less in democracy than in oligarchy, and therefore that the former was practically the most healthy and permanent of existing constitutions. The work terminates rather abruptly with some strictures on the *Republic* of Plato, in regard to the laws of revolutionary change laid down in that dialogue.

The main points of the science of *Œconomics* are discussed in the first book of the *Politics*, but we have a separate treatise on this subject in the collection of Aristotle's works.[2] A quotation in the fragment of Philodemus found among the manuscripts at Herculaneum attributes the first book to Theophrastus;[3] and Niebuhr has shown that the second book was probably written in Asia Minor after the death of Ophelas, in Ol. 118, 1, B.C. 308.[4]

§ 8. In comparing the literary remains of Aristotle with those of Plato, we cannot but be struck with the extent and importance of the physical speculations in which the former engaged, and the very small and subordinate value assigned to natural philosophy by the latter. Whereas the *Timæus* is the only dialogue in which Plato enters professedly on a theory respecting the visible world, we find that Aristotle composed many elaborate works—some of the most important being no longer extant—on every detail of physical science; and even his work *On the Soul*, which we have considered with reference to his metaphysical speculations, was probably connected very intimately with this series of treatises. So that it has been said with justice by an ancient writer that while Aristotle physiologizes in his metaphysics, Plato's physiology is but an application of his metaphysical reasonings.[5]

The physical works of Aristotle may be considered as forming

---

[1] *Pol.* V. 6, IV. 11. See above, chapter XXXVII. § 2.

[2] Οἰκονομικῶν ά, β'. [3] *Herculanens. Volumina*, III. p. vii. and xxviii.

[4] Niebuhr's *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 412—416.

[5] *Schol. Aristot.* 26, 27: Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν ἀεὶ θεολογῶν φυσιολογεῖ, Πλάτων δὲ ἀεὶ φυσιολογῶν θεολογεῖ.

the integral parts of a regular and systematic series, and the following suggestions have been made for their arrangement:[1]—

I. The introduction is formed by the eight books of 'the physical lectures' (*φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις, naturalis auscultatio*), which, as Hegel says, are 'a metaphysic of physics.' They treat of principles (*ἀρχαί*) and their number, of motion, of space and time, of the first unmoved moving power (*πρῶτον κίνουν ἀκίνητον*), the perpetually moved (*ἀεικίνητον*), which is necessarily circular, and according to the ancients realized in the heaven; and here we have a transition to:—

II. The four books 'concerning heaven' (*περὶ οὐρανοῦ, de cœlo*). According to Aristotle, this heaven is an unchangeable region (*ἀεὶ ταυτὸν καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχον*), the first of all bodies (*τὸ πρῶτον τῶν σωμάτων*), which, being itself indestructible, is the opposite of all that is corruptible.

III. Next in succession to the treatise on heaven, we have the two books 'on generation and destruction' (*περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς*). Here he developes his theory that the first principles are not the four elements which were supposed, after the time of Empedocles, to produce life and death by their intermixture, but composite nature itself; the fundamental properties being the hot, the cold, the dry, and the moist; and of these, the mixture of hot and dry makes fire, that of hot and moist makes air, that of cold and dry makes earth, and that of cold and moist makes water.[2]

IV. The further prosecution of these speculations is found in the four books 'on meteorology' (*μετεωρολογικά, de meteoris*), or rather in the first three of them; for the fourth book does not stand in any real connexion with the others, and it has been conjectured[3] that it was a separate tract entitled 'on the consolidation of bodies' (*περὶ τῆς τῶν σωάτων συστάσεως*).

---

[1] See Spengel, *über die Reihenfolge der naturwissensch. Schriften des Aristoteles: Munich Transactions*, 1849, pp. 143 sqq. There is also a good summary of Aristotle's labours in physical philosophy, in Dr. Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. I. section 2.

[2] *De Gener. et corrupt.* II. 3, § 2: *τὸ μὲν γὰρ πῦρ θερμὸν καὶ ξηρόν, ὁ δ' ἀὴρ θερμὸν καὶ ὑγρόν (οἷον ἀτμὶς γὰρ ὁ ἀήρ), τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν καὶ ὑγρόν, ἡ δὲ γῆ ψυχρὸν καὶ ξηρόν, ὥστ' εὐλόγως διανέμεσθαι τὰς διαφορὰς τοῖς πρώτοις σώμασι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἶναι κατὰ λόγον.*

[3] Spengel, u. s., p. 156. This title is indicated in several passages; for instance,

V. The treatise 'on the universe' (*περὶ κόσμου*), which follows next in the *Parva Naturalia*, is generally admitted to be an extraneous addition to Aristotle's works. It is, in fact, a general review of the books 'on heaven,' 'on generation,' &c., and 'on meteorology' (II., III., IV.); and its rhetorical style and stoical tone show that Aristotle could not have written it. Various suppositions have been made respecting the authorship. One critic attributes it to Chrysippus.[1] Another writer maintains that it is the Greek translation of a work with the same title by Apuleius;[2] and, conversely, the latest editor of Apuleius[3] regards the Greek as the original, and the Latin as the translation.

VI. We are informed that Aristotle wrote no less than fifty, or, as one writer says, seventy treatises on his favourite subject of zoology.[4] Of these we have but a small portion. It has been shown that the general introduction was furnished by the first of the four books, still extant, under the title 'on the parts of animals' (*περὶ ζῷων μορίων*).[5] In the sixth chapter we have an expression which seems to furnish the transition from the discussion of indestructible substances (*ἄφθαρτα*)[6] to those of the world of life; and it would be in accordance with Aristotle's general procedure that he should discuss the parts or elements before he examined the composite structure or the animal as a whole.

VII. For a similar reason, he probably intended his treatise 'on the generation of animals' (*περὶ ζῷων γενέσεως*), in five books, to be a preparatory treatise on the *causes* (*διότι*) of organic natural bodies, without which he could hardly discuss

---

c. 8: *ἐκ μὲν οὖν ὕδατος καὶ γῆς τὰ ὁμοιομερῆ σώματα συνίσταται*; c. 10: *ἐξ ὧν ἤδη συνέστηκε τὰ ὁμοιομερῆ*; c. 12: *ἔχομεν γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἡ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν φύσις συνέστηκε . . . . δηλωθέντων δὲ τούτων τὰ μὴ ὁμοιομερῆ θεωρητέον καὶ τέλος τὰ ἐκ τούτων συνεστῶτα, οἷον ἄνθρωπον, φυτόν, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα.*

1 Osann, *Beitr. z. Gr. u. Röm. Litt. Gesch.* I. pp. 141—283.

2 Stahr, *Arist. bei den Römern*, p. 165.

3 Hildebrand, *Prol. ad Apuleium*, I. pp. XLI. sqq.

4 Pliny, *H. N.* VIII. 17, 66.

5 Titze, *de Aristotelis operum serie*, p. 55, 8.

6 *ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ ἐκείνων (τῶν ἀφθάρτων) διήλθομεν λέγοντες τὸ φαινόμενον ἡμῖν, λοιπὸν περὶ τῆς ζωικῆς φύσεως εἰπεῖν μηδὲν παραλιπόντας εἰς δύναμιν μήτε ἀτιμότερον μήτε τιμιώτερον.*

in a satisfactory manner the phenomena (ὅτι) themselves. Passages may be cited[1] to a contrary effect from the books themselves; but if these passages are carefully examined, they will be found to justify the inference that with Aristotle the general speculation preceded the description of life as it exists;[2] and the books on natural history are full of references to his theory of generation, as if some previous acquaintance with it was implied.

VIII. Of the great work 'on the history of animals' (*περὶ ζῷων ἱστορία* or *ζωικὴ ἱστορία*) we have only nine books complete. There are different opinions respecting the tenth book, which is added in the manuscripts and the usual editions. Scaliger proposed to insert it between the seventh and eighth books; according to Camus, it was the treatise mentioned by Diogenes under the title 'about non-productiveness' (*ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν, de non gignendo*); Schneider questions its genuineness; and it is attributed to the Latin recension of Aristotle's works in a notice which appears in several manuscripts. This work of Aristotle's is in many respects a wonderful performance. And its author may be regarded as the first founder of zoology and comparative anatomy. The books which we have contain a methodical description of the different varieties of the animal

---

[1] See Spengel, u.s. p. 161.

[2] One of the most important passages is the following; *De gen. Anim.* V. 1, § 5: *ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐλέχθη κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις οὐ διὰ τὸ γίγνεσθαι ἕκαστον ποῖόν τι διὰ τοῦτο ποῖόν τι ἐστι, ὅσα τεταγμένα καὶ ὡρισμένα ἔργα τῆς φύσεως ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ εἶναι τοιαδὶ γίγνεται τοιαῦτα· τῇ γὰρ οὐσίᾳ ἡ γένεσις ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἕνεκά ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐχ αὕτη τῇ γενέσει.* Now the *πρώτη φιλοσοφία* is expressly a consideration of the doctrine of causes, and the very fact that, as we have seen, the *σωμάτων σύστασις* is considered after the elements have been discussed, would seem to show that the description of the animal, as a particular *σύστασις*, would follow the general theory of its procreation. Otherwise we must infer that even the *Politics* were antecedent to the books on generation; for Aristotle says (*Pol.* 4 [VII.], 15): *φανερὸν δὴ τοῦτό γε πρῶτον μὲν καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς ἡ γένεσις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀπό τινος ἀρχῆς ἄλλου τέλους.* For if the birth of the child is not the first step in the process of education, this can only be understood by substituting importance for priority. The unfinished state of the natural history is some argument for the conclusion that these details were prosecuted subsequently to the foundation of the principles, and references like the following may be very well understood as applying to investigations still in progress; *De partibus Animal.* III. 5, 18: *τὸ δὲ μετ' ἀκριβείας ὡς ἔχουσιν αἱ φλέβες πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔκ τε τῶν ἀνατομιῶν δεῖ θεωρεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ζωικῆς ἱστορίας.*

kingdom; and the various animals are exhibited according to their characteristic features, with especial reference to their mode of life, instinctive habits, and the reproduction of the species.

Aristotle's other works on natural philosophy are an essay 'on the motion of animals' (*περὶ ζῴων κινήσεως*), a series of tracts on memory, sleep, dreams, and divination in dreams, longevity, youth and age, respiration, life and death, which are collected together as his *Parva Naturalia*, and a fragment 'on colours' (*περὶ χρωμάτων*). The two books 'on plants' (*περὶ φυτῶν*) seem to be described in 'the prologue of the interpreter' (*πρόλογος τοῦ ἑρμηνέως*) as a translation from the Latin version of an Arabic edition of the work.[1] Although Theophrastus is better known by his performances as a botanist, there can be little doubt that Aristotle was the real founder of botany as a science.

It is usual to class the three books 'on the soul' with the physical works of Aristotle, and there can be no doubt that they may be regarded strictly in this connexion. But the work belongs also to his theory of the philosophy of mind, and we have preferred to consider it with his metaphysical treatises. Aristotle's writings on anatomy, to which he frequently refers, and one of which, in eight books, is mentioned by Diogenes, are entirely lost.

§ 9. Besides the treatises on the main branches of philosophy which we have considered in this brief review, Aristotle has left a number of miscellaneous works, which cannot be included in the general classification. Thus, we have a collection of 'Problems' (*προβλήματα*), in thirty-six sections, which abound in acute suggestions on almost every department of knowledge. They are put in the form of questions; thus:[2] 'Why does an unknown road seem to be, *ceteris paribus*,

[1] E. H. F. Meyer maintains that this book is a compilation by Nicolas of Damascus from the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and has so published it: *Nicolai Damasceni de Plantis libri duo Aristoteli vulgo adscripti.* Lips. 1841. see p. XVIII.

[2] *Problem.* XXX. 4: *διὰ τί δοκεῖ ἡμῖν πλείων εἶναι ἡ ὁδὸς, ὅταν μὴ εἰδότες πόση τις ἐστι βαδίζωμεν μᾶλλον ἢ ὅταν εἰδότες, ἐὰν τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως τύχωμεν ἔχοντες;*

longer than one with which we are acquainted? Or is it because our knowledge of it is a knowledge of number? For that which is indefinite and that which is unnumbered are one and the same; and the indefinite is always more than the finite,' and so on. Abelard's treatise called *Sic et Non* is an analogous work, but in this the cases are stated *pro* and *contra* with reference only to authority. The 'surprising stories' (*θαυμάσια ἀκούσματα*) are a collection of anecdotes chiefly relating to the curiosities of natural history. It is not at all certain that this tract was written by Aristotle. From the commencement of the 'Mechanics' (*μηχανικά*)[1] it would seem that this tract had some connexion, at least in the minds of those who arranged Aristotle's works, with the *θαυμάσια ἀκούσματα*, which it follows in the editions. Its form, however, is that of the 'Problems.'

Andronicus of Rhodes had collected twenty books of Aristotle's letters,[2] and there was a later collection by Artemon in eight books.[3] These are all lost; and the six letters now attributed to the philosopher are spurious.[4] His speeches also have not been preserved. We have already referred to his poem on virtue, and to the epigrams attributed to him.[5]

§ 10. Aristotle's writings are not less remarkable for their peculiar style and literary form than for their extent and the importance of their subjects, which he was the first to treat in a methodical and scientific manner. The parsimonious diction and the strict regularity with which the thoughts and facts are marshalled justify the remark of the poet Gray, that, when we are reading Aristotle, we feel as if we were studying a table of contents. And a more recent writer has accounted for this peculiarity by a reference to the characteristics which distinguish Aristotle from his great teacher, Plato. 'To collect all possible facts, to arrange and classify them, was his ambition, and perhaps his appointed function; no one is less tempted to find any deep meaning in facts, or to grope after it. In like manner, to get words pressed and settled into a definition is

---

[1] *θαυμάζεται τῶν μὲν κατὰ φύσιν συμβαινόντων κ.τ.λ.*

[2] Demetrius, *De Elocutione*, § 231.

[3] David, *Categ.* p. 24..

[4] See Stahr, *Aristotelia*, II. pp. 167 sqq.

[5] Above, § 1.

his highest aim; the thought that there is a life in words, that they are connected with the life in us, and may lead at all to the interpretation of its marvels, never was admitted into his mind, or at least never tarried there.'[1] If the philosopher's chief recommendation had been his style, he would have had few readers. He has nothing to attract those, who prefer the form and outer embellishments of a work to its subject-matter and the scientific results which it presents. Like Bishop Butler, one of the best of our English moralists, he repels all those who open his books with any other view than a desire of obtaining knowledge and amassing the materials and the results of thought. Those especially, who come to the study of Aristotle after contracting a familiarity with Plato, cannot but be impressed with the feeling that they have entered upon an entirely new phase of the Greek language—that they have passed, as it were, from a sunlit garden, gay with flowers, to a dark and chilly reading-room. But although Aristotle's language is in the highest degree jejune and unornamented, he is never really obscure except when this arises from excessive brevity. And it may be inferred, from the fragments of his dialogues, and from his scolium on virtue, that the sobriety of his diction did not arise from any inability to express himself in more florid language, and that he adopted deliberately, and perhaps by an effort, a mode of writing which he considered more appropriate to philosophical investigations than the exuberant and often redundant phraseology of the conventional rhetoric. The importance which he attached to conciseness and fixity of expression is shown by the fact that he has introduced a considerable number of well-defined words and phrases, which often obviate the necessity for circumlocution.[2]

---

[1] Maurice, *Ancient Philosophy*, p. 163.

[2] The following are some of the words and phrases which Aristotle either introduced, or used with some precise and original distinctness of meaning: *ἐντελέχεια, ἐνέργεια, δύναμις, ἕξις, ἄλογος, μεσότης, κατηγορία, συλλογισμός, ἐνθύμημα, παράδειγμα, ἐπαγωγή, πρότασις, ὕλη, τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ῥῆμα, ὄνομα, συνώνυμος, ὁμώνυμος, παρώνυμος, ἀκράτης, ἀκόλαστος, οὐσία, τί ἐστί, τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, δικαίωμα*; and to these many others might be added. Bacon says that Aristotle 'nova artium vocabula pro libitu cudendi licentiam usurpavit' (*De Augm. Scient.* III. 4, p. 584, ed. Ellis; where the reader will see Bacon's comparison of the correlative ambition of Aristotle and his pupil Alexander).

And, as we have already mentioned, one of the works included in his *Metaphysica* is an elaborate investigation of many terms and notions which seemed to him to require a more accurate definition.[1] There are some to whom this logical precision, and scrupulous exactness in the employment of terms, will seem more than an equivalent for the graces of style and the golden flow of elocution, which Aristotle might have exhibited, if he had chosen to write like his contemporaries; and it will be maintained that it is easy to extract, even from his most methodical works, many passages of rare power and singular felicity. But we must admit that we belong to the number of those who are disposed to refuse to this great philosopher the humbler praise of having always written his best; and we must express our regret that his literary fame is not supported by adequate remains of his more popular and attractive compositions.

---

[1] Metaph. Δ, *περὶ τῶν πολλαχῶς λεγομένων*. The terms or notions examined are: 1. *ἀρχή*, 'principle;' 2. *αἴτιον*, 'cause;' 3. *στοιχεῖον*, 'element;' 4. *φύσις*, 'nature;' 5. *ἀναγκαῖον*, 'necessary;' 6. *τὸ ἕν*, 'unity;' 7. *τὸ ὄν*, 'entity;' 8. *οὐσία*, 'substance;' 9. *ταὐτό*, 'identity;' 10. *ἀντικείμενα*, 'contraries;' 11. *πρότερα καὶ ὕστερα*, 'antecedents and consequents;' 12. *δύναμις, ἀδύνατον, δυνατόν*, 'potentiality, impossibility, and possibility;' 13. *πόσον*, 'quantity;' 14. *ποιόν*, 'quality;' 15. *πρός τι*, 'relation;' 16. *τέλειον*, 'perfect;' 17. *πέρας*, 'limit;' 18. *καθ' αὐτό*, 'self-existence;' 19—22. *διάθεσις, ἕξις, πάθος, στέρησις*, 'disposition, habit, affection, privation;' 23. *ἔχειν*, 'state;' 24. *ἐκ τινος εἶναι*, 'matter, cause,' &c.; 25, 26. *μέρος, ὅλον*, 'part and whole;' 27. *κολοβόν*, 'mutilated;' 28. *γένος* 'genus;' 29. *ψεῦδος*, 'falsity;' 30. *συμβεβηκός*, 'accident.'

CHAPTER XLI.

DEMOSTHENES.

§ 1. Life of Demosthenes. § 2. Harangues to the people, chiefly relating to Philip of Macedon. § 3. Orations on public causes. § 4. Speeches against Æschines. § 5. Speeches in the law courts on private causes. § 6. Style and characteristics of Demosthenes.

§ 1. FROM the two greatest philosophers of ancient Greece, we pass to the orator, whose eminence, as a master of eloquence, is quite equal to theirs as masters of human thought; and it is not a little remarkable, that such men as Aristotle and Demosthenes should have been, in every sense of the term, contemporaries. It is certain that they died in the same year, and it is very probable that they were of the same age when they died. The caution, with which we entered on a brief sketch of the two great philosophers, must be repeated, in a corresponding form, at the beginning of the present chapter. As we then reminded the reader that we were writing the history of Greek literature, not that of Greek philosophy, so we must now beg him to remember, that we are not engaged with that political history of Greece, in which Demosthenes was one of the most prominent actors. The space which this orator occupies in the pages of Thirlwall and Grote, to say nothing of the fact that he furnishes the subject for at least one separate work[1] of considerable extent, may well excuse us from any attempt to trace the events in which he bore a part, and to estimate fully his character as a statesman. It will be quite sufficient for our present purpose, if we give a short account of his personal biography, and of his speeches considered as literary compositions.

---

[1] For example, A. G. Becker's *Demosthenes als Staatsmann und Redner*, 2 volumes, 8vo. Halle, 1815, 1816; the same writer's *Demosthenes als Staatsbürger, Redner und Schriftsteller*, Quedlinburg, 1830—1834; A. Schäfer's *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, Leipsig, 1856, 1857.

It is still a matter of controversy in what year DEMOSTHENES was born.[1] The earliest date is Ol. 98, 4. B.C. 385; the latest Ol. 99, 4. B.C. 380. His father, who bore the same name, apparently not an uncommon one at Athens, was an opulent citizen of the demos of Pæania, who carried on a thriving business as a cutler and cabinet-maker, and was also engaged in commercial transactions to a considerable extent.[2] His mother was not of pure Athenian descent, though there is no reason to doubt that she was, on both sides, of Greek extraction. She was one of the two daughters and co-heiresses of Gylon, a banished Athenian, who had ingratiated himself with a Greek prince on the Cimmerian Bosporus, had received from his patron a town named Cepi in the island to the east of that inlet of the sea, and had there married a rich woman, probably the heiress of some Greek settler in that well colonized region.[3] The two daughters of Gylon were sent to Athens with large dowries, and married two Athenian citizens; the younger became the wife of Demochares, and the elder, Cleobule, was the mother of Demosthenes.

The ample property of his father, increased by the handsome portion of his mother, seemed to destine Demosthenes to a life of opulent obscurity. It happened, however, that he lost his father while only seven years old, and was left with a younger sister under the care of three guardians, Aphobus, the son of

---

[1] The earliest date, Ol. 98, 4. B.C. 385, is maintained by Dr. Thirlwall (*Hist. of Gr.* V. p. 248, *Philological Museum*, II. pp. 389 sqq.). Mr. Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici*, II. Append. 20), C. K. Hermann (*de anno natali Demosthenis*, Gott. 1846, reprinted in Dindorf's *Demosthenes*, vol. VI. pp. 730 sqq.), and Mr. Grote (*Hist. of Gr.* XI. p. 369) adopt the year Ol. 99, 3. B.C. 382, 381, and Böhnecke (*Forschungen*, pp. 1-94) agrees with Dionysius (*ad Ammæum*, 4) in dating the orator's birth in the archonship of Demophilus, Ol. 99, 4. B.C. 380. We incline to Mr. Clinton's date.

[2] Dr. Thirlwall (V. p. 247) calls him a merchant on the strength of I. *Aphob.* p. 816. The nature of his property may be seen in the calculations reprinted from an English translation of Voemel in Dindorf's *Demosthenes*, VII. pp. 1053 sqq. Juvenal's intimation (X. 127—132) that the orator's father was a working blacksmith is an exaggeration or a mistake.

[3] Plut. *Demosth.* 4, Æsch. *adv. Ctesiph.* p. 78, Dem. II. *Aph.* p. 835. *Cepi* (Κῆποι, 'the gardens') was a Milesian settlement and a considerable town (Plin. *H. N.* VI. 6). It lay in the modern island of Taman, in the sea of Corocondame (Strabo, p. 495) over against Kertch and Jenicale.

his father's sister, who was to marry Cleobule with a dowry of 1⅔ talent, Demophon, the son of his father's brother, who was to marry the daughter when she came of age, and to receive at once her portion of two talents, and an old friend, Theripides, who was to enjoy the interest of 1⅔ talent till Demosthenes came of age.[1] These guardians seem to have behaved as Greek guardians too often did.[2] They neglected the conditions of the will, and squandered the property confided to their charge to such an extent that out of fourteen talents, which the father left at his death, they paid less than two talents to the son on his completing the age of 18, when he was legally entitled to undertake the management of his own property.[3] After vainly attempting to obtain an amicable settlement of the accounts, he brought an action against Aphobus, and obtained damages to the amount of ten talents,[4] part of which he must have received, as he appears to have performed some of the most expensive liturgies or public duties.[5] But there can be little doubt that the injustice to which he was exposed at first starting in life, and the fear of losing all, or nearly all, his patrimony, stimulated him to

---

[1] Dem. I. *Aph.* pp. 814, 816, II. 840.

[2] It was almost a fixed phrase in classical Greek to say of the orphan that he was 'torn in pieces' by his guardians; see Soph. *Ajax*, 505 sqq.:

> οἴκτειρε δ', ὦ 'ναξ, παῖδα τὸν σὸν, εἰ νέας
> τροφῆς στερηθείς, σοῦ διοίσεται μόνος
> ὑπ' ὀρφανιστῶν μὴ φίλων.

Cf. Herod. III. 53: τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα. Dem. I. *Steph.* 1120. 25: ὑπὸ τούτου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων διαφορηθείς. Dio Chrys. XLIII. 506, C: ὑπὸ τῶν ξυγγενῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων διασπασθῆναι.

[3] Dem. I. *Aph.* pp. 812, 832, 815. *Onetor*, p. 865.

[4] See Westermann, *Prolegomena ad Orationes Tutorias*, reprinted in Dindorf's *Demosthenes*, pp. 1045 sqq.

[5] Æschines insinuates (*adv. Ctesiph.* 78) that by the expensiveness of these liturgies, coupled with his own profligate extravagance, he reduced himself to the necessity of writing speeches for hire: περὶ δὲ τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν τίς ἐστιν; ἐκ τριηράρχου λογογράφος ἀνεφάνη, τὰ πατρῷα καταγελάστως προέμενος. We are surprised by Mr. Grote's remark (XI. p. 372) that he does not 'clearly understand what is meant' by these last words. Is the difficulty in the adverb καταγελάστως, which means 'in a profligate manner' (Æsch. *c. Timarch.* p. 5, 13), or in the verb προΐεσθαι, which is regularly used in the sense 'to part with one's money' (*e.g. pro Phorm.* p. 946, 10, *c. Dionysod.* p. 1297, 14)?

commence those laborious studies which ultimately made him the greatest orator of ancient or modern times.

It does not appear that, while the guardians of Demosthenes were wasting or embezzling his property, they neglected to give him an education suitable to his supposed circumstances. He charges his guardians with not paying his teachers;[1] but in contrasting his early advantages with those of his rival Æschines, he boasts that while the latter was a teacher in a low school, he was himself a regular attendant at some place of elementary instruction.[2] The tradition, that he received instruction from Plato and Isocrates,[3] may have arisen from a not unnatural wish to connect the greatest orator with the principal literary men of the age immediately preceding his own. There is probably more foundation for the statement that he was taught rhetoric by Isæus, and was assisted by that orator in the composition of his speeches against his guardians.[4] His first beginnings in a study of rhetoric, and his ambition to become a public speaker, are generally attributed to the fact that he was taken by his tutors, while still a boy, to hear the celebrated Callistratus, the well-known friend of Iphicrates, defend himself and Chabrias on the charge of surrendering Oropus to the Thebans. This is supposed to have been in the year B.C. 366, when Demosthenes was certainly not more than eight or nine years old.[5] Whatever may have been the extent of literary cultivation which he received in his youth, it appears that Demosthenes did not enjoy the gymnastic training which formed an equally essential part of the early discipline of young Athenians. It is supposed that his delicate constitution, and his mother's anxiety for the health of her only son, prevented him from joining in the exercises of the palæstra.[6] This

---

[1] I. *Aph.* p. 828, 6.

[2] *De Coronâ*, p. 312, 22: ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι' ἔνδειαν. *Ibid.* p. 315. 8: ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων.

[3] Plut. *Dem.* 5, *Vit. X. Orat.* 837, 844, Cic. *Brut.* 31, &c.

[4] Plut. *Vit. X. Orat.* 839, 844. Liban. *Vit. Dem.* p. 3. *Argum. ad Orat. c. Onet.* p. 875.

[5] Plut. *Dem.* 5. *Vitæ decem Oratorum*, p. 844. Hermippus *apud Aul. Gell.* III. 13.

[6] Thirlwall, V. p. 248.

deficiency, coupled with his lisping articulation,[1] want of muscular vigour, and effeminate attire, obtained for him the name of Βατάλος, 'the infantine babbler,'[2] a name which had also another meaning in the nursery,[3] and was used to countenance an imputation of the vilest impudicity.[4] Without any double signification, the powerful coterie, which espoused the cause of his guardians, contrived to fix upon him the name of Ἀργάς, 'the viper,'[5] as though he had turned round and bitten the nurturers of his youth.

The success which attended the prosecution of Aphobus, by no means guaranteed his eminence as a public speaker. The orations are still extant, and exhibit so much talent that they have been attributed to Isæus himself, who probably assisted in their composition, just as Demosthenes wrote many of his speeches to be delivered in court by the parties themselves. It does not appear that any great merits of elocution were expected in these forensic harangues. Indeed, in many cases, they may have been read to the dicasts or jurymen. At any rate, Demosthenes had no natural advantages as an orator. A feeble frame and a weak voice, a shy and awkward manner, the ungraceful gesticulations of one whose limbs had never been duly exercised in the palæstra, and the defective articulation to which we have already referred, would have deterred most men from even attempting to address an Athenian assembly. He had the additional discouragement of failing on his first attempt.[6] Worst of all, he was not fluent as an extempore speaker, and even in his best days, he required preparation, and was liable to break down if he spoke under novel circum-

---

[1] He could not pronounce the letter ρ till he had conquered his natural thickness of speech by long practice; Cic. *Div.* II. 46, § 96.

[2] See Dissen and Schaefer, *ad Orat. de Coronâ*, p. 288, 17. Naeke, *de Battaro Catonis, Rhein. Mus.* for 1828, pp. 113 sqq.

[3] Harpocration, s.v.: Εὔπολις δὲ τὸν πρωκτὸν βάταλον λέγει· μή ποτε οὖν ἔνθεν τοὺς κιναίδους βατάλους λέγουσι. Cf. Æsch. *c. Tim.* p. 17. 42: ταύτην ἐξ ὑποκορίσματος τίτθης τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχω.

[4] Æsch. *Fals. Leg.* p. 41. 13: ἐν παισὶ μὲν ὢν ἐκλήθη δι' αἰσχρουργίαν τινα καὶ κιναιδίαν Βάταλος.

[5] Æschines, *ibid.*: ἐκ παίδων δ' ἀπαλλαττόμενος καὶ δεκαταλάντους δίκας ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων λαγχάνων Ἀργὰς ἐκλήθη.

[6] Plutarch, *Dem.* 6: τὸ πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνων τῷ δήμῳ θορύβοις περιέπιπτε καὶ κατεγελᾶτο δι' ἀήθειαν τοῦ λόγου.

stances, as when he first addressed Philip of Macedon in the presence of his court. But the ambition and resolute perseverance of Demosthenes enabled him to triumph over every disadvantage. He improved his bodily powers by running; his voice by speaking aloud as he walked up hill, or declaimed against the roar of the sea at Phalerum. He practised graceful delivery before a tall looking-glass, and controlled his unruly articulation by speaking with pebbles in his mouth.[1] His want of fluency he remedied by diligent composition, and by copying and committing to memory the works of the best authors. Of these his favourite was Thucydides, and it is said that he wrote out the eight books of that historian no less than eight times,[2] and could almost recite him from memory. Moreover, he read carefully all the τέχναι, or treatises on oratory, that he could procure.[3] And he prepared himself for the public exercise of his talents not only by writing declamations for practice on all the great subjects of the day, but also by composing speeches for the parties in private suits and public prosecutions. In this way he gradually surmounted all his difficulties. The friendly actor Satyrus was at hand to correct the faults of his delivery,[4] and old men in the assembly began to say that his speeches reminded them of the school of Pericles.[5] And at last he came forth as the acknowledged leader of the assembly, and, even by the confession of his deadliest enemies, the first orator in Greece.

The period, during which the name of Demosthenes identifies itself with the history of Athens, was eminently critical both for that city and for the whole of Greece. It was a time when an able and patriotic statesman, like Demosthenes, might have done greater service than any of his predecessors, if the people would have listened to his advice, and acted energetically in carrying out the counsels which he gave them. Unfortunately this was not the case. When Demosthenes delivered his first

---

[1] Plutarch, *Dem.* 4—9. [2] Lucian, *adv. Indoctum*, c. 4.

[3] Plut. *Dem.* c. 5. *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 844 B.

[4] Plut. *Dem.* c. 7. Satyrus made him recite a speech from Euripides or Sophocles, and then delivered it himself with all the graces of histrionic action.

[5] Eunomus the Thriasian is mentioned as one of those who told Demosthenes that he had τὸν λόγον ὁμοιότατον τῷ Περικλέους, Plut. (*Dem.* c. 6).

political oration, that on the *Symmoriæ*, or companies for the payment of the property-tax, in the year 354 B.C.,[1] Persia was still the only object of apprehension to united Greece, and Philip of Macedon was not regarded with the suspicions which he afterwards so fully justified. He had taken no part in the Social war, and had not interfered with the proceedings of Athens either in the Thracian Chersonesus or in Eubœa. Only three years after this the Phocian war broke out, and was closely followed by that between Philip and Olynthus; and while the latter led to misunderstandings between Philip and the Athenians, and compromised their interests in the north, the former ended in bringing Philip to Bœotia, and enabled him, as the victor at Chæronea, to dictate his own terms at Athens. While these events were in progress, the independence of Athens was staked on her policy in regard to the king of Macedon. And though a large and influential party were unwilling to oppose themselves actively and openly to the ambitious designs of Philip, others, who saw the danger, were anxious to encounter any risk rather than acquiesce in aggressions, which could have only one effect on the power of their country. To this anti-Macedonian party, Demosthenes consistently belonged. Some of those who advocated the cause of peace at any price, such as Phocion, were well-meaning, but mistaken politicians; others, such as Philocrates and Æschines, were probably, or rather certainly, influenced by corrupt motives. Whatever doubt may be cast on the character of Demosthenes,[2] there can be no question as to his general patriotism; and his faults, whatever they were, must be regarded as cancelled by his banishment and death, the consequences of

---

[1] See Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, XI. p. 398.

[2] See Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, V. p. 255. The mere fact that Quintilian places Demosthenes and Cicero on the same footing in regard to the imputations on their character as men and citizens, shows that he did not accept these imputations as a serious deduction from their merits. He says (XII. 1, § 14): '*Orator ergo Demosthenes non fuit?* Atqui malum virum accepimus. *Non Cicero?* atqui hujus quoque mores multi reprehenderunt. Quid agam? Magna responsi invidia subeunda est, mitigandæ sunt prius aures. Mihi hinc nec Demosthenes tam gravi morum dignus videtur invidiâ, ut omnja, quæ in eum ab inimicis congesta sunt, credam, cum pulcherrima ejus in republicâ consilia, et finem vitæ clarum legam; nec M. Tullio defuisse video in ullâ parte civis optimi voluntatem.'

the opposition to the Macedonian power, which had distinguished him through life.

The career of Demosthenes, so far as it contributes to explain his position in the history of Greek literature, may be described very briefly. His guardians seem to have belonged to a party of opulent and profligate men at Athens, who set the laws at defiance, and, trusting to their wealth and influence and mutual support, treated their poorer fellow-citizens as though they belonged to an inferior class. Among these persons, who were an active cause of the ruin of Athens, were Midias, Androtion, and Timocrates; and Demosthenes came into contact with the first of these on his own account, while he furnished a fellow-citizen, Diodorus, with the means of attacking the other two, who were partners in iniquity.[1] About three or four days before the trial of Aphobus came on,[2] Midias and his brother, Thrasylochus, had rushed into the house of Demosthenes, and making him an offer to exchange properties, or to undertake the trierarchy,[3] proceeded to deal with his effects as if they were already transferred to themselves; and even gave Aphobus a release from the action against him.[4] Besides all this, they insulted in the grossest manner the female members of his family.[5] Having relieved himself from this manœuvre by a payment of twenty minæ for a deputy trierarch, Demosthenes brought an action for insulting language against Midias, and obtained judgment by default.[6] Although entitled to execution, he abstained from touching the effects of the powerful culprit, and brought an action of ejectment,[7] which he was prevented from trying by the evasions of the defendant. At last, the hostility of Midias assumed the form of a public outrage. He assaulted Demosthenes in the almost sacred character of Choragus at the Dionysia; and in accordance with the rule in

---

[1] With the selfish inconsistency of Greek party-men, Midias, on one occasion, stood in opposition to Androtion; Dem. *c. Androt.* p. 596, 9.

[2] Dem. *in Mid.* p. 539, 26.

[3] ἀντιδιδόντες τριηραρχίαν.

[4] τὰς δίκας ὡς αὐτῶν οὔσας ἤφίεσαν τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις.

[5] *In Mid.* p. 540, 5.

[6] *Ibid.* 540, 21: δίκην δὲ τούτων λαχὼν ὕστερον τῆς κακηγορίας εἶλον ἐρήμην· οὐ γὰρ ἀπήντα.

[7] l. 23: λαβὼν δ' ὑπερήμερον καὶ ἔχων οὐδενὸς ἠψάμην πώποτε τῶν τούτου ἀλλὰ λαχὼν ἐξούλης πάλιν οὐδέπω καὶ τήμερον εἰσελθεῖν δεδύνημαι.

such cases, the matter was brought before the popular assembly,[1] and on a show of hands the offender was ordered to be prosecuted.[2] The speech which Demosthenes composed for the occasion is extant, but was never delivered, as Midias compounded the charge by a payment of half a talent.[3] The charges against Androtion and Timocrates were also stimulated by their ill-usage of the accuser Diodorus, but the grounds alleged are entirely of a public nature. About the same time, Demosthenes appeared as the advocate of Ctesippus, the son of Chabrias, to prosecute Leptines, who had in 356 B.C. passed a statute for the abolition of hereditary exemptions from the public burdens, Chabrias having been one of those to whose family this privilege had been granted. And in 352 B.C., he composed a most elaborate speech for Euthycles, who indicted Aristocrates for moving a decree in favour of the adventurer, Charidemus, which contained a clause making his person inviolable. He also composed at this time a great many orations for suitors in private causes. His most important efforts, however, were the series of public speeches referring to the proceedings of Philip of Macedon, and known to the ancients as the twelve *Philippics*, a name which has become a general designation for spirited invectives.[4] These speeches extended over the period from 352 to 339 B.C. But he was not merely a statesman—that is, in the Athenian sense of the term, an influential speaker in the senate and in the public assembly. He was also an active diplomatist, and when not thwarted by the

---

[1] Dem. *Mid.* 514, 6: *προυβαλόμην αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν.* The *προβολή* or 'plaint to the assembly,' as Mr. Kennedy renders it (Dem. *against Leptines, Midias,* &c., p. 365), 'was an application to the people for leave to prefer a criminal charge;' see Meier and Schömann, *Alt. Proz.* p. 271.

[2] *Ib.* p. 515, 2: *μιᾷ γνώμῃ κατεχειροτόνησεν αὐτοῦ.*

[3] Æschines says distinctly (*c. Ctesiph.* 61, 64), that Demosthenes *ἀπέδοτο τριάκοντα μνῶν ἅμα τήν τε εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου καταχειροτονίαν ἣν ἐν Διονύσου κατεχειροτόνησε Μειδίου.* Plutarch, who recognizes the fact, attributes it to a belief, on the part of Demosthenes, that he could not cope with the influence of Midias (*Vit. Dem.* c. 12). Mr. Grote suggests that 'he may have delivered the discourse and obtained judgment in his favour; and then afterwards—when the second vote of the dicasts was about to come on for estimation of the penalty—may have accepted the offer of the defendant to pay a moderate fine, in fear of exasperating too far the powerful friends around Midias' (*Hist. of Greece,* XI. p. 479).

[4] See *e.g.* Juvenal, X. 129.

misconduct of indolent or corrupt colleagues, he performed the most important services to his country in this capacity. He was one of the ten ambassadors who were sent to Philip at the end of 347 B.C. His colleague, Æschines, whose words we are obliged to receive with the greatest caution, tells us[1] that on this occasion, when he appeared for the first time in the presence of the king of Macedon, whose designs he had so often denounced at home, his presence of mind entirely failed him; and that, in spite of some good-natured encouragement from Philip,[2] who was no doubt curious to hear the most renowned speaker of the anti-Macedonian party, he was unable to deliver more than a few confused and incoherent sentences. It is not impossible that this story rests on a foundation of facts, distorted, of course, by the malignity of a rival politician. Either, as Mr. Grote suggests,[3] Demosthenes was really intimidated by his new and formidable audience, or his common sense assured him that this was not an occasion on which fine speaking could produce any practical results, and so he contented himself with a very brief address. When it was agreed that peace should be made with Philip, Demosthenes was again one of the ten ambassadors sent to take the oaths from him.[4] The majority of his colleagues, probably bribed with Macedonian gold, delayed their journey, so as to enable Philip to complete his Thracian conquests, and even to prepare for the immediate invasion of Phocis. The ruin of their unfortunate neighbours opened the eyes of the Athenians to the treacherous counsels by which they had been misled. Philocrates, the proposer of the peace, was impeached by Hypereides, and fled from Athens.[5]

---

[1] *Fals. Leg.* p. 32.

[2] *Ibid.* l. 44: ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ὡς διέκειτο θαρρεῖν τε παρεκελεύετο καὶ μὴ νομίζειν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, διὰ τοῦτο οἴεσθαί τι πεπονθέναι, κ.τ.λ.

[3] XI. p. 530. He inclines to believe 'that Demosthenes was partially divested of his oratorical powers, by finding himself speaking not only before the enemy whom he had so bitterly denounced, but surrounded by all the evidences of Macedonian power, and doubtless exposed to unequivocal marks of well-earned hatred, from those Macedonians who took less pains than Philip to disguise their real feelings.'

[4] See Thirlwall (*Hist. of Greece*, V. pp. 356 foll.), and Grote (XI. pp. 556 foll.), whose accounts of all these proceedings are accompanied by a criticism of the contradictory explanations, given by Demosthenes and Æschines.

[5] Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* p. 376; Hypereides, *Pro Euxenippo*, col. 39, l. 7 foll. d. Babington.

The accusation Æschines, which Demosthenes and Timarchus had undertaken, was delayed by the successful attack made by Æschines on the latter,[1] and by his procrastination in submitting to the usual scrutiny.[2] It came on, however, in B.C. 343, and the two great speeches of the rival orators are still extant. Æschines, with the help of Eubulus and Phocion, was acquitted by a majority of 30 votes.[3] This partial check did not interfere with the growing influence of Demosthenes. He was the life and soul of all the opposition which Athens raised to the restless intrigues and attempts of Philip. It was by his counsels that embassies, in which he took a part, were sent to the Peloponnesus, to the Ionian Isles, to Illyria, Thessaly, the Chersonese, and Byzantium.[4] He recommended the expedition to Eubœa, which detached that island from Macedon.[5] And when the war was renewed between the Athenians and Philip, it was he who induced his countrymen to send a fleet to the relief of Byzantium, in B.C. 340, and thus to bring the Thracian campaign to a successful issue.[6] His greatest triumph was the alliance which he brought about between Athens and Thebes,[7] when the insane proceedings of Æschines[8] had stirred up a second sacred war, and introduced Philip into Bœotia. Although the unfortunate issue of the battle of Chæroneia in B.C. 338 overthrew the independence of Athens, the active patriotism of Demosthenes had saved his country from a greater disaster,[9] and he maintained his position in spite of that event. The death of Philip, in B.C. 336, opened an avenue for successful exertion, but the Athenians, under the evil influence of Phocion, took no advantage of it. The destruction of

---

[1] See Thirlwall, VI. pp. 28 foll. The success of Æschines was due to the notorious profligacy of Timarchus, which enabled him to dispense with witnesses. On this account Demosthenes says, with express reference to the prosecution of Timarchus, the only public indictment which had, up to that time, been brought forward by Æschines: ὃς γὰρ ἀγῶνας καινοὺς ὥσπερ δράματα καὶ τούτους ἀμάρτυρας πρὸς διαμεμετρημένην τὴν ἡμέραν αἱρεῖς διώκων δῆλον ὅτι πάνδεινός εἶ τις (*De Fals. Leg.* p. 578).

[2] Thirlwall, VI. p. 26.

[3] Below, § 4, p. 336 [176].

[4] Grote, XI. pp. 626 sqq.

[5] *De Coronâ*, p. 252.

[6] *Ibid.* pp. 254, 304–308.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 286, 7.

[8] Æsch. *c. Ctes.* pp. 69 foll.

[9] *i.e.* an invasion of Attica from Elatea in B.C. 339; see Thirlwall, VI. p. 62, Grote, XI. p. 671.

Thebes was followed by Alexander's demand for the extradition of Demosthenes and the other anti-Macedonian leaders.[1] Although Phocion recommended compliance, the Athenians magnanimously rejected the demand, and Alexander was induced to modify it.[2] Demosthenes, though no longer a leader, still retained considerable influence at Athens, which was shown by the results of his second great contest with Æschines, in B.C. 330. This arose from the proposal made by Ctesiphon, in B.C. 338, not long after the battle of Chæroneia, that Demosthenes should be rewarded with a golden crown and an eulogistic proclamation at the great Dionysia, specially for his exertions and expenditure in repairing the city walls, and generally for his patriotic and able conduct as a statesman.[3] This proposal was indicted by Æschines, as the representative of the Macedonian party, nominally on various technical grounds, but really as an impeachment of the political life of Demosthenes. The circumstances of the intervening years had prevented the Macedonizers from bringing on the case; but when the death of Agis, in 330 B.C., had made their cause stronger than ever,[4] they thought that a favourable opportunity had arrived for effecting the ruin or discredit of their chief opponent. The speech by which Æschines supported his prosecution, and the triumphant answer of Demosthenes, are still extant, and are perhaps the best specimens of Greek oratory which we have. The latter is by universal consent an unequalled effort of human eloquence. Æschines did not obtain the fifth part of the votes, and in bitter mortification withdrew from Athens.[5] But this was the last happiness of Demosthenes, so far as we know his history. For the next five or six years we read nothing of his proceedings. But in the year 324 B.C., Harpalus, the satrap of Babylonia, sought an asylum in Attica

[1] The persons demanded were, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hypereides, Polyeuctus, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus, and Mœrocles (Arrian, *Anab.* I. 10, § 6. Plut. *Dem.* c. 23, mentions Demon instead of Diotimus, and Callisthenes instead of Hypereides).

[2] He was satisfied with demanding the surrender of Charidemus and Ephialtes, who fled from Athens and took service with the Persians.

[3] In the terms of the proposed decree.

[4] Thirlwall, VI. p. 257.

[5] See the remarks of Grote on the causes of the exile of Æschines (XII. p. 395).

with a considerable treasure, of which the Athenians took possession in trust for Alexander. On counting over the money, it was found to be much less than Harpalus said that he had brought with him, and Demosthenes was charged by Hypereides with having embezzled, or received as bribes, some portion of the deficit. Although it seems to us in the highest degree improbable that there should be any solid foundation for such a charge, fear of the Macedonians, or some other political motives, induced the Athenians to find Demosthenes guilty.[1] He was thrown into prison, but allowed to escape to Ægina and Trœzen, where he resided, gazing with tearful eyes on the coast of Attica,[2] till the death of Alexander, and the renewed opposition to Macedon, which led to the Lamian war, restored him in triumph to his native land. In the vigorous measures, which had nearly led to the ruin of Antipater, Demosthenes was the prime mover. But these bright prospects were soon clouded by the death of the Athenian general Leosthenes, by the loss of the battle of Crannon, and by the subsequent disunion of the allied Greeks. And when Antipater marched into Bœotia, in B.C. 322, Athens was prostrate at his feet. Besides demanding the overthrow of the democratical constitution, he insisted that the anti-Macedonian orators should be given up to him. They fled from Athens, and Demades in their absence induced the 9000 citizens, to whom Antipater had left the right of voting, to condemn them to death. This sentence was passed against Demosthenes, Hypereides, Aristonicus, and Himeræus, the brother of Demetrius of Phalerum. One of the officers of Antipater, Archias, an Italian mercenary of Thurii, 'the exile-hunter' as he was called,[3] tore the last three of them from the sanctuary of Æacus, in Ægina, and sent them to Antipater, who

---

[1] Grote has given good reasons for his conclusion, that 'the verdict against him was not judicial but political, growing out of the embarrassing necessities of the time' (XII. p. 113). Thirlwall comes to the similar result, that 'Demosthenes fell a victim to political intrigues, which derived their chief strength from the critical position in which Athens was placed by her resistance to Alexander's decree for the restoration of the exiles' (VII. 161).

[2] Plut. *Dem.* 27: ἤνεγκε δὲ τὴν φυγὴν μαλακῶς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Τροιζῆνι καθεζόμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποβλέπων δεδακρυμένος.

[3] Plut. *Dem.* 28: Ἀρχίας ὁ κληθεὶς Φυγαδοθήρας, *i. e.*, 'the blood-hound.' It

put them all to death. With a band of Thracian soldiers, Archias tracked Demosthenes to his place of refuge, the temple of Poseidon, in the isle of Calauria, near Trœzen, where he had spent part of his year of exile. Archias, who had been an actor, and a student of rhetoric, tried to induce Demosthenes to quit the sanctuary by some promises of mediation couched in high-flown and theatrical language.[1] Demosthenes obliged him to throw off the mask by an irritating reference to his former employment as a stage-player, and the agent of Antipater broke out into undisguised and angry menaces. 'Now,' said Demosthenes, 'you speak the true words of the Macedonian oracle—before you were but acting.' He then asked Archias to wait till he had written home, and withdrawing to the inner part of the temple, took a dose of poison which he carried about his person. Having waited till the effects began to be felt, he rose up and staggered to the door of the temple, where he fell dead. His last words were: 'You may at once, O Archias, enact the part of Creon, and cast out this body unburied. O dear Poseidon, I quit thy temple still alive, but Antipater and the Macedonians have not allowed even thy sanctuary to be uncontaminated.'[2]

Such was the miserable end of this great orator. It was not very long before the Athenians returned to their appreciation of the man who had served them so well for more than

---

appears that he had been a pupil of the celebrated actor Polus, and of the rhetoricians Lacritus and Anaximenes. It is worth noticing that Lacritus, who had been a pupil of Isocrates, is severely handled in one of the private orations of Demosthenes, below, § 5.

[1] We cannot agree with Mr. Grote (XII. p. 441) in his rejection of Plutarch's account of the death of Demosthenes. It appears to us not only very vivid and natural in itself, but also not improbable, for Archias would be likely to recollect and recount incidents in which he imagined that he had played a creditable part: such a statement as Ἀρχίου πολλὰ φιλάνθρωπα διαλεχθέντος (Plut. *Dem.* 29) could hardly have proceeded from any other informant, and if we compare the moderate language in which Demosthenes alludes to the histrionic antecedents of this tool of tyranny with the taunts which he flings out against Æschines, we may almost suppose that Archias softened down some unpleasant things that were said to him. The reference to Creon is quite in the spirit of Demosthenes: see *De Coronâ*, p. 288, l. 19; and Archias was literally the representative of a tyrant.

[2] Plut. *Dem.* 29: οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις ἤδη τὸν ἐκ τῆς τραγῳδίας ὑποκρινόμενος Κρέοντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο ῥίπτων ἄταφον. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ φίλε Πόσειδον, ἔτι ζῶν ἐξανίσταμαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ· τῷ δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακέδοσιν οὐδ' ὁ σὸς ναὸς καθαρὸς ἀπολέλειπται.

thirty years. His nephew, Demochares, lived to propose and carry a decree,[1] by which his eldest descendant for the time being had reserved to him a seat at the public table in the Prytaneum; and a statue of bronze was erected in his honour both in the agora at Athens and in the temple at Calauria, where he died.[2] The former bore the plain-spoken inscription:[3]—

> Had but thy power, Demosthenes, mated thy prudent mind,
> No chains of warlike Macedon would free-born Hellas bind!

His countrymen were pleased to see that a just retribution punished the immediate authors of his death. Archias died in poverty, and universally detested.[4] And one of the last acts of Antipater was to order the execution of the corrupt and treacherous Demades.[5] To these feelings on the part of the Athenians, when they looked back, a few years afterwards, on the completed career of Demosthenes, we lend a ready sympathy. It is our present business to regard this great man in his literary rather than his political capacity, but we cannot refrain from recording our concurrence in the sentiment so strongly expressed by Niebuhr, that Demosthenes was politically a saint, that we do not envy the man who judges him differently, and that his whole political life, and all that concerns his honour as a statesman, are without spot or change.[6]

§ 2. The sixty-one speeches which have come down to us under the name of Demosthenes, probably include all that he left in writing.[7] And the collection contains besides many that he did not compose or deliver. They are generally divided into three classes—the harangues to the people (δημηγορίαι), the orations on public causes (δημόσιοι λόγοι),

---

[1] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 847 D. [2] Pausanias, II. 33, § 5.

[3] εἰπερ ἴσην ῥώμην γνώμῃ, Δημόσθενες, εἶχες,
οὔποτ' ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἄρης Μακέδων.

Plut. *Dem.* 30; who speaks of it as τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ θρυλλούμενον.

[4] Arrian, *ap. Phot. cod.* XCII. p. 218: Ἀρχίας ὁ Θούριος ἐν ἐσχάτῃ πενίᾳ καὶ ἀτιμίᾳ διατρίψας ἐτελεύτησε τὸν βίον.

[5] Diod. XVIII. 48. Arrian, u. s. Athen. XIII. 591. It was Cassander who executed judgment on Demades according to Plutarch, *Dem.* 31, *Phoc.* 30.

[6] *Philological Museum*, I. pp. 487, 497.

[7] See Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 355. Photius (*cod.* CCLXV.) says: φέρονται λόγοι γνήσιοι ἑξήκοντα πέντε, but, as Mr. Clinton remarks, it is not explained what this list of sixty-five contained, and it might include some spurious pieces.

and the speeches upon private causes (ἰδιωτικοὶ λόγοι).[1] We shall consider them according to this division, but we shall place by themselves the two great speeches which he made against Æschines, both because the corresponding orations of the rival orator are still extant, and also because these compositions have a distinct historical and oratorical value.

We have fifteen parliamentary speeches or harangues addressed to the popular assembly, and this is the number recognized by Dionysius.[2] Of these, twelve relate more or less directly to the proceedings of Philip, and, as we have already mentioned, are called the *Philippics*. This title, however, is generally restricted to five of them, the first and fifth being contained in one. Three others are called the *Olynthiacs*, and the remaining four have special designations—'On the Peace,' 'The Halonnesus,' and 'The Chersonesus.' The three other public speeches are these—'On the Symmoriæ,' 'For the People of Megalopolis,' and 'For the Rhodians.'

It has been already stated that the first in point of time of this collection of parliamentary addresses was the speech respecting the *Symmoriæ*, in B.C. 354. The object of this speech was to show that, although there was no immediate occasion for a special confederacy of the Greeks to resist the king of Persia, it was still necessary that Athens should be well prepared for any eventuality. With this view he brings forward an elaborate and well-conceived scheme for the classification of the 1200 wealthiest citizens in the twenty companies (συμμορίαι), two for each tribe, which were required, each in its turn, to advance the special war contribution or property-tax (εἰσφορά).[3]

The next in order was the speech for the people of Megalopolis, delivered in B.C. 353. In this oration, as in the preceding, Macedon and Philip do not enter into the speaker's thoughts. The principle which he lays down is, that it is expedient for Athens that both Sparta and Thebes should be as weak as possible. And, as Thebes at this time was sufficiently enfeebled

---

[1] They are arranged according to their dates, and in these classes, by Mr. Clinton, II. p. 360.

[2] *Ad Ammæum*, p. 744, Reiske.

[3] See Grote, XI. pp. 398 foll.

by her contest with the Phocians, the orator recommends his countrymen to accept the alliance of Megalopolis, and so to check the designs of Sparta in the south.[1]

The first *Philippic* was spoken in B.C. 352. Here we have Demosthenes in the character which he sustained to the last—the sagacious discoverer of the dangerous designs of Philip, the energetic statesman who roused his indolent countrymen to a true sense of their perils and their duty. He boldly throws the blame on the people no less than their advisers; and calling upon the Athenians to serve in person instead of leaving the military functions of the free citizen to be performed by mercenaries, he proposes to equip an adequate standing force, and to provide the means for paying the soldiers and sailors by a financial scheme which has not come down to us.[2]

In B.C. 351, he delivered his speech about the freedom of the Rhodians, urging the Athenians to support the democratical party in that island, and obviating the fear that either the queen of Caria, or the Persian king, would espouse the cause of the ruling oligarchy. The former, he shows, would probably abstain from all interference, and the king of Persia was not by any means so formidable an opponent as Philip of Macedon, whom some affected to hold cheap.[3]

The three *Olynthiac* speeches were delivered in the year B.C. 349. The chronological order of these vigorous harangues has been made the subject of learned discussions by able scholars.[4] On the whole, there seems to be good ground for acquiescing in the conclusion of Stüve and Mr. Grote, that the third Olynthiac should retain its old place, and that the order of the first and second should be reversed. According to this view, the earliest of these speeches considers the affairs of Olynthus as only one element in the general opposition to the designs of Philip, and dwells rather on the advantage of an alliance with that important city than on the risk to which it was exposed,

---

[1] See Grote, XI. pp. 406 foll. [2] *Id.* pp. 431 foll. [3] Thirlwall, V. p. 304.

[4] See Mr. Grote's Appendix to his 88th chapter (vol. XI. pp. 499—504). The three arrangements are:—

Edited order	I.	II.	III.
Order of Dionysius	II.	III.	I.
Stueve and Grote	II.	I.	III.

and the consequences which the success of Philip in that quarter would probably entail.[1] In the next Olynthiac speech —that which is first in the ordinary arrangement—Demosthenes enlarges upon these special considerations. Olynthus is in danger, and if Philip conquers it, he will soon be able, instead of fighting the Athenians in the north, to transfer the war to their own soil. And under the emergency, as he presents it to them, he recommends an adequate armament, both military and naval, which must be provided for, if necessary, by even an appropriation of the public-spectacle money—the *theoricon*, as it was called.[2] The Athenians partially acted on this advice, and their troops gained some trifling success which led them to indulge in overweening exultation. To repress this feeling and to point out the real state of the case, Demosthenes delivered the third Olynthiac oration.[3] And he is so far from encouraging them in the belief that they had the game in their hands, that he insists upon the necessity of increased exertions, and goes so far as to suggest the immediate appointment of a board for a revision of the laws with a view to the application of the *theoricon* to the purposes of the war.[4] This third Olynthiac is one of the noblest of all the speeches of Demosthenes.

The speech *on the Peace*, which was delivered in B.C. 346, after the ruin of Phocis, and the promotion of Philip to the Amphictyonic dignity, contains a calm and statesmanlike view of the question, whether Philip's newly usurped honours should be recognized. Disapproving of the peace, he did not think that either the time or the cause warranted an appeal to arms. It would be foolish, he said, and absolutely monstrous, when they had so demeaned themselves with the separate states in regard to their dearest interests for the sake of peace, to go to war with them all collectively for the sake of a seat in the shady nook at Delphi.[5]

In B.C. 344, the second *Philippic* was spoken. Philip had sent ambassadors to Athens, probably the mission in which the

---

[1] Grote, XI. p. 457.
[2] *Olynth.* I. p. 15.
[3] Grote, XI. p. 468.
[4] *Olynth.* III. pp. 31, 32.
[5] *De Pace*, p. 63, l. 23: οὐκοῦν εἴθηθες καὶ κομιδῇ σχέτλιον πρὸς ἑκάστους καθ' ἕνα οὕτω προσενηνεγμένους περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων, πρὸς πάντας περὶ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιᾶς νυνὶ πολεμῆσαι.

Byzantine orator Python took a prominent part, and, as Dr. Thirlwall suggests,[1] it 'seems to have been the speech with which Demosthenes prefaced a motion for the answer which he proposed to give to the ambassadors.' It is directed in great measure against the Philippizing Orators,[2] and it warns the Athenians to be on their guard against the Macedonian king, and to form alliances against him.

The oration 'about the Halonnesus,' which was delivered in B.C. 343, is wrongly attributed to Demosthenes. There is good reason for believing that its author was Hegesippus, an orator of the anti-Macedonian party.[3] Demosthenes spoke on the occasion, but his harangue is lost.[4]

The oration *on the Affairs of the Chersonesus*[5] and the third *Philippic* were both delivered in B.C. 342, when the peace between Philip and the Athenians was growing more and more nominal, and the rupture becoming gradually more inevitable. In the former, which is a masterpiece of eloquence, the orator deprecates the recal of Diopeithes,[6] an active leader of mercenaries, who had engaged in unauthorized hostilities with Philip, and had levied contributions from his subjects in Thrace, and even apprehended an envoy sent to treat with him.[7] In both orations he deals immediately with the affairs of the Chersonesus, and it has been supposed[8] that the third *Philippic* had reference to a request for protection from the subjects of Athens in that quarter. The *Philippic* boldly states that the nominal peace had been really a state of war, as far as Philip's actions were

---

[1] Thirlwall, VI. p. 10.

[2] There is a special allusion to Philocrates in p. 73, l. 2, for it was this corrupt orator who reviled Demosthenes as a teetotalist; see *Fals. Leg.* p. 355. l. 25.

[3] See Æsch. *c. Ctes.* 65, and the arguments of Winiewski and Vömel, cited, the former at length and the latter briefly, in Dindorf's *Annotationes* (Oxford, 1849, vol. I. pp. 139—142).

[4] Libanius, *Argum.*: ὁ μὲν τοῦ Δημοσθένους λόγος ὁ περὶ τῆς Ἀλοννήσου ῥηθεὶς οὐ σώζεται, ἐκείνου δὲ οὐκ ὄντος τὸν εὑρεθέντα προσέθεσαν αὐτῷ.

[5] There is a spirited translation of this speech in Lord Brougham's *Works*, vol. VII. pp. 73 foll.

[6] Diopeithes has another contact with Greek literature as the father of the poet Menander.

[7] *Epist. Philippi*, p. 159, l. 13.

[8] By Winiewski (*ad Orat. de Coronâ*, p. 176), on the strength of the expression τἄλλα ὅσα ἀξιοῦσι, *Phil.* III. p. 129, l. 28.

concerned, and both speeches insist on the necessity of sending embassies and organizing a confederacy to check the king's increasing ambition.

The fourth *Philippic* is generally regarded[1] as a spurious composition, made up of passages taken from the genuine orations of Demosthenes. Scholars have come to a similar conclusion respecting the speech *on the Letter of Philip*, and *the Funeral Oration*. That *on the Arrangement of the Republic* (περὶ συντάξεως) has been pronounced by F. A. Wolf to be a patchwork made up in great measure of extracts from the third *Olynthiac*, and the speech against Aristocrates.[2]

§ 3. A general reference has been already made to the speeches against Androtion and Leptines, delivered in B.C. 355, against Timocrates in B.C. 353, against Aristocrates in B.C. 352, and that prepared for delivery against Midias in B.C. 348. They are distinguished by the same characteristics—great knowledge of the laws and history of Athens, acute reasoning, and powerful declamation. That against Leptines was a special favourite with the ancient critics. Dionysius says that of all the speeches of Demosthenes, this oration on the immunities has the greatest polish and literary finish;[3] and the eminent rhetorician, Aristides, has left us a formal imitation of it. Cicero specially praises it for its subtlety,[4] and the great modern scholar, F. A. Wolf, assigns it the next place in point of excellence to the noble speech *on the Crown*.[5] The accuracy of the language is very remarkable, and we have some examples of refinements and distinctions, which evince the most laborious and careful preparation.[6]

---

[1] See Dindorf, *Annot.* I. p. 202.

[2] Wolf, *Proleg. ad Leptineam*, p. 74: 'si quid video, oratio quæ inscribitur περὶ συντάξεως seu de Republicâ ordinandâ, Demosthenis non est, sed ex aliis ejus, maxime Olynth. III. et Aristocrateâ, ab aliquo declamatore consutis pannis confecta.'

[3] *Ad Ammæum*, p. 724: ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν λόγος χαριέστατος ἁπάντων τῶν λόγων καὶ γραφικώτατος.

[4] *Orator.* 31: 'multæ sunt Demosthenis orationes totæ subtiles, ut contra Leptinem: multæ totæ graves ut quædam Philippicæ: multæ variæ, ut contra Æschinem falsæ legationis, ut contra eundem pro caussâ Ctesiphontis.'

[5] *Prolegomena in Lept.* p. 42.

[6] As in the refined distinction between ἀφαιρεῖν and ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, p. 462, 1, 3.

The orations against Androtion, Timocrates, and Aristocrates, are marked by a similarity of subject and a resemblance of style, which sometimes amounts to a repetition of the same arguments and even the same expressions. This parsimony, or at least economy of diction, is particularly observable in the two former speeches, which are written for the same accuser, and virtually directed against the same offending party. It is interesting to examine the relations between Demosthenes and the persons who figure in these two orations. Androtion, the son of Andron, was an orator of no mean eminence. He had been a pupil of Isocrates,[1] and has received commendation from Aristotle, who preserves a fragment from one of his speeches.[2] At the time when this action was brought against him, he had been a leading politician for more than thirty years, and had held many offices of great responsibility.[3] But he seems to have been a selfish demagogue, and his private character was on a par with his political reputation. It has been supposed, and, as we shall see, not without reason, that he was the same person as the historian Androtion, who wrote the *Atthis*.[4] He is attacked in the cause, for which the speech of Demosthenes was written, by Euctemon and Diodorus, both of whom he had wronged in the most signal manner, on the ground that he had illegally proposed the usual honour of a crown to the council of the five hundred, although they had not performed their prescribed duty of building some additional triremes. This was in B.C. 355, and we do not know precisely the result of the action. In B.C. 353, the same Androtion is the cause of the attack made by Euctemon and Diodorus against Timocrates. He had been sent as ambassador to Caria, and on the way the trireme in which he sailed had captured a merchant ship of Naucratis, and brought her into the Peiræus. The ambassadors had sold and appropriated the captured goods, which really belonged to the state, and had been summoned to refund the proceeds. In order to screen them, Timocrates, a hireling orator, had proposed a law, which

---

[1] Dem. *c. Androt.* p. 594, 15.

[2] *Rhet.* III. 4, § 3. He compared his adversary Idrieus to an unchained and savage dog.

[3] Dem. *c. Timocr.* pp. 734, 5.

[4] Below, chapter XLIII. § 6.

would have relieved Androtion from the usual penalties. And in arguing against this law, Demosthenes has to take a course the very opposite to that which was necessary in the attack on Leptines. It is curious to observe how the personal relations of these public men varied at different times in their career, fully justifying the saying of Bias, quoted by Sophocles, that the harbour of political partizanship was not a safe place of refuge, and that we must limit our animosity by the thought that our enemy may one day be our friend.[1] In the speech against Midias, which was delivered in B.C. 348, we find that Euctemon had become one of the party of that insolent enemy of Demosthenes. 'Now,' he says,[2] 'Polyeuctus, Timocrates, Euctemon, that dirty fellow (ὁ κονιορτός), are the protectors of Midias. These and others too are his hireling attendants, a confederate association of witnesses, not indeed troubling you openly, but without any scruple expressing their assent to falsehoods. By heaven, I do not believe that they derive any advantage from him, but they have a surprising habit of surrendering themselves disgracefully (φθείρεσθαι) to the rich, and following at their heels, and giving testimony for them.' Another Euctemon is mentioned with great commendation in the same speech,[3] and has been identified with the prosecutor of Timocrates and Androtion; but the fact that Euctemon takes the lead in an attack on such a formidable antagonist as the latter, seems to show that he was, like the other Euctemon, an orator and public man, as indeed we know he was; and the friendly relations, which afterwards subsisted between Polyeuctus and Demosthenes, are at

---

[1] Soph. *Ajax*, 678:

ἐγὼ δ' ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ ἀρτίως ὅτι
ὅ τ' ἐχθρὸς ἡμῖν ἐς τοσόνδ' ἐχθαρτέος
ὡς καὶ φιλήσων αὖθις· ἔς τε τὸν φίλον
τοσαῦθ' ὑπουργῶν ὠφελεῖν βουλήσομαι
ὡς αἰὲν οὐ μενοῦντα· τοῖς πολλοῖσι γὰρ
βροτῶν ἄπιστός ἐσθ' ἑταιρείας λιμήν.

Cf. Dem. *c. Aristocr.* p. 660, 24, who expresses this sentiment in his own words, and see Arist. *Rhet.* II. 13, § 4; Cic. *Læl.* c. 16.

[2] *C. Mid.* p. 560, § 2. It is the opinion of Ruhnken that the Polyeuctus here was the same as the orator of Sphettus, but Böhnecke and Dindorf think this improbable.

[3] *C. Mid.* p. 568, l. 24.

least as inconsistent with this passage as the association here of Euctemon and Timocrates.

The elaborate oration against Aristocrates, in B.C. 352, was composed for one Euthycles, who had served as a trierarch on the coast of Thrace, and had appeared on former occasions as an accuser.[1] The oration is interesting from the information, which we derive from it, respecting the laws of Athens and the affairs of Thrace, and though it generally exhibits an elaboration of arguments rather than the energy of fervid eloquence, there are here and there some very striking passages, as, for example, that in which he compares the selfishness of the contemporary statesmen with the patriotism of such citizens as Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides. 'In those days,' he says,[2] 'the people was the master, now it is the ministering slave of the public men. They, who propose such decrees—who accustom you to think lightly of yourselves, and to hold in reverence some one or two individuals,—are to blame for all this. They it is who have stepped into the inheritance of your glory and your possessions, whereas you have not the least advantage from them, but witness the prosperity of others; having no share in anything —except being cheated. And yet what would be the groaning of those great men, who died for glory and for freedom, and left behind the records of many noble deeds, if by any possibility they could be aware that the city has now degraded itself to the form and office of a dependent, and is actually debating whether it is right to protect the person of Charidemus. Of Charidemus! out upon him!'[3]

The investigations of modern scholars have confirmed the opinions of the old critics, that the orations against *Theocrines*[4] and *Neæra*, and the two speeches against *Aristogeiton*, are not the genuine works of Demosthenes. The first of these, which

---

[1] *C. Aristocr.* p. 622, l. 27.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 690, l. 10.

[3] The conclusion deserves to be quoted in the original: καίτοι πηλίκον τί ποτ ἂν στενάξειαν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ ὑπὲρ δόξης καὶ ἐλευθερίας τελευτήσαντες καὶ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ὑπομνήματα καταλιπόντες εἰ ἄρα αἰσθοιντο ὅτι νῦν ἡ πόλις εἰς ὑπηρέτου σχῆμα καὶ τάξιν προελήλυθε, καὶ Χαρίδημον εἰ χρὴ φρουρεῖν βουλεύεται; Χαρίδημον; οἴμοι (*c. Aristocr.* p. 690, l. 17). For the force of οἴμοι, see Soph. *Antig.* 86. Aristoph. *Aves*, 145.

[4] The Theocrines, in this case, was perhaps the loud-voiced and histrionic speaker mentioned in the *Orat. de Coron.* p. 329, 26.

was delivered in B.C. 333; is an ἔνδειξις brought by one Epichares, and is distinctly attributed to Deinarchus by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[1] The second was probably classed with the works of Demosthenes, because it was drawn up for Apollodorus, the son of Pasion, for whom Demosthenes composed so many forensic addresses. It is referred to the year B.C. 340. Its genuineness is doubted by Phrynichus,[2] Photius,[3] and Athenæus,[4] chiefly on account of its style. The majority of modern critics have agreed in discarding it. The two speeches against *Aristogeiton* are rhetorical exercitations by later sophists analogous to that which Aristides composed on the same subject as the Leptinean oration.[5] It is a fact that Demosthenes took a part, apparently a secondary part, with Lycurgus, in the prosecution of Aristogeiton in B.C. 331;[6] and we have still the speech in which the same individual was attacked by Deinarchus in B.C. 324. And this was a sufficient reason for the selection of this cause for an exercise by some rhetorician. But it is probable that Demosthenes, who followed Lycurgus, had not much occasion to make an elaborate speech, and that he did not think it worth while to publish what he had spoken.

§ 4. The two great speeches against Æschines, the unsuccessful attack in the speech *on the Embassy* in B.C. 343, and the triumphant defence in the speech *on the Crown* in B.C. 330, are the most elaborate and important of all the orations of Demosthenes; and in studying them we have the peculiar advantage of possessing the corresponding addresses of the rival orator.

Both in literary merit and in real power, the speech *on the Embassy* appears to us conspicuously inferior to that *on the Crown*. In the former, Demosthenes seems to feel throughout an imperfect confidence in the goodness of his cause. That

---

[1] *De Dinarcho*, p. 652; Reiske. Cf. Harpocration, s.vv. ἀγραφίου and Θεοκρίνης.

[2] p. 225, Lobeck: διά τε τὰ ἄλλα ὑπωπτεύθη μὴ εἶναι Δημοσθένους καὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀδοκίμων ὀνομάτων.

[3] *Cod.* CCLXV.

[4] XIII. p. 573 B.: εἰ γνήσιος.

[5] See Westermann, *Quæst. Demosthen.* pars III., reprinted in Dindorf's *Annotationes*, II. pp. 1012–1020.

[6] Liban. *Argum.* p. 769, Phot. *Cod.* CCLXV.

Philocrates had been guilty of corruption and treason might be regarded as an established fact. But the anti-Macedonian party had no sufficient evidence to bring home the same charge to Æschines. There can be little doubt that Æschines, like Phocion and Eubulus, was influenced at first by the general tendencies of the Athenian people, and by a wish to make political capital in following the stream of public opinion, rather than by any corrupt motives; though in all probability these were superadded when Æschines came under the immediate pressure of Macedonian seductions. Demosthenes, too, may have felt that he had been too ready himself to accept the peace, and that he had not spoken out on some points so plainly as he ought to have done.[1] Perhaps, too, the ruin of Timarchus,[2] who had been originally associated with him in the prosecution, may have damped his ardour, or at least that of his supporters. Be this as it may, there is certainly a want of cogency in many parts of this speech; it is comparatively lax in its order and arrangement; there are repetitions, as though the author thought that a re-assertion was equivalent to an additional argument; and in some parts the evidence seems to have broken down altogether.[3] Nevertheless, its general tendency is to explain and justify the policy which Demosthenes consistently adopted; and when the orator speaks more of the general corruption of the age than of the particular faults of Æschines, his eloquence is irresistible. Nothing, for example, could be finer, than the passage in which he describes the morbid state of political morals in Greece:[4] 'A disease, men of Athens, a dreadful and violent disease, has fallen on Greece—one that exacts on your part extraordinary good fortune and

---

[1] See the criticisms of Grote, XI. pp. 553 foll.

[2] *De Fals. Legat.* p. 341: τὸν μὲν ἀνῄρηκε τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐλθόντων. That this means the disfranchisement and not the death of Timarchus is clear from the glosses in Bekker's *Anecdota*, pp. 27, 16, 402, 23, and the passages quoted by Mr. Shilleto, *Fals. Leg.* p. 432; *Mid.* p. 548. 'According to one account,' says Dr. Thirlwall (VI. p. 29), 'he put an end to his life—a sign of greater sensibility than might have been expected from so profligate a man.' This other account is given in the *Vitæ X. Oratorum*, p. 841 A.

[3] As in the story of the Olynthian woman. Cf. Dem. *Fals. Leg.* p. 402, with Æsch. *Fals. Leg.* sub initio, and pp. 48, 49.

[4] *Fals. Leg.* p. 424.

unusual care. For the men of most consideration in the particular cities, and those who are entrusted with the management of affairs, betraying their own freedom, the unfortunate men! are bringing on themselves a voluntary servitude, calling it by the flattering names of correspondence, association, intimacy with Philip, and the like;[1] while the rest, and whatever are the governing bodies in the several cities, whose duty it is to punish these men, and put them to death on the spot, are so far from doing any such thing that they admire and envy them, and would willingly act in the same way, every one for himself.' The story, too, about the Olynthian woman, though unsupported or rather contradicted by evidence, is a masterpiece of criminatory narrative. And the speech, as a whole, must have produced a great effect. For though Æschines made an admirable defence, and was supported by men of great influence, though the allegations of Demosthenes were often false or inaccurate, and though he laboured throughout under the disadvantage of bringing an invidious charge against a colleague with whom he had acted with general harmony and agreement, Æschines did not obtain a triumphant acquittal, but could only command a majority of thirty votes,[2] which in so numerous a jury was quite inconsiderable; and we do not find that he afterwards regarded his victory with much satisfaction.

To the universal admiration with which the oration *on the Crown* has been regarded we have no qualifications to make. As an effort of oratory it is unsurpassed by any composition in ancient or modern times; and it has been justly remarked that it 'has an historical value as a funeral oration of extinct Athenian and Grecian freedom.'[3] The grounds, on which Æschines impeached Ctesiphon's proposal to crown and eulogize Demosthenes, not only justified but exacted from the latter a complete review of his whole political career. The accuser maintained that Ctesiphon had broken the Athenian laws in three points: (1) because it was unlawful to crown a public functionary before he had rendered an account of his conduct;

---

[1] *Φιλίππου ξενίαν καὶ ἑταιρίαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοιαῦθ' ὑποκοριζόμενοι.*

[2] Plutarch, *Dem.* 15, on the authority of Idomeneus of Lampsacus, who was nearly a contemporary of Demosthenes.

[3] Grote, *History of Greece*, XII. p. 393.

(2) because it was unlawful to proclaim the distinction at the Dionysian festival, the proper place being the Council-hall, if the Council awarded the crown, and the Pnyx, if the assembly decreed it; (3) because it was unlawful to state a falsehood in a public document, and it was false that Demosthenes had deserved any reward, as was stated in the decree. Both the speech of Æschines and the reply of Demosthenes discuss the legal arguments with comparative brevity, and direct all their efforts to the establishment or refutation of the statement that Demosthenes had deserved a public recognition of his virtue and patriotism.[1] In the oration for the defence, which is now before us, it is the main object of the speaker to show that the policy, which he had consistently pursued, had been designed and calculated to strengthen Athens, and to defeat the machinations of foreign enemies, especially Philip of Macedon; and acknowledging that he had failed, he shows that his failure had not been occasioned by any lack of exertions on his part, and that his fellow-citizens had, in the midst of their disasters, gained more glory than they would have obtained by the highest success, if they had followed the converse policy. That the Athenians felt this is proved by the result of the trial—a result not less honourable to the judges than to Demosthenes himself. For in spite of the bitter memories of Chæroneia, the near approach of danger after the downfal of the Thebans, and the subsequent growth of Alexander's power, the men of Athens had the magnanimity to re-affirm their approbation of the anti-Macedonian policy, by such a complete acquittal of Ctesiphon as amounted to a direct censure of his prosecutor. Æschines did not obtain the fifth part of the votes, and feeling that his influence at Athens was at an end, at least so long as the commonwealth retained its freedom of deliberation, he retired from the scene of his discomfiture, and went over to Asia in the hope of obtaining fresh countenance and support from Alexander—a hope which the king's death soon dissipated; and he passed the remainder of his life as a teacher of rhetoric at Rhodes.

[1] This issue is fairly challenged in the words of the decree (*Argum.* p. 223): *ἐπειδὴ διατελεῖ Δημοσθένης ὁ Δημοσθένους παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον εὔνοιαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος.*

Our limits do not allow us to attempt any lengthened analysis of this great oration, or to exhibit its peculiar beauties by adequate specimens. It must be read as a whole by those who would thoroughly appreciate it. Still, it is impossible to mention it without referring to some of the brilliant passages, which are cited invariably as the best illustration of the orator's peculiar genius. Nothing, for example, can surpass the passage in which he maintains the wisdom of facing death in the unselfish pursuit of glory.[1] 'Death is to all men the end of life, even though one should keep oneself shut up in a cage; but it is the duty of good men to aim at all that is noble, holding ever before their eyes a hope for the best, and enduring in a manly spirit whatever the Deity may impose.' In a similar strain we have the celebrated passage in which he assures the Athenians that his policy was in accordance with their own true instincts, and that it would be an insult to them to say that he instructed them in sentiments worthy of their ancestors; but that if they convicted Ctesiphon they would convict themselves, not their adviser, of an erroneous policy. 'But it is impossible,' he cries,[2] 'it is impossible that you have erred, men of Athens, in taking on yourselves the risk for the freedom and safety of all Greece! No! I swear it, by those of your ancestors who placed themselves in danger's van at Marathon, by those who joined the line of battle at Platæa, by those who fought in the ships at Salamis and Artemisium, and many other brave men who are laid to rest in the public monuments, all of whom alike the city interred, thinking them all worthy of the same honour, Æschines, and not merely those among them who had succeeded and were victorious. Justly! for that which was the duty of brave men was done by all of them, and the fortune which they experienced was that which the Deity assigned to each of them.' Other passages of the most fervid eloquence, which are generally cited from this speech, are the description of the excitement at Athens, when the news came that Philip had occupied

[1] *De Coronâ*, p. 258: πέρας γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δὲ ὅτι ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ γενναίως.

[2] *De Coronâ*, p. 297.

Elatea,[1] that in which Demosthenes maintains that he has fortified Athens, not with material walls only, but with armaments and fleets,[2] that in which he asserts the high principles by which his public life had been actuated,[3] and that in which he contrasts the motives by which the Athenians were bound to be influenced with those of the semi-barbarous Philip, who was willing to sacrifice any part of his body which fortune chose to take from him, provided he might live in honour and glory with what remained.[4] Nor is the oration remarkable only for passages of an elevated character. Its sarcasm and invective are unequalled. His elaborate comparison of his own respectability with the humble early life of his rival,[5] and his attack on the father of Æschines as not only a slave, but a runaway slave, on his mother as not only a harlot, but a shameless one[6]—whatever we may think of their taste or even of their strict veracity—are unsurpassed as efforts of withering scorn and overwhelming contumely. The speech, too, abounds in those figures of diction which by their pungency leave the sting in the memory, as when he speaks of 'the crop of traitors, and bought statesmen, and heaven-hated wretches,'[7] who had sprung up as the aiders and abettors of Philip; or where he says,[8] that 'whenever anything untoward happens, Æschines is sure to come forth, just as fractures and sprains are most felt when the body is attacked by some disease.'

Great as are the literary merits of the oration *on the Crown*, they were very much enhanced by the splendid action with which it was delivered; and a story is told that, when Æschines read the speech to his hearers at Rhodes, and when some of them loudly expressed their admiration, the defeated accuser could not refrain from exclaiming, 'what would you say if you had heard the villain himself speak it?'[9]

---

[1] *De Coronâ*, p. 284. [2] *Ibid.* p. 325. l. 22.
[3] *Ibid.* l. 4. [4] *Ibid.* p. 247.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 315. Cf. Milton, *Smectymnuus*, p. 80 (prose works, in one volume).
[6] p. 270.
[7] p. 245. l. 16: φορὰ προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων.
[8] p. 294. l. 21.
[9] Cic. *de Orat.* III. 56. Quintil. XI. 3, § 6. Philostrat. *Vit. Sophist.* I. 19. 5. *Vit. X. Orat.* Photius. *Cod.* CCLXIV. Valer. Max. VIII. 10. p. 840 D. Plin. *H. N.* VIII. 30. Plin. *Epist.* II. 3. 10.

§ 5. Of the thirty-one private orations of Demosthenes which have come down to us, only four are regarded with any doubt by the ancient grammarians—that *against Euergus and Mnesibulus*, which is questioned by Harpocration;[1] that *against Phœnippus concerning the Exchange*, which the author of the argument tells us was by some not referred to the great orator;[2] that *in answer to the Demurrer of Lacritus*, which the author of the argument tells us was regarded by some as not genuine, but on very feeble arguments;[3] and that *against Nicostratus*, which Harpocration seems to doubt.[4] But the evidence in favour of the authenticity of the last two of these speeches outweighs that in the contrary scale. Of the remaining twenty-seven, five are the speeches against his guardians (ἐπιτροπικοὶ λόγοι), to which we have made reference already, and no less than eight had reference to the litigations in which Apollodorus was engaged. All these private speeches have a general interest for the scholar, not only as furnishing specimens of the legal knowledge and argumentative ability of the writer, but also as contributing in no small degree to our knowledge of the public and private economy of Athens. The speeches composed for Apollodorus demand a special notice, on account of some critical questions which affect not merely the chronological arrangement of these orations, but also in some measure the moral character of Demosthenes himself.[5]

Apollodorus was the son of Pasion, an eminent banker at Athens, who died in B.C. 370,[6] leaving two sons by his wife Archippe, namely, Apollodorus, who was then twenty-four, and Pasicles who was a minor. He consigned his wife and the guardianship of Pasicles to Phormio, his freedman, who had

---

[1] s.vv. *ἐκαλίστρουν, ἠτημένην.* He says he feels disposed to assign it to Deinarchus.

[2] p. 1037. 21: *ὁ μὲν λόγος οὐκ ἀναφέρεται παρά τινων εἰς τὸν Δημοσθένην.*

[3] p. 923. l. 10: *οὐκ ὀρθῶς δέ τινες ἐνόμισαν τὸν λόγον μὴ γνήσιον εἶναι ἀμυδροῖς ἀπατηθέντες τεκμηρίοις.*

[4] s.v. *ἀπογραφή*: *ἐν τῷ Δημοσθένους πρὸς Νικόστρατον περὶ τῶν Ἀρεθουσίου ἀνδραποδῶν, εἰ γνήσιος.*

[5] The relations between Apollodorus and Demosthenes are discussed by Beels in his *Diatribe in Demosthenis Orationes*, I. et II. *in Stephanum*, Lugd. Bat. 1825, from which there are some extracts in Dindorf's *Annotationes*, III. pp. 1226—1233.

[6] Dem. *in Steph.* II. p. 1132. l. 25.

hired the management of his bank. Apollodorus was at that time absent from Athens, as the commander of a trireme, and being dissatisfied with his mother's marriage, he commenced an action against Phormio, which was dropped partly on her intercession.[1] For the rest of his mother's life he remained on good terms with Phormio. Archippe died in B.C. 360,[2] immediately after the return of Apollodorus from the protracted trierarchy which led to his action against Polycles, and to the speech which Demosthenes composed for that prosecution. The death of his mother brought Apollodorus into other disputes with Phormio, which were compromised by a payment from Phormio of 5000 drachmæ, and the parties were reconciled.[3] Notwithstanding this, in the year B.C. 350, Apollodorus brought an action for twenty talents, the capital (ἀφορμή) of the bank, against Phormio,[4] who entered a demurrer (παραγραφή), and by this means was enabled to take the initiative in the suit, and, by establishing the fact of the compromise, to nonsuit the plaintiff Apollodorus.[5] Here we find Demosthenes opposed to his old client, and the speech *for Phormio* was that which gave success to the demurrer or cross-action. The litigious son of Pasion was not satisfied with this decision, and brought an action for perjury against one of the witnesses, Stephanus, in support of which Demosthenes composed the two extant orations *against Stephanus;* and we find that Demosthenes was engaged for Apollodorus when he wrote the speech *against Nicostratus,* about the same time as the prosecution of Midias in B.C. 348.[6] Now it was in reference to this acceptance of a brief for Phormio, probably the only occasion on which Demosthenes wrote a speech against Apollodorus, that Æschines, in his speech *on the Embassy,* in B.C. 343, taunts him with treachery

[1] *in Steph.* I. p. 1102, II. p. 1135.

[2] *adv. Polyclem.* p. 1225.

[3] *Pro Phormione,* pp. 948 sqq.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 945, 949.

[5] Beels erroneously supposes that Demosthenes wrote a speech πρὸς Φορμίωνα for Apollodorus, as well as the speech ὑπὲρ Φορμίωνος, which is found among his works. But this rests on a misunderstanding of the words of Plutarch, who, in speaking of the τοὺς πρὸς Φορμίωνα καὶ Στέφανον λόγους, merely means the two speeches against Stephanus, which were virtually against Phormio; see Dindorf. *Annot.* III. p. 1230.

[6] Dindorf, *ad Dem. Nicostr.* p. 1247, 6.

not to Apollodorus, but to Phormio,[1] and both Æschines and Deinarchus[2] insinuate that the opulence of Phormio enabled him to purchase the services of the venal orator. It appears to us most probable that at the time of the final quarrel between Apollodorus and Phormio, Demosthenes was equally intimate with both parties, but was shortly after led to associate himself more closely with Apollodorus, by their common opposition to Eubulus, the supporter of Midias and the patron of Æschines. It must not be forgotten that it was about this time that Apollodorus made the patriotic motion about the Theoric fund, in opposition to Eubulus, and in accordance with the opinion of Demosthenes, and that he was prosecuted for it in a most vindictive manner by a man named Stephanus,[3] perhaps the very Stephanus against whom Demosthenes wrote the speech. This union in public matters would be quite sufficient to account for the conduct of Demosthenes, and for the mode in which Æschines alludes to it. At any rate, there is not the slightest ground for the opinion which has been derived from Plutarch,[4] that Demosthenes wrote speeches both for Phormio and for Apollodorus in one and the same cause.

§ 6. The style and characteristics of Demosthenes have furnished the ancient critic Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, with the materials for a special treatise; and a great modern orator, Lord Brougham, has made this master of ancient eloquence the theme of more than one glowing tribute of praise. As Thucydides was *the* historian, and Homer *the* poet of the old grammarians, in a special and emphatic sense, so Demosthenes was their orator, *par excellence*.[5] Hermogenes places him at the head of all

---

[1] Æsch. *Fals. Legat.* p. 50, l. 23: ἆρά γε οὐχ ὡς σὺ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καὶ πιστεύσασι κέχρησαι, λόγους εἰς δικαστήρια γράφοντα μισθοῦ τούτους ἐκφέρειν τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις; ἔγραψας λόγον Φορμίωνι τῷ τραπεζίτῃ χρήματα λαβών. τοῦτον ἐξήνεγκας Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κρίνοντι Φορμίωνα. Cf. *in Nicostr.* p. 1251, 1.

[2] *In Demosth.* p. 104, l. 19. [3] Grote, XI. p. 485.

[4] Plutarch, *Dem.* 15; see Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 358, and note 5 in the preceding page.

[5] Anonym. *ad Aphthonium, Rhet. Gr.* II. p. 16, 10, Walz.: κατ' ἐξοχὴν εἴρηται . . . . ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ῥήτορα λέγομεν. Doxopater, *Homil. in Aphthon.* II. p. 515, Walz: συγγραφέα ὁ Ἀ. τὸν Θουκυδίδην φησὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐξαίρετον, ὥσπερ καὶ ποιητὴν τὸν Ὅμηρόν φαμεν . . . . . καὶ ῥήτορα ὁμοίως τὸν Δημοσθένην.

political speakers,[1] and the same was the opinion of Theon.[2] Cicero calls him the prince of orators,[3] and declares that nothing was wanting to his perfection.[4] He was not inferior, says the Roman master of eloquence, to Lysias in subtilty, to Hypereides in ingenuity and acuteness, or to Æschines in the exquisite finish and brilliancy of his style.[5]

Dionysius, as we have already mentioned,[6] places Demosthenes and Plato at the head of the most perfect writers in that middle or mixed style, which combined the simplicity of Lysias with the weightier eloquence of Thucydides and Gorgias, and which Thrasymachus was the first to introduce. That Demosthenes was a diligent student of Thucydides is sufficiently attested by the fact, if it is a fact, that he copied out the history eight times.[7] His direct imitation of Thucydides has been recognized by Dionysius,[8] who also saw that his enthymemes or rhetorical arguments were the same as those of the historian.[9] At the same time it is observed that he followed closely in the steps of Isocrates and Isæus,[10] being especially indebted to the latter.[11] The extent to which Plato contributed to form the style of Demosthenes has been differently estimated. Cicero says, distinctly enough, that Demosthenes was not merely a diligent reader of Plato, but that he had been one of his hearers, and that he had admitted this in a letter.[12] This is also stated by Plutarch, on the authority of Hermippus, who adds that Demosthenes was much benefited in his oratorical

---

[1] Hermogenes, *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, III. p. 366, 18, Walz: *ἄριστός τε γὰρ πολιτικῶν λόγων ὁ Δημοσθενικός, ὅ τε αὖ Δημοσθενικὸς λόγος τῶν πολιτικῶν ἄριστος.*

[2] Theo. *προγυμνάσματα*, I. p. 200, 6, Walz.

[3] *Brutus*, 37, § 141.

[4] *Ibid.* 9, § 35; *De Oratore*, I. 13, § 58.

[5] *Orator*. 31, § 110: 'Demosthenes . . . nihil Lysiæ subtilitate cedit, nihil argutiis et acumine Hyperidi, nihil levitate Æschini et splendore verborum.'

[6] Above, c. XXXIX. § 10.

[7] Lucian *adv. indoctum*, p. 102.

[8] *De Thucyd. judicium*, p. 944, Reiske.

[9] *Ad Pomp. de præcip. historicis*, p. 777, Reiske.

[10] Dionys. Hal. *de Demosth. et Aristot.* p. 723, Reiske.

[11] Dionys. Hal. *de Isæo*, p. 586, 592, 611.

[12] Brutus, 31, § 121: 'lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam Demosthenes dicitur, idque apparet ex genere et granditate verborum; dicit etiam in quâdam epistolâ hoc ipse de sese.' Cf. *De Oratore*, I. 20, *De Officiis*, I. 1.

style by the lessons which he received from Plato.[1] And a modern Dutch scholar, who is an enthusiastic admirer of the great philosopher, not only maintains that the style of Demosthenes was framed on the Platonic model, but even discerns in his speeches some genuine fragments of dialogues and dramatic scenes in direct imitation of Plato.[2] On the other hand, Dionysius more than once asserts that the composition (*σύνθεσις*) of Demosthenes was decidedly superior to that of Plato,[3] and tells us that the orator was not an imitator of any style or any man, thinking that all his predecessors had only gone half-way, and were incomplete, but that he selected from all of them what was best and most useful, and wove it into one texture, making from them all one new dialect at once rich and simple, elaborate and ordinary, novel and common, showy and solid, grave and gay, vehement and tranquil, pleasant and bitter, moral and impassioned, exhibiting in fact as many changes as the fabled Proteus.[4] It appears to us that the main characteristic of the eloquence of Demosthenes—that, in fact, which explains the wonderful effects produced by it on popular assemblies—is this, that he used the common language of his age and country, that he took the greatest pains in choosing and arranging his words, that he aimed at the utmost conciseness, making epithets, even common adjectives, do the work of a whole sentence, and that he was enabled, by a perfect delivery and action, to give the proper emphasis and the full effect to the terms which he had selected with so much care, so that a sentence, composed of ordinary terms, sometimes smote with the weight of a sledge-hammer. His rival, Æschines, who sometimes admits incidentally this wonderful power of Demosthenes in putting his

[1] Plut. *Vita Demosth.* 5: Ἕρμιππος δέ φησιν ἀδεσπότοις ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν, ἐν οἷς ἐγέγραπτο τὸν Δημοσθένη συνεσχολακέναι Πλάτωνι, καὶ πλεῖστον εἰς τοὺς λόγους ὠφελῆσθαι.

[2] P. W. van Heusde, *Initia Philosophiæ Platonicæ*, vol. II. part I. pp. 151 sqq. He says: 'exstant in ejus orationibus colloquia formâ et ratione prorsus Platonica,' and he cites, *Chersonn.*, p. 98 D; *Philipp.* IV. p. 150 A; *Phil.* I. p. 43 A. Cf. *Phil.* IV. 138 B. C.

[3] *De Compos. verborum*, p. 117, Reiske.

[4] *De admir. vi dicendi in Dem.* p. 974, 5, Reiske: μιὰν ἐκ πολλῶν διάλεκτον ἀπετέλει, μεγαλοπρεπῆ, λιτήν· περιττήν, ἀπέριττον· ἐξηλλαγμένην, συνήθη· πανηγυρικήν, ἀληθινήν· αὐστηράν, ἱλαράν· σύντονον, ἀνειμένην· ἡδείαν, πικράν· ἠθικήν, παθητικήν, κ.τ.λ.

words together,[1] in one passage charges him with using the most uncouth and offensive figures of speech.[2] He wonders how the Athenians could tolerate such expressions as 'some people are vinedressing the state,' 'some have amputated the vine-twigs of the people,' 'our affairs have been hamstrung,' 'we are being stitched into baskets,' 'some persons are inserting themselves like needles into the interstices,' and then exclaims, 'what are these expressions, you fox? are they words or wonders?' Dionysius seems to be justified in treating this statement as a calumny, and says that although Demosthenes has left 50,000 or 60,000 lines of his writing, no such expressions are to be found in any of his speeches.[3] Æschines knew as well as any one that the strength of Demosthenes did not consist in tumid extravagances like these. In the last speech which he heard Demosthenes deliver, Demosthenes inveighed with deliberate and concentrated virulence against the parents of his opponent, and contrived to express the most cruel imputations, without using any extravagant compounds. By a skilful use of the simplest terms, he tells the Athenians that the father of Æschines was the runaway slave of a poor schoolmaster in the worst part of the town, and that his mother combined shameless profligacy with the most abject poverty.[4]

[1] Dionys. Hal. *De adm. vi dicendi in Dem.* p. 1064.

[2] Æsch. *adv. Ctesiph.* p. 77, § 166: *οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιαρὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα, ἃ πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς, ὦ σιδήρεοι, ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι; ὅτ' ἔφη παρελθὼν 'ἀμπελουργοῦσί τινες τὴν πολιν,' 'ἀνατέτμηκασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου,' 'ὑποστέτμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων,' 'φορμορράφουμεθα,' 'ἐπὶ τὰ στενά τινες ἑαυτοὺς ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι.' ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστι, ὦ κίναδος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα;* We have here emended *πρῶτον* in the last phrase attributed to Demosthenes, and have substituted *ἑαυτούς* to explain the comparison; for *διείρειν βελονὰς* was the regular phrase, as we see in the passage of Galen quoted by Budæus: *διεκβάλλειν καὶ διείρειν τὴν βελονὴν ἐν τῇ γαστρορράφῳ.* That *φορμορράφούμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ* is not the construction is shown by the citation in Dionysius, p. 1126, who puts *καὶ* after the verb.

[3] *ubi supra* p. 1126.

[4] *De Coronâ*, p. 270. The insinuation against the father of Æschines is exaggerated by every turn in the expression: 'he was a slave—in the house of an elementary schoolmaster—near the Theseum—and wore fetters and a collar!' So also of the mother: 'She lived by her broad daylight espousals—in a temporary hovel—close by the shop of Hero the quack-doctor!' The reference to the *κλίσιον* reminds one of Lady Wishfort's vituperation of her maid, whom she found 'dining behind a traverse rag in a shop no bigger than a bird-cage' (Congreve, *Way of the World*, act V. sc. I.).

And he excuses himself from any further prosecution of the subject: 'Really,' he says, 'Æschines was not even the son of merely commonplace parents; he springs from those who are included in the public execrations with which we commence our meetings.'[1] In such a passage as this, and there are many like it, we see that he had carefully considered every word, and that a good deal of the effect must have been due to the delivery. The elaborate painstaking which characterizes the composition of Demosthenes explains the repetitions of striking passages which we find in his speeches. 'Practised as he was,' says Lord Brougham,[2] 'and able surely, if any man ever was, by his mastery over language, to pour out his ideas with facility, he elaborated every passage with almost equal care. Having the same ideas to express, he did not, like our easy and fluent moderns, clothe them in different language for the sake of variety, but reflecting that he had, upon the fullest deliberation, adopted one form of expression as the best, and because every other must needs be worse, he used it again without any change, unless further labour and more trials had enabled him in any particular to improve the workmanship.' The same eminent modern orator has, as it seems to us, most accurately described the general characteristics of Demosthenes in another passage of the same essay, where he says,[3] that '.there is not any long or close train of reasoning in the orations of Demosthenes, still less any profound observations or remote and ingenious allusions, but a constant succession of remarks, bearing immediately on the matter in hand, perfectly plain, and as readily admitted as easily understood. These are intermingled with the most striking appeals, sometimes to feelings which all were conscious of, and deeply agitated by, though ashamed to own; sometimes to sentiments which every man was panting to utter, and delighted to hear thundered forth—bursts of oratory, therefore, which either overwhelmed or

[1] οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. The reference is to the public prayers and execrations proclaimed by the herald, a sort of bidding-prayer, before the commencement of business in the Athenian ecclesia.

[2] *Rhetorical and Literary Dissertations and Addresses, Works*, vol. VII. p. 192.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 196.

relieved the audience. Such *hits*, if we may use such a homely phrase (for more dignified language has no word to express the thing), are the principal glory of the great combatant; it is by them that he carries all before him, and to these that he sacrifices all the paltry graces which are the delight of the Asian and Italian schools.'

CHAPTER XLII.

ORATORS CONTEMPORARY WITH DEMOSTHENES.

§ 1. The contemporaries of Demosthenes, with the exception of Isæus, may be classed as patriots and Macedonizers. § 2. Orators of the Alexandrian Canon. Isæus. § 3. Party of the patriots (a.) Lycurgus. § 4. (b.) Hypereides. § 5. Macedonian party (a.) Æschines. § 6. (b.) Deinarchus.

§ 1. AMONG the orators who are regarded as the contemporaries of Demosthenes, we must count Isæus, from whom he received instruction and assistance at the beginning of his career, and Deinarchus and Democharcs, whose chief activity on opposite sides belongs to the period succeeding the death of the great statesman. In the long interval between the first and the last of these public speakers—an interval which extends from the days of Lysias to those of Demetrius Phalereus—the most prominent subject of discussion was the opposition between the interests of Macedon and Athens; and we may therefore divide all the contemporary orators, with the exception of Isæus, into two great parties—that of the patriots, who devoted themselves to the good work of denouncing Philip, and endeavouring to contravene his machinations, and that of the Macedonizers, who either corruptly, or from an unwise love of peace at any price, opposed all warlike and vigorous measures, and contributed to the downfal of their country's honour and independence.

The orators of the patriotic party, besides Demosthenes, who was the soul of the party, and his nephew Democharcs, who maintained or revived it after his death, were Lycurgus, Hypereides, Polyeuctus,[1] Hegesippus,[2] Mœrocles,

[1] There were two contemporary orators of this name, one of the demus Cydantidæ, who is known to us particularly in connexion with the newly-discovered fragments of Hypereides, and the other of the demus Sphettus, who is alluded to in the text, and whose speech against Demades is quoted by Longinus (IX. p. 544, Walz.).

[2] Hegesippus defended Timarchus against Æschines, who nicknamed him κρω-

Diophantus,[1] Aristophon, and a number of others of less ability and influence. The orators of the Macedonian party, besides Æschines, who was their leader, were his original patron Eubulus, Philocrates, Demades,[2] and Deinarchus, and a number of less known demagogues. In selecting some names from this list for special notice, we may take the criterion of the Alexandrian canon of the ten orators, which ranks Isæus, Lycurgus, Hypereides, Æschines, and Deinarchus, with Antiphon, Lysias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes. We shall thus have to discuss the teacher of Demosthenes, the two chief orators of his party, and his two principal antagonists.

§ 2. Very little is known of the biography of Isæus, and we cannot even fix with accuracy the dates of his birth and death. All that we know is, that he flourished between the 90th and 108th Olympiads, B.C. 420—348;[3] that either he or his father, Diagoras, was a native of Chalcis, in Eubœa;[4] that he came to Athens at an early age, received instruction from Lysias and Isocrates,[5] and gained both reputation and profitable employment as a teacher of rhetoric, and as a composer of speeches for the law courts. His chief distinction is the circumstance referred to in the preceding chapter, that he was the instructor of Demosthenes, and probably his counsel in the action against his guardians. Whether he may claim the additional merit of having trained this great pupil without receiving any remuneration, or whether he exacted a very exorbitant fee for his lessons, is an open question in the ancient authors.[6]

Isæus left behind him 64 orations, and of these 50 were

βύλος. The speeches about the Halonnesus, and on the treaty with Alexander, which are included in the collection of the orations of Demosthenes, were probably by him: above, chapter XLI. § 2, p. 329 [169].

[1] Diophantus is mentioned by Demosthenes as a very eminent orator (*Fals. Leg.* pp. 368, 403, 436; *Lept.* p. 498).

[2] This unprincipled demagogue was a man of brilliant abilities, and generally spoke extempore. The fragment of the speech, περὶ δωδεκαετίας, which is printed in the more recent collections of the Attic orators, is considered to be of doubtful authenticity.

[3] Dionys. Hal. *de Isæo judicium*, p. 586. Plut. p. 839.

[4] Harpocration *s. v.* Ἰσαῖος. Suidas *s. n.* Anonym. ap. Reisk. Dionys. p. 586.

[5] Phot. *cod.* CCLXIII.

[6] Plutarch *de glor. Athen.* p. 350 c. Phot. *u. s.* Plut. p. 839. Cf. 837 D. Suidas *s. h.*: οὗτος ἐπαινεῖται καὶ ὡς ῥήτωρ καὶ ὡς Δημοσθένην ἀμισθὶ προαγαγών.

recognized as genuine.[1] We have still the titles of 56, including the eleven which have come down to us.[2] All these extant speeches were composed for suits relating to inheritances (περὶ κλήρου), and they are interesting chiefly as contributions to our knowledge of the old Attic law on these points.[3] Until the end of the last century we had only ten of the orations of Isæus, and the speech *about the inheritance of Cleonymus* wanted more than half. The number of eleven speeches was made up by the discovery in the Laurentine library of the speech *about the inheritance of Menicles*, in 1785,[4] and the *Cleonymus* was completed by the publication, in 1815, of the greater part of this speech, which was found by Mai in the Ambrosian library at Milan.[5] In addition to his speeches, Isæus wrote a τέχνη, or methodical treatise on rhetoric, in which he has the credit of being the first to distinguish rightly the different figures, and to give a political turn to oratory.[6]

The style and characteristics of Isæus have been accurately discussed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in a special tract on the subject, in which he compares Isæus with his teacher Lysias. He says[7] that the diction of Isæus is more artificial and accurate than that of Lysias, the composition is more elaborate, the figures more varied, and it excels the style of his master in the power and weight of its phraseology as much as it falls short in ease and gracefulness. The style of Isæus is in fact the fountain of the power of Demosthenes. In the subject-matter of Isæus, the critic finds a great deal of artifice. Dionysius remarks,[8] that 'he deals unfairly with his adversary,

[1] Plut. p. 839.

[2] See Westermann, *Geschichte der Beredtsamkeit in Griechenland und Rom.* p. 293, Leipzig, 1833.

[3] With this view they were translated by Sir W. Jones.

[4] It was edited by Thomas Tyrwhitt, Lond. 1785.

[5] It was published at Milan in 1815.

[6] Plut. p. 839 F., quoted by Spengel, *συναγωγὴ τεχνῶν*, p. 181: *καταλέλοιπε . . . καὶ ἰδίας τέχνας. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ σχηματίζειν ἤρξατο καὶ τρέπειν ἐπὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν τὴν διάνοιαν, ὃ μάλιστα μεμίμηται Δημοσθένης.*

[7] *De Isæo judicium*, p. 590, Reiske: *ἡ δὲ Ἰσαίου λέξις τεχνικωτέρα δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι καὶ ἀκριβεστέρα τῆς Λυσίου, τήν τε σύνθεσιν περιεργοτέρα τις καὶ σχηματισμοῖς διειλημμένη ποικίλοις· ὅσον τε ἀπολείπεται τῆς χάριτος ἐκείνης, τοσοῦτον ὑπερέχει τῇ δεινότητι τῆς κατασκευῆς· καὶ πηγή τις ὄντως ἐστὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους δυνάμεως.*

[8] *Ibid.* l. 18: *πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἀντίδικον διαπονηρεύεται· τοὺς δὲ δικάστας καταστρατηγεῖ.*

and out-manœuvres the jurymen.' And he informs us,[1] that 'his contemporaries had conceived a suspicion of his cheatery and imposition, as though he were a man skilful in the artful perversion of arguments to the worst purposes, and he was inculpated on this account.' The sort of deception practised by Isæus, as contrasted with the elegant simplicity of Lysias, is illustrated by a very ingenious analogy. The style of Lysias is compared to the ancient paintings which have accurate drawing, but very little shading and colouring, whereas Isæus is like the more modern pictures, which are not so well finished in the outline as their predecessors, but have a greater mixture of light and shade, and are more highly coloured.[2] In proof of these discriminations, Dionysius gives us a number of examples.[3]

§. 3. Next to Demosthenes, the most honest, consistent, and efficient of the anti-Macedonian party was LYCURGUS. He was, indeed, rather a minister of finance than a parliamentary speaker; but, by his incorruptible and scrupulous accuracy in his administration of the revenues, he gave new life to the resources of Athens, and rendered possible the execution of those vigorous measures which were recommended by the eloquence of his great contemporary. It was he, too, who, more than any, co-operated with Demosthenes in preventing the revenues, which were needed for the defence of the country, from being squandered on the amusement of the people; and he, like Demosthenes, stood in constant opposition to reckless and profligate demagogues, like their common enemy, Demades.

No one could bring against Lycurgus the reproach so often flung against Demosthenes, that he was but half Athenian. His father, Lycophron, belonged to the deme of Butadæ, and to the priestly house of the Eteobutadæ, or genuine stock of

---

[1] *De Isæo judicium*, p. 591: ἦν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξα τοῖς τότε γοητείας καὶ ἀπάτης, ὡς δεινὸς ἀνὴρ τεχνιτεῦσαι λόγους ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότερα.

[2] *Ibid.*: εὐγραμμα μὲν· ἧττον ἐξειργασμέναι δὲ μᾶλλον σκίᾳ τε καὶ φωτὶ ποικιλλόμεναι καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν μιγμάτων τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχουσαι.

[3] It may be worth while to mention that Juvenal's 'sermo promptus et Isæo torrentior' (III. 73, 74) does not refer to our Attic orator, but to a later rhetorician from Assyria, who was a contemporary of the Roman satirist. See Philostr. *Vit. Sophist.* I. 20; Plin. *Epist.* II. 3.

Butes,[1] and traced back their descent to the national hero Erechtheus, probably another form of Poseidon or Neptune, to whom Lycurgus and his family were devoted as hereditary priests. The walls of the *Cella* in the beautiful Erechtheum, or temple of Erechtheus-Poseidon, were adorned with pictures of the Butadæ who had held the priestly office. Lycurgus left this priesthood to his son Abron, who resigned it to his brother Lycophron; and there was a highly finished picture by Ismenias in the Erechtheum, which represented Abron handing the trident or symbol of priestly power to his brother.[2] The conduct of his ancestors was worthy of their origin. One of them, Lycomedes, had been buried at the public expense, and the orator's grandfather, Lycophron, was one of the victims of the thirty tyrants. The birth-year of Lycurgus is not known. He was older than Demosthenes,[3] and it is inferred that he was born in the 96th Olympiad, B.C. 396—393. He enjoyed an education corresponding to his birth and fortune. 'Lycurgus,' says the most eloquent of his panegyrists,[4] 'had studied in the schools both of Plato and Isocrates, but had not learned from the one to withdraw from active life into a visionary world, nor from the other to cultivate empty rhetoric at the expense of truth, and of his country.' Of the earlier part of his life we know nothing. There is insufficient evidence for the statement, not improbable in itself, that he was the colleague of Demosthenes and Polyeuctus in their embassy to the Peloponnesus, Ol. 109, 2, B.C. 343.[5] As we have already intimated, the public activity of Lycurgus was chiefly directed to the administration of the finances at home. Towards the end of Philip's

[1] Butes, the Argonaut, who succeeded Pandion as priest of Athena and of Erechtheus Poseidon, is generally distinguished from his Thracian namesake; but there are many points of contact between the Erechtheidæ and the house of Boreas, and we must not neglect the fact that the name Lycurgus, so common in the Butadæ, is that of the step-brother of the Thracian Butes.

[2] See F. Thiersch, *über das Erechtheum*, Erste Abhandlung, p. 145 (*Munich Transactions*, vol. III).

[3] Liban. *Arg. Orat. c. Aristogit.* See Clinton, *Fasti Hell.*, II. p. 151.

[4] Dr. Thirlwall, who has introduced into his *History of Greece* (VIII. pp. 140—148), an admirably written episode on the life of Lycurgus.

[5] Plutarch, *Vit. Lyc.* p. 841 E. This is probably borrowed from Dem. *Phil.* III. p. 129, 19, where the names of Clitomachus and Lycurgus are omitted in the best MSS.

reign, he became 'treasurer of the public revenue' (ταμίας τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου), an office tenable only for a pentaeteris, or four years,[1] but held by Lycurgus, under the names of other persons, for three successive pentaeterids, or twelve years.[2] The period occupied by this financial administration has been made the subject of discussion among scholars.[3] If he was ambassador in B.C. 343, the most probable interval, as he died before B.C. 326, would be Ol. 109, 3—112, 3, B.C. 341—329. In this period 14000c, or as some say, 19000 talents passed through his hands, and he raised the regular revenue of Athens from 600 to 1200 talents. At the end of each quadriennial period he gave in an account of his receipts and expenditure, and no flaw was found in it. Not satisfied with this, he had his accounts engraved on stone, and set up the inscription in the Palæstra, which he had recently erected. It seems probable that a fragment of this inscription is still extant.[4] Just before his death he had himself carried into the Metroum or Council-chamber, and challenged a scrutiny of his whole administration; and when Menesæchmus, whom he had once prosecuted, attempted to make exceptions, he at once refuted all his charges.[5] Of his measures for nursing the revenue we have no account. With regard to the expenditure which he directed, we learn that, besides building four hundred triremes, and forming a great magazine of arms, he erected a theatre, a gymnasium, a palæstra, and a stadium. He also, in imitation of Pericles, filled the store-room in the citadel with a number of gold and silver ornaments and utensils, which were in effect a reserved fund for emergencies.

Plutarch enumerates five laws of which Lycurgus was the pro-

---

[1] Böckh, *Public Econ. of Athens*, II. § 6. p. 165, Lewis.

[2] Plut. p. 852 B, quotes a decree in which Lycurgus is described as γενόμενος τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου ταμίας τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τρεῖς πενταετηρίδας. Diod. XVI. 88, says: δώδεκα ἔτη τὰς προσόδους τῆς πόλεως διοικήσας.

[3] See Böckh, *Staatshaushaltung*, II. p. 245, orig. ed. and the authors cited by Westermann, *Geschichte d. Beredtsamkeit*, p. 101, and in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. IV. p. 1269. See also Dr. Thirlwall's note, p. 146.

[4] Böckh, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, no. 157. It refers to the years of Ctesicles and Nicocrates, Ol. 111. 3, 4, B.C. 334, 333, which fell within the administration of Lycurgus, and mentions particularly the δερματικόν, for which Harpocration cites the defence of Lycurgus against the cavils of Menesæchmus.

[5] Plutarch, p. 842 F.

poser: (I.) To revive the obsolete contest of the comedians at the *Chytri*, on the third day of the *Anthesteria*, with the additional regulation that the victor should, without any further trial (ἄκριτος), be admitted to the competition at the great Dionysia.[1] (II.) That bronze statues should be erected to the three great tragedians, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and that authenticated copies of their plays should be laid up in the public archives, and strictly followed in the public representations. Ptolemy Euergetes dishonestly possessed himself of these original manuscripts, for which, however, he had to forfeit a deposit of fifteen talents.[2] If it had not been for this enactment of Lycurgus, it is probable that the text of the Greek dramatists would have been much more corrupt than it is. (III.) That, to prevent the kidnapping of free citizens, no one should buy a slave without the warranty and authorization of a former master.[3] (IV.) To establish in honour of his family god, Poseidon, at least three cyclical choruses in the Peiræus; and to give to the victors not less than ten minæ as a prize, besides second and third prizes of eight and six minæ. (V.) To punish with a penalty of six thousand drachmæ any woman who drove to the Eleusinian festival in a chariot and pair:[4] it appears that his own wife, Callisto, transgressed this law, and was fined accordingly.[5] If we understand the notice in Plutarch, he held some office analogous to that of a police magistrate,[6] and in this capacity exhibited no little vigour and severity. As a public accuser, too, he often appeared in the courts; and at

---

[1] There is some obscurity in the short notice of Plutarch [?], p. 841 F: *τὸν περὶ τῶν κωμῳδῶν ἀγῶνα τοῖς Χύτροις ἐπιτελεῖν ἐφάμιλλον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τὸν νικήσαντα εἰς ἄστυ καταλέγεσθαι πρότερον οὐκ ἐξόν, ἀναλαμβάνων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκλελοιπότα.* By ἄστυ he must mean *τὰ ἐν ἄστει Διονύσια.* The practice referred to is probably that explained explained in Photius, Suidas, Hesychius, s.v. *νεμήσεις ὑποκριτῶν.*

[2] See Böckh, *Gr. Trag. Princ.* pp. 12, 13.

[3] This must be the meaning of the words of Plutarch, which again are somewhat obscure from their brevity (p. 842 A): *μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι Ἀθηναίων μηδὲ τῶν οἰκούντων Ἀθήνησιν ἐλεύθερον σῶμα πριαμένῳ ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ ἐκ τῶν ἁλισκομένων ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ προτέρου δεσπότου γνώμης.*

[4] In illustration of this see Dem. *c. Mid.* p. 565.

[5] Ælian, *V. H.* XIII. 24.

[6] p. 841 D: *ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἄστεος τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τῶν κακούργων τὴν σύλληψιν οὓς ἐξήλασεν ἅπαντας, ὡς καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν ἐνίους λέγειν Λυκοῦργον οὐ μέλαν ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ χρίοντα τὸν κάλαμον κατὰ τῶν πονηρῶν οὕτω συγγράφειν.*

least in two cases—those of Leocrates and Diphilus—he obtained a sentence of death against notorious offenders. He was sufficiently known as a member of the anti-Macedonian party to obtain the perilous honour of being included with Demosthenes in Alexander's demand for the extradition of certain orators, a danger which the firmness of his countrymen enabled him to escape.[1] The year of his death is not known, but he did not survive the downfal of the patriotic party. For Plutarch tells us that he was not alive when Hypereides accused Demosthenes in the business of Harpalus,[2] and it seems extremely probable that Lycurgus died soon after the termination of his third quadriennial service as public treasurer—*i. e.* in B.C. 329 or 328.[3] He was buried at the public expense on the road to the Academy, on the spot which was afterwards occupied by the garden of the philosopher Melanthius.[4] In his lifetime he had often been honoured with crowns, statues, and a seat in the town-hall, and the last privilege was made hereditary in his family. He left three sons, Abron, Lycurgus, and Lycophron, of whom the first two died without issue, but the third was represented by lineal descendants to a later period.[5] A statue in honour of Lycurgus was erected some time after his death (in B.C. 307) near those of the ten Eponymi in the market-place.[6]

Of the twenty speeches of this eminent statesman, of which the titles are preserved, we have only one complete oration, that against the fugitive Leocrates, who had returned to Athens eight years after the battle of Chæroneia, when he had forsaken his country, although by a law, passed immediately after the battle, emigration was forbidden under pain of death. This speech is in strict accordance with all that we know of the character and habits of Lycurgus. We are told[7] that he was very diligent in preparing his speeches, and not able to express himself extempore; and so anxious was he to note his thoughts

[1] Arrian, I. 10, 4; Diodor. XVII. 15.

[2] Plut. *Vita Hyperid.* p. 848 F.

[3] See Plut. *Vita Lyc.* p. 842 F. It is inferred also that as his sons were released from prison on the intercession of Demosthenes who was then in exile, that Lycurgus must have been dead some little time.

[4] Plut. p. 842 E.

[5] *Id.* p. 843 A.

[6] *Id.* p. 852 B; Pausan. I. 8, 2.

[7] Plutarch, p. 842 C.

as they occurred to him that his writing materials were always placed by his bed-side. We see the traces of this elaborate preparation in the speech against Leocrates, which is full of historical reading and poetical quotations, the latter sometimes running to a considerable length.[1] And we have no doubt that Hermogenes was justified in saying of all his speeches that he often indulges in a frequency of digressions to fables, histories, and poems.[2] One of the most pleasing of his references to old stories is the anecdote which he tells of the young man who stayed behind to carry off his old father during an eruption of Mount Ætna, and round whom the lava flowed innocuously, while it destroyed the other fugitives.[3] There is almost a Demosthenic vigour in the passage in which he describes the trembling inquiries of the women and the old men preparing for the defence of the city after the disaster of Chæroneia,[4] and that in which he checks any appeal to pity on the part of the accused.[5] On the whole, although we cannot place Lycurgus in the first rank of orators, we may regret that we have not a few more specimens of the compositions of such an eminent and popular statesman.

§ 4. Closely connected in his general policy with Lycurgus and Demosthenes, though occasionally opposed to one or the other, HYPERIDES, or HYPEREIDES,[6] the son of Glaucippus,[7] of

---

[1] There are fifty-five lines of Euripides quoted in p. 161, and thirty-two of Tyrtæus in p. 163. The quotation from the unknown poet in p. 159, belongs to a numerous class of passages embodying the sentiment *quem Deus vult perdere dementat prius*. See Wyttenb. on Plut. *de audiendis poetis*, p. 17 B; Ruhnken on Vell. Paterc. II. 57.

[2] *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, II. 11, p. 389, Walz: *χρῆται δὲ πολλαῖς πολλάκις καὶ ταῖς παρεκβάσεσιν ἐπὶ μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας καὶ ποιήματα.* Lycurgus is quite conscious of this tendency. In one passage, he begins a lengthened reference to the old mythology of Athens, by saying: *καί τοι σκέψάσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες· οὐ γὰρ ἀποστήσομαι τῶν παλαιῶν.* c. *Leocr.* p. 160, § 100. [3] p. 159.

[4] p. 153, § 40. There is something very vivid in the picture of the veterans *ἐπὶ γήρως ὁδῷ περιφθειρομένους, διπλᾶ τὰ ἱμάτια ἐμπεπορπημένους.*

[5] p. 168, § 147.

[6] The name is written Ὑπερείδης in some of the best MSS. of Demosthenes, *de Coronâ*, p. 302, 26; *Fals. Leg.* 376, 17. The grammarians give us both Ὑπερίδης from Ὑπέρος, like Τλλίδης from Τλλος (*Etym. M.* s.v.), and Ὑπερείδης from Ὑπερεύς, like Πηλείδης from Πηλεύς (*Phrynichus*, p. 454, Lobeck). Both as a common word and as a proper name ὕπερος is the more common.

[7] Hypereides had a son, Glaucippus, who obtained some reputation as a speaker.

the demus Collytus, was one of the active leaders in that anti-Macedonian patriotism, to which he was ultimately a martyr. The year of his birth is not known, but it is probable that he was not much younger than Lycurgus. Plutarch indeed says that he was a hearer (ἀκροατής) of Lycurgus, but this must be a mistake, unless he means that he heard him speak in public, for that great financier was not a teacher of rhetoric. There is every reason, however, to believe that he was a fellow-pupil of Lycurgus as a disciple of Plato and Isocrates.[1] He seems to have belonged to the more opulent class, for he not only enjoyed the best education, but appears to have been able to contribute in the most munificent manner to the public expenditure of his country. For example, in the year B.C. 358 he got up, by public subscription, an equipment of forty triremes for the war against Philip in Eubœa, and undertook himself the fitting out of two of these ships, one in his own name, the other in that of his son;[2] and when he served as trierarch at Byzantium in B.C. 340, he bore the expenses of the Choragia in his absence.[3] Notwithstanding his opulence, he was for some years engaged as a writer of speeches in private causes. His public services were as follows:—In B.C. 351 he undertook an embassy to Rhodes;[4] in B.C. 346 he successfully prosecuted the venal and traitorous Philocrates;[5] when Philip occupied Elatea in B.C. 338 he was one of the ambassadors who persuaded the Thebans to join with Athens against the invader;[6] and after the battle of Chæroneia he proposed the high-spirited decree to give the franchise to the resident aliens, to restore the degraded, to manumit the slaves, and send down the women, children, and sacred objects to the Peiræus.[7] This decree was not carried out, but was so far approved as to give the sycophant Aristogeiton a pretext for indicting him for unconstitutional proceedings (παρανόμων). He was acquitted; and it was on this occasion that,

---

[1] The statement of Plutarch will simply amount to this, if we read (p. 848 D): ἀκροατὴς δὲ Πλάτωνος γενόμενος τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἅμα Λυκούργῳ (for Λυκούργου), καὶ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος.

[2] Plutarch, p. 849 F. [3] *Id.* p. 848 E. [4] *Id.* p. 850 A.

[5] Demosth. *de Falsâ Leg.* p. 376, 17. [6] *Id. de Coronâ*, p. 291, 6.

[7] Lycurg. *c. Leocratem*, § 41; Plut. p. 848 F, 849 A; Pseudo-Dem. *c. Aristog.* II. p. 803.

being charged with having overlooked many of the established laws, he said, 'My eyes were darkened with the shadow of the Macedonian arms; it was not I who wrote the decree, but the battle at Chæroneia.'[1] His active opposition to Macedon never ceased, and he was one of the orators demanded by Alexander after the capture of Thebes. This peril, which he narrowly escaped, did not damp his patriotic ardour, for we find that he opposed Alexander's demand for an Athenian fleet to help him against the Persians.[2] The unfortunate affair of Harpalus seems to have obliged Hypereides to come forward as the accuser of Demosthenes, for whom he had once obtained a golden crown.[3] We do not know all the circumstances. Plutarch intimates that he was publicly appointed to this invidious office, because he was the only orator not suspected of being bribed.[4] As Demosthenes was allowed to escape, it is not impossible that the whole proceeding was a collusion devised by the patriots to enable them to temporize with Macedon. Be this as it may, we find Hypereides warmly united with Demosthenes in the prosecution of the Lamian war.[5] He was one of the most active agents in stimulating that hopeful insurrection against the Macedonian domination, and was selected to deliver the funeral oration in honour of those who fell with the valiant Leosthenes.[6] When the battle of Crannon, in B. C. 322, overthrew the last hopes of Athenian independence, Hypereides was obliged to fly from Athens with the other proscribed orators. He took refuge with Aristonicus and Himeræus, in the shrine of Æacus in Ægina, whence he was torn by Archias and sent as a prisoner to Antipater, by whom he was put to death with circumstances of great cruelty and brutality.[7]

The titles of sixty-one orations, attributed to Hypereides, were preserved by the ancient authorities, who tell us that of seventy-seven speeches which bore his name, fifty-two were

[1] Plut. p. 849 A: 'ἐπεσκότει,' ἔφη 'μοι τὰ Μακεδόνων ὅπλα· καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψα, ἡ δ' ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχη.'

[2] Plut. p. 848 D; cf. 847 C.

[3] See Dem. *de Coronâ*, p. 302.

[4] p. 848 E: μόνος γὰρ ἔμεινεν ἀδωροδόκητος.

[5] Plut. *Phocion*, c. 23; *X. Orat.* p. 848 E, 849 F; Justin, XIII. 5.

[6] Diodor. XVIII. 3.

[7] Plut. *Dem.* c. 28; *Phocion*, 29; *X. Orat.* 849 C; Photius, p. 496; Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, XII. p. 440.

genuine.[1] Till within the last few years, fortune had dealt more roughly with his remains than with those of any one of the ten orators; for while even Lycurgus and Deinarchus are represented by one or more complete harangues, Hypereides was lost altogether, with the exception of a number of fragments which were individually of little importance.[2] The present generation has been permitted to rehabilitate him in Greek literature. In the spring of 1847, Mr. A. C. Harris of Alexandria found some fragments of papyrus, written over with Greek characters, at Thebes in Upper Egypt, and published them in a lithographed facsimile in the autumn of 1848. An arrangement and translation of these fragments was communicated to the London Philological Society in February, 1849, by Mr. Samuel Sharpe;[3] but though Mr. Harris had suggested that the fragments probably belonged to the speech of Hypereides against Demosthenes in the matter of Harpalus, Mr. Sharpe seemed rather to think that they belonged to some rhetorical exercise on the subject. Mr. Churchill Babington, in November, 1849, made a communication to the Royal Society of Literature, in which he showed that these fragments were quoted by Harpocration, Photius, and Suidas, and that they must be considered as belonging to the genuine oration of Hypereides; and at the beginning of 1850 he published a learned edition of these remains, with an introduction and commentary.[4] They had been previously edited, but without Mr. Babington's knowledge, by Böckh and Sauppe. These pieces of papyrus, though interesting in themselves, were chiefly valuable because they led to the publication of another manuscript of the same kind, which Mr. Joseph Arden had procured at the same place in January, 1847. Some of the fragments discovered by Mr. Harris evidently did not belong to the speech against Demosthenes, and it turned out that they were

[1] Plutarch, p. 849 D; Phot. p. 495 B; Westermann, *Gesch. d. Beredtsamkeit*, p. 307, gives a list of all the titles.

[2] See Kiessling, *De Hyperide Comment.* II. Hildburgh. 1837.

[3] *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, vol. IV. no. 79.

[4] *The Oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes respecting the treasure of Harpalus; with a preliminary Dissertation and Notes, and a facsimile of a portion of the MS.* By Churchill Babington, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1850.

a portion of the speech of Hypereides for Lycophron, of which Mr. Arden secured fifteen continuous columns. And the same papyrus contained the complete oration of Hypereides for Euxenippus. These remains were published by Mr. Churchill Babington, with a facsimile of the original manuscript and a learned commentary, in the spring of 1853;[1] shortly afterwards the late Professor Schneidewin of Göttingen edited them in a revised text, with critical notes, and prefixed the Harrisian fragments of the apology for Lycophron;[2] and since then Mr. Babington has discovered the funeral oration of Hypereides, nearly complete, among some papyri lately purchased by the British Museum.[3] We are thus enabled to deal with Hypereides as an extant Greek author, and to estimate his title to a place among the ten orators.

The fragments of the speech against Demosthenes are not sufficiently complete to furnish the materials of a literary criticism, but the other fragments, published by Mr. Babington, furnish a good example of the style of Hypereides, and quite

---

[1] *The Orations of Hyperides for Lycophron and Euxenippus, now first printed in facsimile; with a short account of the discovery of the original MS. at Western Thebes, in Upper Egypt, in* 1847, by Joseph Arden, Esq.: *the text edited, with Notes and Illustrations*, by the Rev. Churchill Babington, Cambridge, 1853.

[2] *Hyperidis Orationes duæ ex papyro Ardeniano editæ;* post Ch. Babingtonem, emendavit et scholia adjecit F. G. Schneidewin, Götting., 1853.

[3] The papyrus was brought from Egypt by Mr. Stodart, in 1856. Mr. Babington has given an account of it in the Cambridge *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, No. X. p. 81, and he has favoured us with the following notice of the rediscovered speech, which he is about to edit:—'The ἐπιτάφιος was delivered towards the close of the year 323 B.C. over Leosthenes and his comrades who fell in the Lamian war. Hyperides was appointed as the orator on this occasion by a public vote. Not only is a long fragment of his speech preserved by Stobæus, but a considerable part, possibly the greater part, exists in MS. in the British Museum, written on a very early papyrus, apparently of the second or third century after Christ, and brought from Egypt in 1856. The topics of praise in his oration are threefold: the city, the deceased warriors, and their general Leosthenes. He enlarges much on the bravery, tactics and policy of Leosthenes, and introduces, in the course of his remarks, various historical allusions to the Lamian war. Further on he apostrophizes the deceased soldiers, who have filled all Greece with their glory, and whose memory will be recalled by every scene of public and social life. The epilogus (preserved by Stobæus) is designed to comfort the survivors, and expresses a hope, though neither sure nor certain, that the departed warriors are still in being and in enjoyment of a blessed immortality. This oration was considered by the ancients to be one of the happiest productions of Hyperides.'

justify the account which the ancients have given us of his peculiar characteristics.

The accuser of Lycophron was no less a person than Lycurgus, who brought an εἰσαγγελία, or special impeachment,[1] against him, for adultery and other crimes, and fragments are still extant of his two orations on the subject; the first, to which answer is made in the speech which Hypereides composed to be spoken by the defendant, and which procured a conviction; and the second, in which the damages were discussed. From the mention of Dioxippus,[2] the celebrated wrestler, who died in B.C. 326,[3] but was in the prime of life when this oration was delivered, it is inferred that it was written quite at the beginning of Alexander's reign.

In the oration for Euxenippus, which is probably of about the same date as that for Lycophron,[4] Hypereides speaks in his own person, and as the second advocate for the defendant, who has also two accusers, Polyeuctus of Cydantidæ—not the well-known orator of Sphettus, but a man of some consideration at Athens[5]—and Lycurgus. In this case also Hypereides had to answer an εἰσαγγελία, and one of his arguments is, that this form of proceeding is not applicable to such a frivolous charge brought against a private individual.[6] The case arose out of the assignment to Athens, after the battle of Chæroneia, of the territory of Oropus. This territory consisted of five hills (ὄρη), of which each was assigned by lot to two Athenian tribes. The hill which thus fell to the tribes Acamantis and Hippothoontis was claimed

---

[1] The εἰσαγγελία was adopted in the case of undefined and extraordinary offences against the public (κυρίως ἡ περὶ καινῶν καὶ δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων εἰσαγομένη δίκη ὑπὸ τῶν Πρυτανέων, Suidas). It was a favourite mode of proceeding with Lycurgus, who adopted it against Leocrates, and was recommended by the advantage that it did not bring any penalty on the unsuccessful prosecutor. Hypereides himself availed himself of this process in his impeachment of Philocrates and Diopeithes (*pro Euxenipp.* col. 39).

[2] Col. 5.

[3] Athenæus, VI. c. 57 (I. p. 546, Dindorf.), Curtius, IX. 29, quoted by Babington, p. XIV.

[4] The manner, in which Olympias and Alexander are mentioned together (col. 31), points to the beginning of Alexander's reign.

[5] Schneidewin p. 34. In col. 27 Polyeuctus is addressed as ὃς οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ δύνασαι εἰπεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλῃ πόλει πράγματα παρέχειν ἱκανὸς εἶ.

[6] Col. 28.

for the hero Amphiaraus; and, to quiet all doubts on the subject, Euxenippus and two others were deputed to sleep in the temple of Amphiaraus at Oropus, in the hope of being favoured with a dream in reference to the claims of the oracular hero. It seems that they reported a vision unfavourable to the occupation of the consecrated hill by the two tribes. Whereupon Polyeuctus proposed that the other eight tribes should make compensation for the loss. This proposition was rejected, and its proposer fined twenty-five drachmæ. Polyeuctus endeavoured to avenge himself on the reporter of the dream by indicting him for a false and suborned account of his vision, and, as usual in such cases, he rakes up a number of other matters against him, especially with reference to some dealings in the silver mines. The co-operation of Lycurgus was probably secured by the charge of Macedonizing, which is brought against Euxenippus, because he had aided Olympias in the dedication of a patera in the temple of health at Athens.

If we compare these orations with the criticisms of the ancients, we shall find that they justify the favourable expectations which we were induced to form respecting this orator. Cicero calls him a highly finished speaker,[1] and says that he was acute,[2] subtle,[3] and facetious.[4] Quintilian[5] defines him as pleasant and acute, but better suited to conduct causes of inferior importance. Dionysius declares[6] that in cunning irony he was unrivalled, that he sticks to the necessary points before him, that he is full of pleasantness, and that while he seems to be simple he is not deficient in power; and his chief peculiarities are said to be[7] strength of diction, simplicity of com-

---

[1] *De Oratore*, I. 13, 58: 'perfectus in dicendo et perpolitus.'

[2] *Ibid.* III. 7, 28: 'acumen habuit.'

[3] *Brutus*, 17, 67: 'delectantur eâ subtilitate quam Atticam appellant—Hyperidæ volunt esse et Lysiæ. Laudo.'

[4] *Orator*. 26, 90: 'satis in orationibus facetus.'

[5] *I. O.* X. 1, 77: 'dulcis in primis et acutus Hyperides, sed minoribus causis ut non dixerim utilior, magis par.'

[6] *De vet. Script. cens.* p. 434, Reiske: τῇ τῆς εἰρωνείας πανούργᾳ πάντας (ὑπερηρκώς), ἔτι δὲ τοῦ κρινομένου διαπαντὸς ἔχεται, καὶ ταῖς ἀνάγκαις τοῦ πράγματος ἐμπέφυκε καὶ συνέσει πολλῇ κεχορήγηται, καὶ χαριτὸς μεστός ἐστιν· καὶ δοκῶν ἁπλοῦς οὐκ ἀπήλλακται δεινότητος.

[7] *Id. ibid.* p. 643: τὰ μέγιστα ἴδια τῆς μὲν λέξεως τὸ ἰσχυρόν, τῆς δὲ συνθέσεως τὸ ἁπλοῦν, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων τὸ εὔκαιρον, τῆς δὲ κατασκευῆς τὸ μὴ τραγικὸν μηδὲ ὀγκῶδες.

position, propriety in the selection of his subject-matter, and the absence of all pomposity in his language. And Longinus dwells[1] emphatically on his mastery of sarcasm, irony, and well-bred facetiousness. All these characteristics may be exemplified in the orations. For example, there could not be a better instance of sarcasm than his rebuff to Polyeuctus: 'If you had been acquitted, my client would not have given a false report about the god; but since it so happened that you were convicted, Euxenippus must needs be ruined!'[2] The private character of Hypereides was by no means irreproachable. His love for the beautiful was by no means abstract or Platonic, and the most famous hetæræ of the day counted the orator among their lovers.[3] There is a story that when his eloquence failed to defend the beautiful Phryne from a charge of impiety, he moved the hearts of the heliastæ by an appeal to her charms.[4] He was also a noted epicure, and the comic poets ridiculed his fondness for expensive dishes of fish.[5]

§ 5. By far the most eminent of the Macedonian party was ÆSCHINES, who, in some qualifications, did not fall far short of his great rival Demosthenes.[6] He was born B.C. 389.[7] His origin and early history are presented to us under very different aspects by Demosthenes and himself. The former, in a burst of invective, to which we have already referred,[8] declares that the father of Æschines, originally called Tromes, but styled Atrometus by his son, was the worthless slave of a poor schoolmaster, and afterwards kept a small school himself; and that his mother, originally called *Empusa*, the hobgoblin, but digni-

---

[1] *De Sublim.* 34, p. 284, Spengel: ἄφατοι περὶ αὐτόν εἰσιν ἀστεϊσμοί. μυκτὴρ πολιτικώτατος, εὐγένεια, τὸ κατὰ τὰς εἰρωνείας εὐπάλαιστρον, σκώμματα οὐκ ἄμουσα, διασυρμός τε ἐπιδέξιος, καὶ πολὺ τὸ κωμικὸν, καὶ, μετὰ παιδιᾶς εὐστόχου κέντρον, ἀμίμητον δὲ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἐπαφρόδιτον.

[2] Col. 30: εἶτ' εἰ μὲν ἀπέφυγες τὴν γραφήν, οὐκ ἂν κατεψεύσατο οὗτος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνέβη σοι ἁλῶναι, Εὐξένιππον δεῖ ἀπολωλέναι.

[3] Alciphron *Ep.* I. 30—32.

[4] This story is best told in the supplement to Barthélémy's *Anacharse*, entitled *Fêtes et Courtisanes de la Grèce*, Paris, 1801, vol. IV. p. 188.

[5] Timocles, *apud Athen.* VIII. 341 F, 342 A.

[6] Dionys. Hal. *De adm. vi dic. in Dem.* p. 1063. Cic. *Orat.* 9, 29.

[7] In his speech *against Timarchus*, p. 78, which was delivered in B.C. 345, he says that he was then in his forty-fifth year.

[8] *De Coronâ*, p. 270, above, chapter XLI. § 6.

fied by her son with the majestic name Glaucothea, was the cast-off concubine of a galley-piper, who afterwards became a Bacchanalian priestess of the lowest class; and we are told that Æschines in his early life assisted in the humble and degrading occupations of both his parents.[1] In his speech *on the Embassy*,[2] Æschines lays claim to the most creditable antecedents in all respects. Pointing to his father, who was present, as nearly the oldest of the Athenian citizens, having attained the advanced age of ninety-four years, he tells his hearers that Atrometus, before he lost his property, was an athlete or competitor in the public games; and that after his banishment by the Thirty he served as a mercenary soldier in Asia. He asserts that the family belonged to the clan of the Eteobutadæ, which counted Lycurgus among its members, and that his father enjoyed the more substantial credit of assisting Thrasybulus to restore the democracy at Athens. His mother, too, who had shared in her husband's exile, was originally and properly called Glaucis or Glaucothea,[3] being the daughter of a respectable Athenian citizen, Glaucias of Acharnæ. The respectability of the family is farther attested by the fact that his brothers, Philochares and Aphobetus—whose name, by the way, seems to show that the father was really called Atrometus, and not Tromes[4]—had filled very eminent positions in the military and civil service of their country. The former had served with distinction under Iphicrates, and had been thrice elected to the office of general, *i. e.* one of the ten commissioners for managing the war ministry at Athens. The latter had gone as ambassador to Persia, and had held some financial appointment at Athens.[5] With regard to himself, Æschines tells us that he served in the army from his earliest youth, first as one of the περίπολοι or patrols, who guarded the frontiers, and afterwards as a probationary or supplementary soldier in foreign expeditions.[6] In

---

[1] *De Coronâ*, p. 313. [2] p. 47.

[3] Libanius calls her Leucothea. See Taylor, *Præf. ad Æsch. Epist.* p. 653 sq.

[4] In his speech on *the Embassy*, p. 431 Demosthenes is content to define his opponent as τὸν Ἀτρομήτου τοῦ γραμματιστοῦ καὶ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τοὺς θιάσους συναγούσης.

[5] Æsch. *De F. Leg.* p. 48.

[6] *Id. ibid.* p. 50: πρώτην δ' ἐξελθὼν στρατείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι καλουμένην . . .

this way he fought at Phlius in B.C. 368, and at Mantineia in B.C. 362. And in the battle of Tamynæ in Eubœa, in B.C. 349, he exhibited such conspicuous valour that he was crowned on the field by Phocion, and sent to announce the victory at Athens. With all this, his means were very limited, and he was obliged to maintain himself by turning his natural advantages to the best account. Having a robust and active frame,[1] he was employed to assist in the exercises of the gymnasia;[2] and as his voice was powerful and harmonious, he found employment as a tragic actor, though he did not rise to the highest rank in the histrionic art,[3] and on one occasion was hissed off the stage in the character of Œnomaus.[4] Having acquired, either in his father's writing-school or elsewhere, a great command of his pen, he was employed as a public clerk or secretary, and in this capacity he served first Aristophon,[5] and afterwards Eubulus,[6] to whose party he was afterwards attached as an orator. So far as this, there may have been sufficient foundation for the personalities of Demosthenes. But there can scarcely be any doubt that the aspersions in the oration *on the Crown*, which go much farther than those in the speech *on the Embassy*, are

---

καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐξόδους τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις καὶ τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐξῆλθον. The phrase ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν is explained to mean 'in the safe parts of the battle,' *i. e.*, in the rear ranks of the phalanx. Suidas, s. v., τερθρεία: ὅτι ἔθος ἦν τοὺς ἐφήβους μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι περιπόλους τῆς χώρας στρατεύεσθαι μὲν εἰ συμβαίη πόλεμος, μὴ μέντοι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἐν μέρεσι τοῖς ἀκινδύνοις τῆς μάχης. The στρατεία ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις refers to the practice of counting the years of military service from eighteen to sixty by the names of the ἄρχοντες ἐπώνυμοι of the forty-two years, and then selecting soldiers for special expeditions from a certain number of years. This appears from the passage of Aristotle quoted by Suidas, s. v. στρατεία ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις (p. 3416 B. Gaisford): ὅταν ἡλικίαν ἐκπέμπωσιν, προσγράφουσιν ἀπὸ τίνος Ἄρχοντος Ἐπωνύμου μέχρι τίνος δεῖ στρατεύεσθαι.

[1] He seems, however, to have been of short stature. Demosthenes calls him καλὸς ἀνδριάς, which implies a doll or puppet (see our note on the *Theatre of the Greeks*, ed. 6, p. 161), and the phrase ἴσα βαίνων Πυθοκλεῖ (Dem. *Fals. Leg.* p. 442) has more point, if we understand it of a diminutive person walking stride for stride with one much taller. Ulpian says expressly that Æschines was a little man (*ad Or. de Cor. l. l.*).

[2] Plut. p. 840 A: νέος δὲ ὢν καὶ ἐῤῥωμένος τῷ σώματι περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια ἐπόνει.

[3] He was generally τριταγωνιστής. Dem. *De Coronâ*, pp. 270, 315.

[4] Dem. *De Coronâ*, pp. 288, 314, 315.

[5] Anonym. *Vita Æschinis*, p. 245.

[6] Photius *Cod.* LXI. For the intimacy between Æschines and Eubulus, and the relations of the former to Aristophon, see Dem. *Fals. Leg.* p. 434.

grossly exaggerated, perhaps wantonly invented by an exasperated enemy, who was confident of success, and knew that he would have the last word.

The first appearance of Æschines as a public speaker was two years before his military distinctions at Tamynæ.[1] He had stored his mind with legal and political knowledge acquired in his intimate relations with Aristophon and Eubulus, and very soon became an influential statesman. In the spring of B.C. 347, he was sent to the Peloponnesus as one of the ambassadors, appointed, on the motion of Eubulus, after the fall of Olynthus, and he spoke before the Ten Thousand at Megalopolis in opposition to the envoys of Philip, but without success.[2] Soon after this, he seems to have despaired of resisting the power and policy of the Macedonian king, and we find him among the warmest advocates for peace at any price. He was one of those who were sent to negociate with Philip at the end of B.C. 347. His intercourse with the wily monarch seems to have ended in the sacrifice of his character as a patriot and an honest man. And there can be little doubt that from this time he employed his influence and talents mainly in recommending measures opposed to the best interests of his country. Notwithstanding his somewhat narrow escape[3] from the prosecution brought against him by Demosthenes for his corrupt misconduct in the embassy, we find him persisting in the same course, and it was he who was the main cause of the second Phocian war,[4] which led to the battle of Chæroneia and the downfal of Greek independence. Always opposed and in many cases thwarted by Demosthenes, his political and personal animosity against that statesman finally exploded in his prosecution of Ctesiphon; and his signal defeat in that attempt to ruin his antagonist induced him, as we have already mentioned,[5] to retire from Athens and seek the support of his

---

[1] Æsch. *Epist.* XII.

[2] Dem. *Fals. Leg.* pp. 344—438. Æsch. *Fals. Leg.* p. 38.

[3] Plut. p. 840 C: *τριάκοντα ψήφοις ἀπέφυγεν. Vita Dem.* c. 15, on the authority of Idomeneus.

[4] He gives his own account of the proceedings, in a most vivid description, in his speech *against Ctesiphon*, pp. 69, sqq. See Thirlwall VI. p. 55. Grote XI. p. 650.

[5] Above, chapter XLI. § 4.

foreign friends. The death of Alexander prevented his intended journey to the court of that monarch.[1] He became a teacher of rhetoric in Ionia, Caria, and Rhodes, and may be regarded as the founder of the Rhodian school of eloquence, which occupied a middle place between the old Attic and the more recent Asiatic schools.[2] Towards the end of his life he removed to Samos, where he died in B.C. 314.[3]

Of the numerous speeches which Æschines must have delivered,[4] only three have come down to us. One other was known to the ancient critics, but rejected by them as not genuine.[5] The paucity of his public speeches is accounted for by the fact that he was regarded as almost the inventor of extempore speaking, and prided himself on his unpremeditated fluency.[6] We have also twelve epistles attributed to him, of which nine were known to Photius, who calls them the Muses, as he also termed the three speeches of Æschines the Graces.[7] Modern scholars are agreed that the epistles are not genuine.[8] His erotic poems, which would have illustrated a passage in his speech against Timarchus,[9] are entirely lost, together with the ancient commentaries on his writings.[10] The three extant speeches are that *against Timarchus*, which he delivered in B.C. 345; that *on the Embassy*, which is supposed not to have been spoken as we have it, in B.C. 343, but to have been written and published as a defence of his policy and character;[11] and

---

[1] Plutarch, p. 840 D.: καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἔφεσον ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον· τοῦ δὲ τελευτήσαντος ταραχῆς οὔσης ἀπάρας εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον ἐνταῦθα σχολὴν καταστησάμενος ἐδίδασκεν. Phot. *Vit. Soph.* p. 509.

[2] See Westermann, *Gesch. d. Beredtsamkeit* I. § 81.

[3] Plutarch, p. 840 E. Photius, *Cod.* LXI. Clinton, *F. H.* p. 171.

[4] Dem. *De Fals. Leg.* p. 344.

[5] It was called ὁ Δηλιακὸς νόμος. See Plut. p. 840 E. Philostr. I. 18. Apollon. *Vit.* p. 248. Photius, *Cod.* LXI. attributes it to a contemporary of the same name.

[6] Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* p. 482: οἱ δὲ Αἰσχίνου φασὶ τὸ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν εὕρημα, p. 509: ἀπ' Αἰσχίνου δ' ἤρξατο θεοφορήτῳ ὁρμῇ αὐτοσχεδιάζοντος.

[7] Phot. *Cod.* LXI.

[8] See Taylor (*præf.* p. 651), and Markland (*ibid.* p. 666, 679), who speaks favourably, however, of the third Epistle.

[9] p. 19.

[10] He was made the subject of special discussion by Cæcilius, by Didymus, and by Aspasius.

[11] Plut. *Vit. Dem.* c. 15; Hermogenes, περὶ τῶν στασέων, p. 28, ed. Walz.

that *against Ctesiphon,* spoken in B.C. 330. All these are extremely lively, and full of interesting details. He seems, indeed, to have been quite a master of narrative. For example, there are few better specimens of description than the picture which he gives us of the offended gravity of Autolycus, the Areopagite, in the speech *against Timarchus,*[1] or his account, whether true or false, of the failure of Demosthenes before Philip in the speech *on the Embassy,*[2] or that in the speech *against Ctesiphon,*[3] in which he depicts the religious phrensy of the Amphictyons. Æschines is well characterized by Dionysius as less distinguished by art than by natural facility—our first impression is, that he is merely graceful and elegant, but we find on examination that he is full of spirit and vigour.[4] Hermogenes says that he combines grandeur with rhetorical elegance.[5] Cicero opposes his noisy declamation (*sonitus*) to the power (*vis*) of Demosthenes,[6] but attributes to him, as special characteristics, a smoothness of diction and a brilliancy of style,[7] and not only paid him the compliment of translating his speech against *Ctesiphon,*[8] but twice imitated, by an almost literal adoption of the passage, the well-known description of the torments of the guilty in the speech *against Timarchus.*[9] Quintilian, indeed, intimates by a strong metaphor that Æschines is distinguished rather by turgid verbosity than by solidity of argument.[10] But most of those who have read his remains will share the regret, expressed by Dionysius, that Æschines had so little occasion to compose formal speeches, and that he could say with truth, in his speech *against Timarchus,*

---

[1] p. 12. [2] p. 32. [3] p. 70.

[4] *De Vet. Script. Cens.* p. 434: *οὐ πάνυ μὲν ἐντεχνος, τῇ δὲ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως εὐχερείᾳ κεχορηγημένος . . . . καὶ ἡδὺς μὲν αὐτόθεν ἐντυχόντι, σφοδρὸς δ' ἐξετασθείς.*

[5] *περὶ ἰδεῶν* p. 384, Walz: *τῷ μεγέθει μετὰ τοῦ κατὰ σχῆμα κάλλους πλεονάζων.*

[6] *De Oratore,* III. 7.

[7] *Orator.*: 'levitas et splendor verborum.'

[8] Hieron. *Ep.* 101; Sidon. *Ep.* II. 9.

[9] p. 27. The imitations are in the speeches *pro Sexto Roscio Amerino,* and *in L. Calp. Pisonem;* see Lord Brougham's *Inaugural Discourse, Works,* vol. VII. p. 121.

[10] *I. O.* X. 1, 77: 'plenior Æschines et magis fusus et grandiori similis, quo minus strictus est: carnis tamen plus habet, minus lacertorum.'

that he had not previously indicted or called to account any of his fellow-citizens.[1]

§ 6. DEINARCHUS, the latest in point of time, and the lowest in point of eminence, among the ten orators of the canon, was born at Corinth somewhere about Ol. 104, 4, B.C. 361.[2] He came to Athens at a very early age, and devoted himself to the study of rhetoric, which was then flourishing more than at any previous time. His principal teacher was Theophrastus, but he also enjoyed instructive intercourse with Demetrius of Phalerum.[3] Being excluded from the debates of the assembly by his imperfect citizenship, he employed himself as a speech-writer for the public courts, and seems to have made a considerable fortune in this way.[4] As far as he was allowed to enter on the field of politics, he attached himself to the Macedonian party. Dionysius[5] and Plutarch[6] agree in fixing the commencement of Alexander's reign as the time when Deinarchus first appeared as an orator. We find him taking an active part in the prosecution of Demosthenes, which was occasioned by the disputes about Harpalus and his treasure in B.C. 324; and when the issue of the Lamian war had deprived Athens of its greatest orators, Deinarchus remained without a rival, and from the death of Demades, in B.C. 318, to the expulsion of Demetrius of Phalerum, by his namesake, the Poliorcetes, in B.C. 307, he was the chief, if not the only representative of Attic eloquence; but his inferiority to his great models was generally felt, and he was called 'the rustic Demosthenes,'[7] and designated as one who bore the same relation to his predecessor that beer does to wine.[8] On leaving Athens, he fled, like Aristotle, to Chalcis, where he resided till B.C. 292, when the

---

[1] Photius, *Cod.* LXI.

[2] Dionys. Hal. *De Dinarcho judicium*, p. 638, Reiske. Suidas s.v. says: *υἱὸς τίνος ἐστιν οὐχ ἱστόρηται*, and Plutarch states (p. 850 B), that his father was Socrates or Sostratus. Dionysius mentions the latter only.

[3] Dionys. p. 633; Plut. p. 850 C. [4] Plut. *ibid.*

[5] Dionys. p. 638. [6] Plut. p. 850 B. C.; see Clinton, *F. H.* p. 151.

[7] Dionys. p. 647: *ἀγροικόν τινες Δημοσθένην ἔφασαν εἶναι.*

[8] Hermogenes, *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, II. 5, p. 384, Walz: *ὥστ' ἤδη τινες καὶ προσπαίζοντες αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀχαρίτως κριθινον Δημοσθένην εἰρήκασι.* The scholiast understands this as *οὐ σίτινον* (vol. V. p. 560, Walz), and the phrase *hordearius rhetor*, applied to L. Plotius by Suetonius, *De Clar. Rhet.* 2, is generally understood in a similar

friendly exertions of Theophrastus obtained permission for him to return.[1] One of the last efforts of his oratory was a speech against his faithless friend Proxenus, who had taken advantage of his failing sight to rob him of some money while lodging in his house in the country.[2] It is stated that this was not only his last speech, but his first appearance in a law court.[3] The year of his death is not known.

The number of orations ascribed to Deinarchus varies in the different lists which have come down to us. Demetrius, of Magnesia, claimed for him no less than 160;[4] in Plutarch[5] and Photius[6] we read of 64 genuine speeches; and Dionysius, of Halicarnassus,[7] admits the authenticity of 60 out of the 87 which bore his name. The three, still extant as his, refer to the business of Harpalus, and were spoken against Demosthenes, Philocles, and Aristogeiton. To these we must in all probability add the ἔνδειξις against Theocrines, printed among the orations of Demosthenes, but distinctly attributed to Deinarchus by Dionysius, and quoted as his by Harpocration.[8] As this speech is referred to B.C. 333, it must have been one of the earliest works of this orator.

We have little reason to regret the loss of so many speeches of Deinarchus. Even Dionysius, who has paid him the compliment of writing a special treatise on his characteristics, admits that he was neither the inventor of a special style, nor the perfecter of that which was invented by others,[9] and declares that his position cannot be easily defined, because he has neither anything in common with the other orators, nor anything peculiar to himself.[10] In fact he was neither an original

---

sense: but surely the opposition must be that between beer and wine, as in Æsch. *Suppl.* 930, 1:

ἀλλ' ἄρσενάς τοι τῆσδε γῆς οἰκήτορας
εὑρήσετ' οὐ πίνοντας ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ,

and in the Epigram of Julian, *Anthol. Pal.* IX. 368, II. p. 128.

[1] Dionys. p. 634; Plut. p. 850 D; Phot. *Cod.* CCLXVII. [2] Dionys. *ibid.*
[3] Dionys. p. 635. [4] Dionys. p. 632. [5] p. 850 E.
[6] *Cod.* CCLXVII. [7] pp. 651 sqq. [8] Above, p. 334 [174].
[9] p. 629: διὰ τὸ μήτε εὑρετὴν ἰδίου γεγονέναι χαρακτῆρος τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε τῶν εὑρημένων ἑτέροις τελειωτήν.
[10] p. 639: καιρὸς ἤδη καὶ περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος αὐτοῦ λέγειν. ἔστι δὲ δυσίριστον. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε κοινὸν οὔτ' ἴδιον ἔσχεν·

man nor a good imitator;[1] and although Didymus and Heron did not disdain to write commentaries on him,[2] he was treated with neglect by the grammarians of Alexandria and Pergamus,[3] and some of the critics left him out of the canon of the ten orators.[4] It is admitted by his most favourable critics that his style is rugged, careless, and monotonous.[5] And we can see this in the few remains which have come down to us. There is a wearisome recurrence of the same rhetorical artifices. For example, he endeavours to produce an impression by repetitions of the same word,[6] which is the favourite figure with young composers. On the whole he must be regarded as a second-rate rhetorician, who would have obtained no distinction at Athens, if the military power of Macedon had not succeeded in stifling the political freedom of the city, and in removing from the stage of public life all those whose eloquence was calculated to rouse and guide the energies of the people.

---

[1] Dionysius calls him however the best of the imitators of Demosthenes (p. 646).

[2] Harpocrat. s.v. *ματρυλεῖον*; Suid. s.v. *Ἥρων*.

[3] Dionys. p. 636.

[4] *Bibl. Coislin.* p. 597.

[5] Hermogenes calls him *πραχὺς* thrice in his short notice (vol. III. p. 384, Walz); so also in p. 236, where this quality is also predicated of Aristogeiton. In the scholia on Hermogenes Deinarchus is called *πραχὺς καὶ μονοειδής* (vol. VI. p. 319, Walz), and it is said that his style, like that of Thucydides, *σκληρὸς ὢν καὶ τραχὺς ἀποκναίει τὴν αἴσθησιν*.

[6] Thus, in the speech against Demosthenes we have, at the beginning of different paragraphs, such tame repetitions as: *δίκαια μὲν οὖν δίκαια πρόπον γε τινα πάσχει τὸ συνέδριον* (p. 91, 18); *μισθωτὸς οὗτος, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, μισθωτὸς οὗτός ἐστι παλαιός* (p. 93, 37); *πολλοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν*.

CHAPTER XLIII.

RHETORICAL HISTORIANS AND PROVINCIAL ANTIQUARIES.

§ 1. Connexion between rhetoric and history. School of Isocrates. § 2. Ephorus. § 3. Theopompus. § 4. Sicilian School: Antiochus. § 5. Philistus. § 6. Writers of the Atthides.

§ 1. THERE is no doubt that the first beginnings of history among the Greeks were connected with the literary efforts of the epic rhapsodists.[1] While the Ionic dialect, which was the conventional language of the epos, was also adopted by the historian, even though he might belong to the Doric town of Halicarnassus[2] or Cnidus,[3] we know that these prose narratives of facts, mixed up with fables, were publicly recited or acted—for this word is used—just in the same way as the rhapsodes delivered the poems of Homer and the other poets of that school.[4] In the course of time, the rhapsodist was represented by the sophist, as the regular type of the professional author and teacher,[5] the dramatic element was superseded by an effort of rhetoric, and the historian was no longer a writer of prose epics, but a finished product of the schools of rhetoric and sophistry. Thus we have seen that Thucydides was emphatically a rhetorical historian. His style was not formed on the model of the old epic poets and annalists, but directly derived from his teacher Antiphon.[6] And the elaborate speeches, which he incorporates with his narrative, are in fact the soul of his history.[7] It was not, therefore, without reason that Demosthenes made Thucydides the subject of his special study,[8] and

---

[1] See chapter XVIII.
[2] Chapter XIX. § 7.
[3] Chapter XXXVIII. § 9.
[4] See the passages which we have quoted in the *Theatre of the Greeks*, ed. 6, p. 40.
[5] Above, chapter XXXVII. § 2.
[6] Chapter XXXIV. §§ 10, 11.
[7] *Ibid.* §§ 8, 9.
[8] Above, p. 343 [183].

formed on this model his own simple and energetic style. The connexion, however, between rhetoric and history was never more distinctly and formally acknowledged than in the relations which connected Isocrates with the historians who were formed in his school. That rhetorician was not merely a professed artist of language, but he studiously abstained from the more immediately practical exhibitions of his art in the law-courts and public assemblies, and wrote elaborate pamphlets on subjects of general and political interest.[1] To him, therefore, it was a more congenial occupation to educate the philosophical historian, than to form the style of the forensic or parliamentary speaker. Accordingly, we find that Isocrates not only trained professed rhetoricians, like Naucrates and Theodectes, and orators like Isæus, Lycurgus, and Hypereides, but also writers, who, like Ephorus and Theopompus, employed the facilities of composition which they had acquired under his teaching in the compilation of elaborate and artistic narratives of past events; and so, in the felicitous language of Cicero, from the school of Isocrates, as from the Trojan horse, none but princes of Greece issued forth, some of whom, however, were resolved to become illustrious only on the parade, while others sought distinction in the field of battle.[2] We are told that Isocrates not only formed the style and regulated the character of Ephorus and Theopompus, applying, as Cicero says in several passages, the spurs to the former, who was bashful and hesitating, and curbing Theopompus, who was apt to overleap all bounds in the extravagances of his diction,[3] but that he even selected for them the departments of historical investigation which were best suited to their different abilities, advising the former to confine

---

[1] Above, chapter XXXVI. § 6.

[2] *De Oratore*, II. 22, § 94: 'ecce tibi exortus est Isocrates, magister istorum omnium, cujus [v. qui ejus] e ludo tamquam ex equo Trojano meri principes exierunt: sed eorum partim in pompâ, partim in acie illustres esse voluerunt.'

[3] *De Oratore*, III. 9, § 36: 'quod dicebat Isocrates, doctor singularis: se calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frenis uti solere. Alterum enim exsultantem verborum audaciâ reprimebat, alterum cunctantem et quasi verecundantem incitabat.' Cf. *Brut.* 56, § 204; *ad Atticum*, VI. 1, 12; Suidas, s.v. Ἔφορος: ὁ γοῦν Ἰσοκράτης τὸν μὲν [Θεόπομπον] ἔφη ἡχαλινοῦ δεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἔφορον κέντρου.

himself to the annals of early times, and the latter to undertake the more recent and exciting periods.'

§ 2. EPHORUS, of Cumæ, or Cyme, the chief city of Æolis in Asia Minor, was the son of Demophilus,[2] and was born in Ol. 93, 4. B.C. 407. He was sent to Chios, where Isocrates had opened a school, in order to learn rhetoric with a view to its practical applications. But when he returned to his native city, it was found that he had made but little progress in oratory, and that his natural abilities held out no prospect of distinction as a public speaker. Accordingly he went back to his teacher, and endeavoured to supply his natural defects by renewed diligence, and was so far successful that he was crowned along with Theopompus, as one of the best pupils of the Chian school.[3] It is inferred from a passage in Seneca[4] that Ephorus actually engaged in forensic employments, and was induced to withdraw from this by the advice of Isocrates, who saw that his talents were better fitted for a literary life. With the exception of Plutarch's statement, that Ephorus declined an invitation to visit the court of Alexander the Great, perhaps to accompany him to the East,[5] we know nothing more of the life of this historian.

The works of Ephorus were the following. (I.) A general history of Greece in thirty books, from the return of

---

[1] Phot. *Cod.* CCLX.: γεγόνασιν αὐτοῦ [Ἰσοκράτους] ἀκροαταὶ Θεόπομπος ὁ Χῖος καὶ Ἔφορος ὁ Κυμαῖος οἷς καὶ ταῖς ἱστορικαῖς συγγραφαῖς προὐτρέψατο χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑκάστου φύσιν ἀναλόγως καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῆς ἱστορίας αὐτοῖς διανειμάμενος. *Cod.* CLXXVI: καὶ τὰς ἱστορικὰς δὲ ὑποθέσεις τὸν διδάσκοντα αὐτοὺς [Ἔφορῳ καὶ Θεοπόμπῳ] προβαλεῖν τὰς μὲν ἄνω τῶν χρόνων Ἔφορῳ, Θεοπόμπῳ δὲ τὰς μετὰ Θουκυδίδην Ἑλληνικάς, πρὸς τὴν ἑκατέρου φύσιν καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἁρμοσάμενον.

[2] Suidas, s.n., mentions Antiochus as, according to some accounts, the name of his father: but this may have arisen from some confusion with the Sicilian historian of that name, and C. Müller, to whom we are indebted for most of the materials of this sketch, has reasonably inferred that Demophilus was really his name, because Plutarch states this, and because it was the name of his son (*Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum, ed.* C. et T. Müller, Paris, 1841, p. LVII.).

[3] Ménander, περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, p. 262, Walz: ὥσπερ Ἔφορος ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ Θεόπομπος οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰσοκράτους ὡς διαφέροντες τῶν ἄλλων.

[4] *De tranquill. Anim.* c. 6: 'Isocrates Ephorum injectâ manu a foro subduxit, utiliorem componendis monumentis historiarum ratus.'

[5] Plut. *De Stoic. repugn.* c. 20: Καλλισθένει τινες ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὅτι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπλευσεν . . . . Ἔφορον δὲ καὶ Ξενοκράτην καὶ Μενέδημον ἐπαινοῦσι, παραιτησαμένους τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

the Heracleidæ[1] to the taking of Perinthus, in B.C. 341.[2] This work was completed by his son, Demophilus,[3] and continued by Diyllus down to the death of Philip.[4] It appears that each book was complete in itself, and had a special title; for example, the fourth book was called *Europa*.[5] The titles of the other books cannot be fixed with certainty, but the numerous fragments and references enable us to see that the first three books discussed the early migrations and settlements of the Greeks; that the fifth book was devoted to Asia and Africa; that the sixth and seventh books treated of the Peloponnesus and Sicily; the eighth and ninth contained the history of Crœsus, Cyrus, and Darius; the tenth and eleventh gave the history of Athens from Marathon to Salamis; the twelfth and thirteenth carried on the general history of Greece to the 87th Olympiad; the fourteenth narrated the Peloponnesian war; the fifteenth and sixteenth contained Hannibal's invasion of Sicily, and the domination of the thirty tyrants at Athens; the seventeenth was devoted to the expedition of Cyrus the younger; the eighteenth described the campaigns of Thimbron, Dercyllidas, and Agesilaus, in Asia Minor; the nineteenth contained the events from the Corinthian war to the peace of Antalcidas; and in books 20—29 the history was carried down to the beginning of the Sacred War. We have already mentioned that the thirtieth book, describing that war, was written by Demophilus, after the death of his father.

(II.) A treatise on discoveries (*περὶ εὑρημάτων*) in two books. It has been supposed[6] that this work may have been extracted

---

[1] Diodor. IV. 1: *τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδου συνταξάμενος, ταύτην ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἱστορίας.*

[2] *Id.* XVI. 26: *Ἔφορος τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐνθάδε κατέστροφεν ἐς τὴν Περίνθου πολιορκίαν.*

[3] *Id.* XVI. 14: *Δημόφιλος ὁ Ἐφόρου τοῦ ἱστοριογράφου υἱὸς τὸν παραλειφθέντα πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀνομασθέντα δὲ ἱερὸν συντεταγμένος.*

[4] *Id. ibid.*: *Δίυλλος δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἤρκται τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἱεροσυλήσεως καὶ γέγραφε βιβλίους εἴκοσι καὶ ἕπτα, συμπεριλαβὼν πάσας τὰς ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τούτοις γενομένας πράξεις.* Diyllus was continued in thirty books by Psaon, of Platæa; Creuzer, *Histor. Kunst.* p. 322.

[5] Strabo, I. p. 59: *Ἔφορος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης λόγῳ.*

[6] C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, p. LXI.: 'sed videas an non postea aliquis hæc inventa ex historiarum libris excerpserit eique compendio Ephori nomen præfixerit.'

by some later author from the history of Ephorus, but it is more probable that it was a supplementary collection of antiquarian investigations.

(III.) An essay on domestic matters (*σύνταγμα ἐπιχώριον*). In this book he seems to have collected a good deal of information respecting the native celebrities of Cumæ, mixed up with particulars relating to the literary history of Greece in general.

(IV.) A treatise on diction (*περὶ λέξεως*). This was one of the many treatises on rhetoric which were superseded by the more methodical work of Aristotle. The title shows that it was confined to a mere department of the subject,[1] and the references to the work by Cicero[2] and Quintilian[3] tell us only that he laid down specific rules for the rhythmical structure of sentences.

(V.) A collection, in twenty-four books, of particulars respecting good and evil things (*περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν βιβλία κδ'*), attributed to him by Suidas, is supposed to have been a series of extracts from his history.

(VI.) An account of the remarkable things in different countries, in fifteen books (*περὶ τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ παραδόξων βιβλία ιέ*), was either a work preparatory to his history, or a supplement to the geographical portion of it.[4]

The numerous fragments of Ephorus, and the frequent references to him in the pages of ancient writers, especially in the accurate and judicious work of the geographer Strabo, enable us to form a sufficient estimate of the loss which we have sustained in him. Strabo says[5] that he makes great use of Ephorus on account of his careful investigation of local particulars, and that he is a writer of considerable authority. And Polybius, whom Strabo quotes, attributes to Ephorus a marked superiority over Eudoxus, and admits his excellence as a describer of the foundations of cities, the affinities of nations,

---

[1] See above, chapter XL. § 5.

[2] Cic. *Orator.* 57.

[3] Quintil. IX. 4, 87.

[4] See Marx. (*apud Müller, Fragm.* p. LXI.), who compares the *παραδόξων ἐθῶν συναγωγή* of Nicolaus Damascenus.

[5] p. 422 : *Ἔφορος ᾧ τὸ πλεῖστον χρώμεθα διὰ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμέλειαν καθάπερ καὶ Πολύβιος μαρτυρῶν τυγχάνει, ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος.*

their emigrations, and their ancient worthies.[1] Polybius also concedes to Ephorus the honour of being the first writer of universal history,[2] and Strabo gives him the credit of being the first to separate the historical element from the purely geographical, and of having made the latter depend on real investigations.[3] Some of his descriptions, such as that of Bœotia,[4] or that of Crete,[5] fully justify the praises bestowed upon him as a geographer, and it is clear that, in drawing up his details of historical events, he availed himself of all the best authorities, not neglecting inscriptions and other authentic documents,[6] and correcting many errors of his predecessors.[7] This diligence has rendered him liable to a charge of plagiarism,[8] but there seems to be no reason for believing that he intentionally concealed his obligations to older writers. From the more general accusations of Timæus he is formally vindicated by Polybius;[9] and though not free from errors,[10] Ephorus has furnished us, especially through compilers like Diodorus Siculus, with very much of our knowledge of Greek history. His style, as might have been expected from his rhetorical training, was highly coloured and artificial,[11] and, according to Dionysius,[12] only he and Theopompus among all the historical writers wrote in a perfectly accurate and finished diction. This, at least, seems a more probable judgment than the harsh statement of Duris of Samos,[13] that both Ephorus and Theopompus were entirely inferior to their predecessors, having no power of imitation or beauty of language, and being anxious only about their style.

§ 3. THEOPOMPUS, who is generally regarded as the *pendant* to Ephorus in the portrait gallery of Greek literary history, was born at Chios in Ol. 100, 3, B.C. 378. His father,

---

1 Polyb. XXXIV. 1, 3; Strabo, p. 425.
2 V. 32, 2.
3 p. 332.
4 Strabo, pp. 400, sqq.
5 pp. 479, sqq.
6 p. 463.
7 *e.g.* of Hellanicus, Joseph. *c. Apion.* I. 3.
8 Porphyr. *ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang.* X. 2.
9 XII. 23.
10 Diodor. I. 39; Strabo, pp. 303, 422, 464.
11 Polyb. XII. 28; Dion. Hal. *De Isæo judic.* p. 626; Dio Chrys. XVIII. p. 256, Mor.; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I. 17; Cic. *Orat.* 51.
12 Dion. Hal. *De Comp. Verb.* p. 173.
13 Phot. *Cod.* CLXXVI. p. 393, Hoeschel.

Damasistratus, was expelled from Chios by the Lacedæmonians while the future historian was still a child, perhaps an infant.[1] It is quite impossible, then, that Theopompus could have received instruction from Isocrates in his native island of Chios,[2] and it is probable that the travels of his earlier years included a visit to Athens, where he enjoyed a lengthened intercourse with the great rhetorician. Having received a complete training in this school, and being relieved by his ample patrimony from the necessity of writing for the law courts, he devoted himself to the composition of set speeches (ἐπιδείξεις), in imitation of his master, which he delivered in every considerable city, and obtained great renown by these displays,[3] especially in B.C. 352, when he won the prize, against Naucrates and Isocrates, in the competition instituted by Artemisia for the best speech in honour of her deceased husband, Mausolus.[4] Satisfied with the applause which he had gained by these oratorical efforts, he followed the advice of Isocrates, and applied himself to the composition of history,[5] a task for which he was especially qualified by the knowledge which he acquired in his travels, and by his political experience. For it appears that on his return to Chios, in consequence of the letters of Alexander the Great, calling on the people of that island to restore their exiles, and probably written in B.C. 333, Theopompus took the lead in the government of his native city. As long as Alexander lived he was maintained at the head of the aristocratic party, in spite of his overbearing and haughty temper, and the bitter and formidable attacks of the eminent rhetorician Theocritus.[6] On the death of his protector he was again banished from Chios, and took refuge in Egypt, where, however, he did not obtain a friendly reception from Ptolemy, who would have put him to death as a meddlesome and dangerous character, had not Theopompus been protected

[1] It is supposed that this expulsion took place in Ol. 100, 4; see Diodor. XV. 28.

[2] This is stated, however, by the author of the *Vitæ X. Oratorum*, p. 837 C., and by Photius, *Cod.* CCLX.

[3] Phot. *Cod.* CLXXVI.; Quintil. X. 1; Dionys. Hal. *ad. Pomp.* p. 131.

[4] A. Gellius, *N. A.* X. 18; *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 838 B; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* X. 3.

[5] Phot. *Cod.* CCLX.

[6] Strabo, p. 955.

by the intervention of powerful friends.[1] Ptolemy did not assume the title of king till B.C. 306, and if the story that he fled to king Ptolemy is to be understood as indicating a period subsequent to this, Theopompus must have been very much advanced in years when he finally left his native city. Of the remainder of his life, and of his death, which probably followed soon after this banishment, we have no account.

The works of Theopompus, which are all lost, were chiefly historical, and we are informed that he had devoted a considerable part of his ample fortune towards procuring accurate information in regard to the particulars which he commemorated. His diligence and trustworthiness are attested by many of the ancient critics,[2] and his style is said to have been lucid, ornate, and elegant, though deficient in vigour.[3] His greatest fault, according to the ancient writers, was attributable to the vehemence of his temper. They intimate that neither in praise nor in vituperation could he keep his language within due bounds. And he has been classed with Timæus as conspicuously given to defamation.[4] On the other hand he has been defended by an eminent modern scholar, who says:[5] 'Theopompus has been described as censorious for having painted from the life the dissolute manners of a corrupt age; for most people are inclined to look at every thing on its fairest side, especially if they view it from a distance, when all the passions are silent, and the benevolent feeling which is implanted in the heart of man is not contradicted by immediate and personal experience; but honour is due to the historian who knows how to distinguish the covering from the surface, and, like the judge of the infernal regions, drags the soul before his judgment-seat, naked and stripped of all pomp and pageantry.'

---

[1] Phot. *Cod.* CLXXVI.: Πτολεμαῖον δὲ οὐ προσίεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πολυπράγμονα ἀνελεῖν ἐθελῆσαι, εἰ μή τινες τῶν φίλων παραιτησάμενοι διεσώσαντο.

[2] Athenæus, III. 18; Suidas, s. v. Ἔφορος.

[3] Dionys. Hal. *Epist. ad Pomp.*, p. 132: καθαρὰ ἡ λέξις καὶ κοινὴ καὶ σαφής, ὑψηλή τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς καὶ τὸ πομπικὸν ἔχουσα πολύ, συγκειμένη τε κατὰ τὴν μέσην ἁρμονίαν, ἡδέως καὶ μαλακῶς ῥέουσα.

[4] Corn. Nepos. *Alcib.* c. 11; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. p. 316; Lucian, *Quomodo hist. conscrib.* c. 59. Polyb. VIII. 12; Athenæus VI. p. 254 B.

[5] Böckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, book II. chapter XXIV. p. 293, Eng. Tr.

The following is the list of his writings.

(I.) An abridgment of Herodotus (ἐπιτομὴ τῶν Ἡροδότου ἱστοριῶν, which certain modern scholars[1] have attributed to some later writer.

(II.) A History of Greece in twelve books, in continuation of Thucydides (Σύνταξις Ἑλληνικῶν), which contained a period of seventeen years from the battle of Cynossema to that of Cnidus. Of this work very few fragments remain.[2]

(III.) His *history* specially so called (Ἱστορίαι κατ' ἐξοχήν), also designated as his *Philippica* (Φιλιππικά), which in fifty-eight books contained an elaborate history of Philip of Macedon, with frequent digressions, recounting the contemporary events in different countries.[3] The first book gave the earlier years of Philip; the second, his Illyrian, Pæonian, and Thracian wars; the third book discussed the war with Amphipolis, and took occasion to digress into the history of Sesostris and the Scythians; in the eighth book he described the social war, with many digressions on wonderful occurrences of various kinds; the ninth gave Philip's Thessalian campaign, with much supplementary information about the scene of action; the tenth prepared the way for the war between Philip and the Athenians, by an account of the early history of Attica and of the old Athenian statesmen; the eleventh book probably brought down the history of Philip to his attempt on Thermopylæ in B.C. 352; books 12 to 18 seem to have contained an account of the wars waged by the Persians against Cyprus, Phœnicia, and Egypt; the nineteenth and twentieth books returned to the affairs of Philip, with especial reference to his dealings with Thessaly and Thrace; in the twenty-first book there was a discussion about Dionysius and the affairs of Sicily, and this subject was renewed in the thirty-ninth, fortieth, and forty-first books; in books 22—38, 42—51, the history of Philip was carried down to the battle of Chæroneia, which was described in book 53; the fifty-second book contained the expedition of Archidamus in aid of the Tarentines; and the remainder of the work com-

---

[1] *E. g.* Vossius (*De Hist. Gr.* p. 16, 31.)

[2] In the eleventh book he borrowed Xenophon's lively account of the interview between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus (Apollonius *apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.* p. 465).

[3] Diodor. XVI. 3. Phot. *Cod.* CLXXVI.

pleted the history of Philip down to his death.[1] From this sketch of the contents, we may see that the *Philippica* of Theopompus was a very miscellaneous compilation, not much distinguished by method or unity of purpose. It has been supposed that this work, together with the twelve books of the *Syntaxis*, made up a continuous history in seventy books;[2] but this view has been sufficiently refuted by Mr. Fynes Clinton.[3] The digressions, which formed so large a part of the book, were omitted at an early period by those who were chiefly interested in the history of the king of Macedon; and Philip III. in this way reduced the number of books from fifty-eight to sixteen.[4] In the time of Photius, however—that is, in the ninth century of our æra—there were still extant all the fifty-eight books, except the sixth, seventh, ninth, twentieth, and thirtieth; and the same five books in all probability were wanting in the time of Diodorus Siculus. Of the original extent of this work and the *Syntaxis* we may form some idea from the statement of Photius, on the authority of Theopompus himself, that the two together contained 150,000 lines.[5]

(IV.) Orations, chiefly Panegyrical and Deliberative, including, besides the eulogium on Mausolus, the panegyrics on Philip and Alexander, and the address to Alexander on the affairs of Chios.

(V.) An attack on Plato (*κατὰ Πλάτωνος διατριβή*).

(VI.) On religiousness (*περὶ εὐσεβείας*).[6] It is supposed that these two may have been extracts from his great work on Philip.

---

[1] There is a full analysis of the *Philippica* of Theopompus, as far as the fragments supply the necessary data, in Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* pp. LXX.—LXXIII.

[2] Suidas, s. v. *Θεόπομπος.* [3] *Fasti Hellenici* II., pp. 374, 375.

[4] Phot. *Cod.* CLXXVI.: *πλείσταις μὲν οὖν παρεκβάσεσι παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς αὐτοῦ λόγους Θεόπομπος παρατείνει. διὸ καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσας ἐξελὼν ταύτας καὶ τὰς Φιλίππου συνταξάμενος πράξεις αἳ σκοπός εἰσι Θεοπόμπῳ εἰς ἑκκαίδεκα βίβλους μόνας μηδὲν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσθεὶς ἢ ἀφελὼν πλὴν ὡς εἴρηται τῶν παρεκτροπῶν, τὰς πάσας ἀπήρτισεν.*

[5] Phot. *ibid.*: *οὐκ ἐλαττόνων μὲν ἢ δισμυρίων ἐπῶν τοὺς ἐπιδεικτικοὺς τῶν λόγων συγγραψαμένῳ πλείους δὲ ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἐν οἷς τάς τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων πράξεις μέχρι νῦν ἀπαγγελλομένας ἔστι λαβεῖν.*

[6] Müller, u. s., p. LXXIII. Ruhnken (*Hist. Cr. Gr. Or.* p. 371) conjectured that, in the case of No. VI. the name of Theopompus has been substituted for that of Theophrastus, who wrote a book *περὶ εὐσεβείας* (Diog. Laërt. V. p. 126).

Anaximenes published a work entitled Τρικάρανος or Τριπολιτικός,[1] under the name of Theopompus, in order to injure the character of the rival rhetorician.

§ 4. The Sicilian School of Corax, Tisias, and Gorgias,[2] of which Isocrates may be regarded as the Attic representative,[3] gave rise to an historical school of its own, the most important member of which, Philistus, was a contemporary of the Athenian rhetorician. At one time, indeed, it was a common opinion that Philistus had been, like Ephorus and Theopompus, a pupil of Isocrates. This belief was derived from a passage in Cicero, where Theopompus, Ephorus, Philistus, and Naucrates, are mentioned together as having proceeded from the school of Isocrates, just as the Greek captains came forth from the wooden horse at Troy.[4] But as Cicero himself, in another passage of the same work, seems to distinguish between Philistus and the scholars of Isocrates,[5] it has been judiciously suggested[6] that we ought to read *Philiscus* instead of *Philistus* in the former reference to the Isocratean historians. For there was a Philiscus of Miletus among the scholars of Isocrates, and he, though not himself an eminent historian, was the teacher of Timæus, a later historian of the same school as Philistus; and in two separate notices Suidas has confounded the two writers.[7] It is also interesting to observe, with reference to the notice in Cicero, who immediately after Philiscus mentions the eminent rhetorician Naucrates, the competitor with Theopompus for the

---

[1] Pausan. VI. 18. The three cities referred to were Athens, Sparta, and Thebes.

[2] Above, ch. XXXII. § 3. [3] Above, ch. XXXVI. § 1.

[4] *De Oratore*, II. 23, 94: 'itaque et illi Theopompi, Ephori, *Philisti*, Naucratæ, multique alii naturis differunt.'

[5] *Ibid.* II. 13, 57: 'hunc consecutus est Syracusius *Philistus*, qui, quum Dionysii tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit in historiâ scribendâ, maximeque Thucydidem est, sicut mihi videtur, imitatus. *Postea vero*, quasi ex clarissimâ rhetoris officinâ duo præstantes ingenio, Theopompus et Ephorus, ab Isocrate magistro impulsi, se ad historiam contulerunt.'

[6] By Göller, *De situ Syracusarum*, pp. 108—118.

[7] The following are the corresponding parts of the two notices in Suidas:—

Φιλίσκος ἢ Φίλιστος, Συρακούσιος, ἱστορικός. ἦν δὲ συγγενὴς Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου Σικελίας καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ναυμαχίᾳ ἐτελεύτησε. μαθητὴς δὲ ἦν Εὐήνου τοῦ ἐλεγειοποιοῦ.

Φίλιστος Ναυκρατίτης ἢ Συρακούσιος, Ἀρχωνίδου υἱός, μαθητὴς δὲ ἦν Εὐήνου τοῦ ἐλεγειοποιοῦ ὃς πρῶτος κατὰ ῥητορικὴν τέχνην ἱστορίαν ἔγραψε.

Mausolean prize, that Suidas not only seems to interchange 'Naucrates the Erythræan' with 'Erythræus the Naucratite,'[1] but really says of Philistus that he was 'either a Naucratite or a Syracusan,' having no doubt found Philiscus and Naucrates mentioned together, as Cicero mentions them, among the scholars of Isocrates. Admitting, then, the connexion between Isocrates and the rhetoricians of Sicily, and between his pupil Philiscus and Timæus, we must consider the Sicilian historians Antiochus and Philistus as belonging to a manifestation of Greek historiography, which stands entirely by itself.

Of ANTIOCHUS we have very scanty remains, and the loss of his writings is much to be deplored, for it cannot be doubted that he was well acquainted with the traditions of his own country and Italy, and that he gave many details, which are now transmitted to us, if at all, in merely a secondary form. For example, the particulars into which Thucydides enters at the beginning of his sixth book are most probably derived from Antiochus, and to the same source Aristotle was indebted for his references to Sicilian history.[2] How far Diodorus has copied or abridged Antiochus cannot be determined; but he sometimes quotes him by name.[3] The Syracusan historian was also one of the authorities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus[4] and Strabo,[5] and he is quoted by a late writer for the curious statement that Rome was founded before the Trojan war in the time of King Morges, the successor of Italus, and the mythical representative of the Sicilian Morgetes.[6] We know nothing about Antiochus, except that he was the son of Xenophanes of Syracuse; that although of Dorian extraction, like Herodotus, he followed the old fashion and wrote in the Ionic dialect;[7] and

[1] Suidas, s. v. Ἰσοκράτης: οὗτος καὶ Θεοδέκτῃ καὶ Θεοπόμπῳ ἅμα τῷ Ἐρυθραίῳ Ναυκρατίτῃ διηγωνίσατο; cf. s. v. Θεοδέκτης: οὗτος καὶ ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος Ναυκράτης. It is clear from the position of the article that we have only an error of the copyist in the former passage.

[2] Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. I. pp. 16, 17, Engl. Tr.

[3] *e.g.* XII. 71. [4] I. 40. et al. [5] p. 391. et al.

[6] Syncell. p. 364, Dind.: Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ Συρακόσιος καὶ πρὸ Τρωικῶν φησὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκτισθαι βασιλεύοντος Μόργητος Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ Τάραντος ἄχρι Ποσειδωνίας μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον λεγόμενον Ἴταλον βασιλέα καταγεγηρακότα.

[7] The commencement of his work is thus cited by Dionysius, I. 12: Ἀντίοχος Ξενοφάνεος τάδε συνέγραψε περὶ Ἰταλίας ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγων τὰ πιστότατα καὶ σαφέστατα· τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ἥτις νῦν Ἰταλία καλεῖται, τὸ παλαιὸν εἶχον Οἰνωτροί.

that his Sicilian history, which was comprised in nine books, was carried down to the year 423 B.C.[1].

§ 5. Like Thucydides, whom he selected as his model, PHILISTUS was a man of consideration in his own country, and took an active part in public affairs. The year of his birth is not stated, and it is even uncertain whether his father's name was Archonides, as Suidas says,[2] or Archimenides, as Pausanias[3] tells us. As he was a very old man at the time of his death, in B.C. 356,[4] as he had been an eye-witness of the arrival of Gylippus at Syracuse in B.C. 415,[5] and made a prominent public appearance in B.C. 406,[6] he was probably born not later than the commencement of the Peloponnesian war in B.C. 432. His apparent connexion with Hermocrates, who, aided by Gylippus, had enabled his countrymen to repel triumphantly the formidable invasion of the Athenians, led him to espouse the cause of Dionysius, when that daring adventurer came forward as the representative and successor of the anti-popular chieftain. When the conduct of the Syracusan generals at Agrigentum, in B.C. 406, excited the bitter indignation of their fellow-citizens, and Dionysius was fined for the intemperance with which he attacked them in the assembly, Philistus at once paid the fine, and urged Dionysius to pursue his invectives in the same strain, promising to meet all the penalties which might be imposed upon him.[7] Having thus contributed not only to the restoration of the Hermocratean party, but also to the establishment of Dionysius as despotical ruler of Syracuse, Philistus naturally occupied a prominent place in the new administration of affairs. For a long time he was the confidential friend and lieutenant of the tyrant, insomuch that he was intrusted with the command of the citadel, on which the safety of Dionysius depended. At length, however, he excited the jealousy of that ruler by privately marrying one of the two daughters of his brother

---

[1] Diod. u.s.; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, p. 69.

[2] See above, p. 382 [222], note 7.

[3] X. 23.

[4] Plut. *Dion.* c. 35.

[5] *Id. Nic.* c. 19.

[6] Diod. XIII. 91.

[7] Diodorus, XIII. 91: *τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων ζημιούντων τὸν Διονύσιον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὡς θορυβοῦντα, Φίλιστος ὁ τὰς ἱστορίας ὕστερον συγγράψας οὐσίαν ἔχων μεγάλην ἐξέτισε τὰ πρόστιμα, καὶ τῷ Διονυσίῳ παρεκελεύετο λέγειν ὅσα προῃρεῖτο, κ.τ.λ.*

Leptines, and was in consequence banished from Syracuse about B.C. 386.[1] He settled first at Thurii, for so many years the residence of Herodotus, and afterwards removed to Adria. Here his enforced leisure furnished to him, as it had done to Thucydides, the opportunity and the inducement to compose his historical work. At the same time he continually endeavoured to procure his recal from exile, and sometimes, it is said, had recourse to flatteries unworthy of his character, in the hope of inducing Dionysius to relent.[2] But as long as the elder tyrant lived, he pleaded in vain. On the accession of the younger Dionysius in B.C. 367, a cabal was formed against Dion and his friend Plato, and, to counterbalance their influence, Philistus was invited to Syracuse.[3] Here he resumed all his authority, and became the chief minister of the tyrant, whom he induced to dismiss Plato, and banish Dion. Till the year B.C. 357, he enjoyed a position at Syracuse scarcely second to that of Dionysius himself, and by his military experience and vigorous character sustained that feeble despot on his throne. Unfortunately for him and Dionysius, Dion did not take the usual course when he sailed from Zacynthus to Sicily; Philistus, who was waiting to intercept him in the waters of Tarentum, had no opportunity of meeting him at sea, and Dionysius had foolishly absented himself from the capital, so that Dion was enabled to possess himself of Achradina and a great part of Syracuse; and Heracleides having come with a fleet to his assistance, all the hopes of the dynasty were centred

---

[1] Diodorus merely says (XV. 7), that Philistus and Leptines were among the number of his friends whom Dionysius was led ἐπὶ ψεύδεσιν αἰτίαις ἀνελεῖν. He implies, too, that Philistus and Leptines were both reconciled to the elder Dionysius and restored to his favour. But Plutarch, in his life of Dion (c. 11), distinctly says, that Philistus was banished because Leptines had given him one of his daughters in marriage μηδὲ φράσας πρὸς Διονύσιον; that Dionysius imprisoned his niece, and banished his old supporter, who did not return τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ζῶντος. It is also clear, from what Philistus said of his wife's degradation (*apud Plut. Timol.* 15), that Leptines also must have remained a long time in banishment.

[2] Pausan. I. 13, § 9.

[3] Corn. Nepos, *Dion*, 3: 'quumque Dion non desineret obsecrare Dionysium, ut Platonem Athenis arcesseret et ejus consiliis uteretur, ille, qui in aliquâ re vellet patrem imitari, Philistum historicum Syracusas reduxit, hominem amicum non magis tyranno quam tyrannidi.' Plutarch (*Dion*, 36), says, that Philistus was φιλοτυραννότατος ἀνθρώπων.

in Philistus, who, after undertaking an expedition against the revolted Leontini, and after several skirmishes with the enemy at Syracuse, engaged Heracleides in the great harbour, was defeated, and had his ship driven ashore.[1] To escape imprisonment, he stabbed himself; but the wound was not mortal, and he fell into the hands of the enemy, who stripped him, and, after insulting him, cut off his head, dragged him by the leg through the streets of Syracuse, and finally flung his body into the Latomiæ.[2] Such was the miserable end of this courageous and energetic supporter of the Sicilian usurpers. As he was nearly eighty years old, he could not have engaged in active life for many years longer, and if he had escaped with his life from the troubles of the counter-revolution, he must have encountered again the banishment which he bore with so much impatience. Mr. Grote has well remarked[3] that 'the last hopes of the Dionysian dynasty perished with Philistus, the ablest and most faithful of its servants. He had been an actor in its first day of usurpation—its eighteenth Brumaire: his timely, though miserable, death, saved him from sharing in its last day of exile—its St. Helena.'

In his confused and blundering notice of Philistus, the lexicographer Suidas mentions a number of works which must, in all probability, be divided between him, Philiscus, Naucrates, and perhaps several other writers.[4] There is no reason to believe that he wrote anything himself, except the great Sicilian history, on which his literary reputation depends. This was divided into two distinct portions. The first part, in seven books, comprised the history from the earliest times to the capture of Agrigentum, in B.C. 406, a period of more than 800 years. The second part, in four books, contained the history of the reign of

[1] Diodor. XVI. 9–11, 16; Plutarch, *Dion*, 25, 35. Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Δύμη from the fortieth book of Theopompus.

[2] According to Plutarch, *Dion*, 35, Ephorus stated ὡς ἁλισκομένης τῆς νεὼς ἑαυτὸν ἀνέλοι, but Timonides, an eye-witness, gave the account which is repeated in the text.

[3] XI. p. 139.

[4] Of the works which Suidas attributes to Philistus, it may be concluded that the τέχνη ῥητορική and δημηγορίαι should be assigned to Philiscus, who was also, perhaps, the author of the reply to the Τρικάρανος of Anaximenes. The treatise περὶ Φοινίκης was probably written by Philinus of Agrigentum, who flourished in the time of the first Punic war.

the elder Dionysius. In a supplement of two books he narrated the events of the first five years of Dionysius the younger, thus carrying down his contemporary memoirs to within seven years of his death. The remainder of the reign of Dionysius the younger was written by ATHANIS[1] of Syracuse.

The contents of the eleven books, which Philistus wrote before he returned from exile, are thus assigned by a modern scholar:[2]—The first book contained the history of Cocalus;[3] the second described the foundation of the various Greek colonies;[4] the third carried down the history to the times of Gelo;[5] the fourth probably contained the reigns of Thero and Thrasybulus;[6] the fifth comprised the most flourishing period of Sicily, after the expulsion of the tyrants;[7] the sixth following closely in the steps of Thucydides[8] narrated the war with Athens; the seventh was devoted to the legislation of Diocles and the wars with the Carthaginians;[9] the eighth book described the rise of Dionysius and his operations against Carthage;[10] the ninth the establishment of the tyranny and the peace with the Carthaginians;[11] the tenth the second Carthaginian war;[12] and the eleventh the third war with Carthage, that with Rhegium, and the death and funeral of Dionysius the elder.[13]

All the ancient critics are agreed that Philistus was an imitator of Thucydides, and was very inferior to his model.[14] The attempt, however, to rival the Attic historian led at least to one consequence, the adoption of the Attic dialect, which was becoming more and more the literary language of Greece. It may be inferred from several circumstances that the literary talents of Philistus were not eminent, and that his merits con-

---

[1] This seems to be the true spelling of the name, which is sometimes corrupted into Ἀθανις, Ἀθάνης, Ἀθάνας. Cf. Diod. XV. 94; Plut. *Timol.* cc. 23, 37; Athen. III. 98 D; and see Creuzer, *Histor. Kunst. d. Griechen*, 2nd ed. p. 308.

[2] Göller, *De situ Syracusarum*, pp. 125–132.

[3] Diod. V. 2–6.

[4] Strabo, VI. p. 409.

[5] Diod. IX.

[6] *Id.* XI. 38–68.

[7] *Id.* XI. 67, 68; XII. 82.

[8] Theo, *Progymn.* p. 9: τὸν Ἀττικὸν ὅλον πόλεμον ἐν τοῖς Σικελικοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου μετενήνοχε. Cf. Plut. *Nic.* c. 1.

[9] Diod. XIII. 34–96.

[10] *Id. ibid.* 91–108.

[11] *Id. ibid.* 108; XIV. 10.

[12] *Id.* XIV. 14–76.

[13] *Id.* XIV. 76; XV. 74.

[14] Quintil. X. 1; Dionys. Hal. vol. V. p. 427; VI. p. 779 sqq.

sisted in the accuracy of his facts, and in the soundness of his practical judgment, rather than in the form or style of his narratives. These last qualities he must have possessed in a considerable degree, for Cicero not only calls him 'a miniature Thucydides,' but designates him by epithets which, if they do not all convey definite ideas, are at least significant of no little praise;[1] and the history of Philistus was included in the select list of books which Harpalus sent to Alexander the Great while he was in Asia.[2] On the other hand, we are told that his works were neglected at an early period,[3] and perhaps were not finally included in the Alexandrian canon;[4] that his narratives, and the speeches introduced into his history, were dull and monotonous; and that he did not diversify the regular parade of his facts by any of those amusing digressions which were found in the histories of his predecessors and contemporaries.[5] The compilations of Diodorus, however, cannot stand in the place of authentic contemporary history like that of Philistus, and we must, therefore, regret that the rhetorical fancies of the Alexandrian school have prevented us from possessing at least the latter half of his Sicilian annals.

§ 6. By the side of the rhetorical historians, who made the narration of events an excuse for displaying their skill in the construction of periods, a different class of writers sprung up, whose object it was rather to preserve and exhibit the authentic materials of history, namely, the old traditions which were interwoven with the social and political usages of a nation, and the documents contained in inscriptions and other records. These monographies, or special treatises on history and antiquities, were generally confined to the discussion of the affairs

---

[1] Cicero says (*ad Quint. fr.* II. 13): 'itaque ad Callisthenem et ad Philistum redeo, in quibus te video volutatum. Callisthenes quidem vulgare et notum negotium, quemadmodum Græci aliquot locuti sunt. Siculus ille capitalis, creber, acutus, brevis, pæne pusillus Thucydides.' The meaning of this passage is fully discussed by Muretus (*var. lect.* II. 5) who shows, against P. Manutius, that *capitalis* is a synonym for *ingeniosus*. See also Creuzer, *u. s.* p. 310.

[2] Plut. *Alex.* c. 8.

[3] Cicero, *Brut.* c. 17.

[4] C. Müller (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* p. XLIX.) expressly states—'Philistus in Alexandrinum historicorum canonem non est receptus.' On the other hand, Creuzer (*u. s.* p. 304) says: 'was nun den Philistos betrifft, so gehört er allerdings unter die kanonischen Historiker.'

[5] Theo, *Progymn.* p. 44.

of Attica, and every one of the writers of this class composed an *Atthis* (Ἀτθίς),—an adjective which denotes 'an Attic history' (Ἀτθὶς συγγραφή). This was the name which, at a later period, Pausanias gave to the particular section of his *Periegesis* in which he treated of Attica, and it is supposed that the *Atthis* of Melesagoras, or Amelesagoras of Chalcedon, was a similar compilation, by a writer of the Alexandrian school, from the older works of which we are now speaking.[1] These older *Atthides* may be compared with works like those of John Stow, William Camden, and Sir William Dugdale, and the modern county histories which have succeeded them. The nature of the original *Atthides* has been described and imitated by ancient and modern writers. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that he has not endeavoured to give his work a form 'like those mere annals, which the writers of the *Atthides* have elaborated, for these are very monotonous, and soon offend the hearers.'[2] Niebuhr thought that the writers of the *Atthides*, 'who wrote the history of the oldest times diplomatically, with reference to laws and public decrees, and in chronological order,' would have been of inestimable value to us.[3] And C. O. Müller considered Böckh's *Public Economy of Athens* as a specimen of 'what an *Atthis* would be, according to the style of the old writers of the *Atthides*, who treated as an essential part of history all that is most important in political and religious antiquities, if it were carried out with the enlarged views and comprehensive learning of modern times.'[4]

Of these special chroniclers and antiquaries, eight are known to us by name—Cleidemus or Cleitodemus,[5] Phanodemus, Demon, Androtion, Philochorus, Ister, Andron, and Melanthius. The last two are merely cited once or twice, and we know nothing about them. The other six have left fragments more or less

---

[1] Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* p. LXXXI.

[2] *Antiq. Rom.* I. 8, p. 23, Reiske: σχῆμα δὲ ἀποδίδωμι τῇ πραγματείᾳ . . . . οὔτε ταῖς χρονικαῖς παραπλήσιον ἃς ἐξέδωκαν οἱ τὰς Ἀτθίδας πραγματευόμενοι· μονοειδεῖς γὰρ ἐκεῖναί τε καὶ ταχὺ προσιστάμεναι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.

[3] *Kleine Schriften*, I. p. 225.

[4] *Orchomenos und die Minyer*, p. 13.

[5] Both names occur, and are both represented under the corrupt readings καὶ Δῆμος and καὶ ὁ Δῆμος, which appear in citations from this writer; but the balance of authority is rather in favour of the shorter form.

numerous in the works of ancient historians, scholiasts, and lexicographers.

CLEIDEMUS, the most ancient writer of an *Atthis*, was a native of Athens,[1] and seems to have been a contemporary of Isocrates and Plato. We learn at least that he spoke as an eye-witness of the expedition to Sicily,[2] and that his *Atthis* referred in the third book to the *Symmoriæ* at Athens,[3] which were not instituted till the archonship of Nausinicus, in B.C. 378, the year of the death of Lysias. It does not, however, result from this that the whole work was first published after the year of Nausinicus. If we adopt the reasonable inference that the book called *Protogony* (Πρωτογονία) was really the first part of the *Atthis*,[4] which in its complete form consisted of at least twelve books,[5] we may conclude that this at least was published by itself, and probably at an earlier period. We are almost disposed to think that Plato, in his *Phædrus*, makes a direct reference to the first book of this *Protogony*, or first part of the *Atthis*, of Cleidemus.[6] If so, and if, as we have suggested, the *Phædrus* was published soon after Plato's ransom from bondage in B.C. 387,[7] the *Protogony* was a new book about that time. Besides his *Atthis*, Cleidemus is said to have written an 'Exposition' or 'Rationale' ('Εξηγητικόν), in verse, of the old customs of the Athenians, and a book

---

[1] He is mentioned among Athenians only in Plutarch *De glor. Athen.* II. p. 345, and he is quoted for the word πνύξ, which is said to occur only in Attic writers. Harpocr. s. v. Πνυκί.

[2] Pausan. X. 15.

[3] Photius s. v. Ναυκραρία. The writer of the article *Cleidemus*, in Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*, &c., I. p. 782, says: 'We cannot fix the exact period at which Cleidemus flourished, but it must have been subsequently to B.C. 479, since Plutarch refers to his account of the battle of Platæa (Plut. *Arist.* 19)!'

[4] Creuzer (*Hist. kunst. d. Gr.* p. 353) says: 'Protogonia, höchst wahrscheinlich keine besondere Schrift, sondern das erste Buch der Atthis.' But there were *three* books of the *Protogony* (Harpocr. s. v. Πνυκί), and it is in the third book of the *Atthis* that we find the reference to the Symmoriæ. We presume then that the Protogony in three books was published first, and that additions were made when the work was completed at a subsequent period.

[5] Hesych. Ἀγαμεμνόγεια φρέατα. Κλείδημος ἐν τῷ ιβ' τῆς Ἀτθίδος.

[6] Cleidemus is quoted in the first book of his *Atthis* (Pausan. Grammat. *ap. Bekker. Anecd.* p. 326 sq.) for some information about the site mentioned in the *Phædrus*, p. 229 C.

[7] Above, ch. XXXIX. § 6, p. 221 [61].

called 'The Returns' (Νόστοι), in which the vicissitudes of Peisistratus were narrated at length. There can be little doubt that Cleidemus was a careful and accurate antiquarian. He is praised by Plutarch for the originality and ingenuity with which he treated the old legends, and the same writer attributes to him the wish to investigate every particular with the minutest diligence. We can recognize these qualities in the fragments which have come down to us, and can discern in him that faculty of reconstructive rationalism which traces the foundation of fact under the most elaborate superstructure of mythology.

PHANODEMUS, who was probably a native of Icus, one of the Cyclades, seems to have been a contemporary of Theopompus, who is said to have written against him.[1] Besides an *Atthis* in at least nine books,[2] he wrote special treatises on the islands of Delos (Δηλιακά) and Icus (Ἰκιακά). We infer from the references to him that he was distinguished by considerable learning and critical acuteness. In giving an account of Cimon's victory in Cyprus, he estimates the Persian fleet at 600 ships instead of 350, the number given by Ephorus;[3] but this does not prove, as has been rather hastily assumed,[4] that he was guilty of patriotic exaggeration.

DEMON was a contemporary of Philochorus, who wrote his own *Atthis* to correct or oppose that of Demon.[5] This author does not seem to have enjoyed much reputation for judgment, and even his good faith has been doubted. For example, what he says about the oracular kettles at Dodona[6] is regarded as a wilful fable.[7] Demon's *Atthis* was at least in four books,[8] and the few fragments which remain are chiefly references to mythology and religious observances. Besides the *Atthis*, he wrote a book on Proverbs (περὶ παροιμιῶν) and another on Sacrifices (περὶ θυσιῶν).

It seems to be an almost general opinion that ANDROTION, the writer of the *Atthis*, was not the same person as the orator

---

[1] Proclus *ad Platonis Timæum*, p. 30.

[2] The ninth book is quoted by Harpocration, s. v. Λεωκόρειον.

[3] Plut. *Cimon*, 12.

[4] By Müller, p. LXXXVII.

[5] Harpocration, s. v. Ἑστιωνίδα.

[6] *Fragm.* 17, 18.

[7] Müller, p. LXXXVII.

[8] Δήμων ἐν τετάρτῳ Ἀτθίδος. Athen. p. 96 D.

of that name, for whose impeachment Demosthenes wrote an oration.[1] But the biography of Isocrates[2] identifies the orator with the historian, and the school of Isocrates, to which the orator Androtion belonged, was also, as we have seen, a school for historical writers. And not only is there no antecedent improbability in this identification, but it tends to explain the fact mentioned by Plutarch, that among the eminent writers who composed their histories in exile, Androtion, the Athenian, wrote his at Megara.[3] For, from the writers mentioned along with him, we should infer that Androtion the historian was a man of some political eminence, like the pupil of Isocrates, to whom Demosthenes was opposed. If he was the same person, we have a very unfavourable record of his character and conduct in the speeches of Demosthenes against him and his partizan Timocrates. The *Atthis* of Androtion, which comprised at least twelve books,[4] and was carried down to the 96th Olympiad,[5] if not to a later year, did not differ in kind from the other works of this class. He is classed with Philochorus as having written very completely (*ἐντελέστατα*) about the municipal scrutinies (*διαψηφίσεις*).[6] His authority is cited doubtfully by Ælian[7] and Pausanias,[8] and he indulges in speculative mythology like the rest of his school. It appears that he arranged his history according to the archons at Athens.[9]

PHILOCHORUS, who was perhaps the most eminent writer of his class, was a native of Athens,[10] and took an active part in the political affairs of that city from B.C. 306, when, in his

---

[1] Above, ch. XLI. § 3. [2] p. XI. Dindorf.

[3] *De Exilio*, p. 605 C, D. p. 439 Wyttenb.: *καὶ γὰρ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὡς ἔοικεν αἱ Μοῦσαι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν συνταγμάτων καὶ δοκιμώτατα φυγὴν λαβοῦσαι συνεργὸν ἐπετέλεσαν.* And after mentioning that Thucydides of Athens wrote his history at Scaptesyle, Xenophon at Scillus, Philistus in Epirus, Timæus at Athens, he adds: *Ἀνδροτίων Ἀθηναῖος ἐν Μεγάροις.*

[4] *ὡς Ἀνδροτίων ἐν δωδεκάτῃ Ἀτθίδος.* Harpocr. s. v. *Ἀμφίπολις.*

[5] He is quoted by Harpocration, s. v. *Ξενικὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ*, for a fact which is referred to Ol. 96, 3.

[6] Harpocr. s. v. *διαψηφίσεις.*

[7] *V. H.* VIII. 6: *ταῦτα Ἀνδροτίων λέγει, εἴ τῳ πιστός.*

[8] VI. 7: *εἰ δὲ τὸν ὄντα εἶπεν Ἀνδροτίων λόγον.*

[9] Schol. Aristoph. *Nubes*, 549.

[10] The notice in Suidas is: *Φιλόχορος, Κύκνου, Ἀθηναῖος, μάντις καὶ ἱεροσκόπος.*

capacity as a public seer, he interpreted the appearance of a dog in the Parthenon as indicating the return of the exiles,[1] down to the year B.C. 260, when Antigonus Gonatas took possession of Athens, and had Philochorus put to death as an adherent of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had aided the city in its opposition to the Macedonians.[2] From these scanty particulars we can infer that Philochorus belonged to a priestly family, that he was, as far as the times admitted, a zealous patriot, directly opposed to the tyranny which Demetrius Poliorcetes exercised under the cloak of freedom, and that he fell a sacrifice to his anti-Macedonian efforts when Antigonus Gonatas restored his father's influence in the city.

We have a long list of the writings of Philochorus. They were as follows:

(I.) His *Atthis* (Ἀτθίς, also called Ἀτθίδες and Ἱστορίαι), a history of Attica from the first beginnings of the human race to the time of Antiochus Theus, in seventeen books.[3] The first two books are devoted to mythology, and the explanation of religious observances; the next four carry down the history to the author's times, and Böckh has conjectured that these first six books formed a separate work, published originally by itself. The remaining eleven books are occupied with contemporary history. Philochorus enjoyed the highest reputation for laborious accuracy and sound critical judgment, and the numerous fragments, which are still extant, show that he

---

ἡγυμὴ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ Ἀρχεστράτη. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους γέγονεν ὁ Φ. Ἐρατοσθένους ὡς ἐπιβαλεῖν πρεσβυτῇ νέον ὄντα Ἐρατοσθένει. It is clear that this statement of the relative ages of Philochorus and Eratosthenes must be wrong; for the event referred to is the occupation of Athens by Antigonus Gonatas, in B.C. 262, and Eratosthenes died an old man in B.C. 196. It is, therefore, proposed to read in Suidas: κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους γέγ. Φ. Ἐρατοσθένους, ὡς ἐπιβαλεῖν πρεσβύτῃ νεανίαν or νέον ὄντα Ἐρατοσθένην.

[1] Apud Dionys. Hal. *De Dinarcho judicium*, p. 637, Reiske: ἡμεῖς δ' ἐρωτηθέντες ὑπέρ τε τοῦ σημείου καὶ τοῦ φαντάσματος εἰς ὃ φέρει, φυγάδων κάθοδον ἔφαμεν προσημαίνειν ἀμφότερα. . . . καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι συνέβη.

[2] Suidas: ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἐνιδρευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου ὅτι διεβλήθη προσκεκλικέναι τῇ Πτολεμαίου βασιλείᾳ.

[3] In *Schol. Vict. ad Hom. Il.* Σ. 570, we read: ἡ δὲ κατὰ Λίνον ἱστορία παρὰ Φιλοχόρῳ ἱστορεῖται ἐν τῇ ιθ'. But Böckh (*De Philochoro*, Berol. 1832), proposes to read ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι. And this may be a reference to the treatise περὶ εὑρημάτων, perhaps an appendix to the *Atthis*.

spared no pains in the collection of his facts, and that he expressed himself in elegant and unaffected language.

(II.) An abridgment of his *Atthis* (ἐπιτομὴ τῆς ἰδίας Ἀτθίδος). It may be doubted whether this is not the same book as the epitome of Philochorus drawn up by Asinius Pollio of Tralles, probably a learned freedman of the celebrated Roman of the same name.[1] Some have accounted for the existence of two abridgments by supposing that one was made by Philochorus himself for the use of his countrymen, the other by the later Greek writer for the use of the Romans. But it seems to us very unlikely that Philochorus would think it worth his while to engage in a work, which would probably have superseded his more elaborate book, as Justin's epitome has superseded the longer history of Trogus Pompeius; and it is clear that our fragments are taken from the fullest form of the *Atthis*, which must therefore have been in the hands of the comparatively recent writers to whom we owe these citations. And, on the whole, we are inclined to think that the only epitome was that of Asinius Trallianus.

(III.) A confutation of the *Atthis* of Demon (πρὸς τὴν Δήμωνος Ἀτθίδα, or ἡ πρὸς Δήμωνα ἀντιγραφή),[2] which was probably criticism of the rival history, and not another name for the elaborate *Atthis* of Philochorus.

(IV.) On the Athenian Archons from Socratides (B.C. 374) to Apollodorus (B.C. 350 or B.C. 319, probably the latter) (περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι ἀρξάντων ἀπὸ Σωκρατίδου μεχρὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου). This was, perhaps, one of the accessary labours of his *Atthis*. If it went down to the time of the later Apollodorus, it was probably the introduction to the last eleven books, which were devoted to his contemporary history, and may have followed the publication of the six preceding books.[3]

(V.) On the Olympiads (Ὀλυμπιάδες ἐν βιβλίοις β'). It seems that Philochorus, who paid great attention to chronology, was not satisfied with the dates as given by the years of the Archons, but afterwards, perhaps following the example of

[1] Suidas, Πωλίων, ὁ Ἀσίνιος χρηματίσας, Τραλλιανός, σοφιστὴς καὶ φιλόσοφος· σοφιστεύσας ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Πομπηΐου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ διαδεξάμενος τὴν σχολὴν τοῦ Τιμαγένους, ἔγραψεν ἐπιτομὴν τῆς Φιλοχόρου Ἀτθίδος, κ.τ.λ.

[2] Harpocration, s.v. Ἑτεωνία. [3] Müller, p. LXXXIX.

Timæus, investigated the succession of the Olympiads, and published the results of his researches in these two books.[1]

(VI.) On the four cities, Œnoe, Marathon, Probalinthus, and Trycórythus (*περὶ τῆς τετραπόλεως*), a monograph on the mythology and religious observances of these places, which may, after all, have been an extract from the first two books of his *Atthis*.[2]

(VII.) A collection of Attic inscriptions (*ἐπιγράμματα Ἀττικά*), intended most probably as a documentary appendix to his great work, and forming the first collection of the kind which had appeared in Greece. From the nature of the case, it is not probable that these were 'only poetical inscriptions,' as Böckh once supposed,[3] and as those of Polemo appear to have been. It is more likely that they were decrees and treaties, and, as Böckh now says, 'varii generis inscriptiones.'[4]

The other sixteen titles of works attributed to Philochorus refer to publications, partly of an antiquarian description,[5] partly belonging to his professional occupation as a priest and soothsayer,[6] partly treating of subjects of literary criticism and biography.[7] From this brief survey we can see that Philochorus was a most important writer, and it is perhaps impossible to estimate the amount of information which we have received at second-hand from him.

To complete the list of these writers, we must mention ISTER, who belongs, however, to the Alexandrian school. He was a native of Cyrene, the slave and afterwards the friend of

---

[1] Müller, *ibid.*; Creuzer, *Histor. Kunst.* p. 357.

[2] We have a specimen of this book in Suidas, s.v. *Τιτανίδα γῆν*, where Attica is said to have been the abode of Titenius, the only Titan who did not make war on the Gods.

[3] *Public Economy of Athens*, book II. c. 8, p. 197, Lewis' Transl. Suidas says, s.v. *ἐπίγραμμα· πάντα τὰ ἐπιγραφόμενά τισι κἂν μὴ ἐν μέτροις εἰρημένα, ἐπιγράμματα λέγεται.*

[4] *Corpus Inscript.* præf. p. VIII.

[5] As the six works, *Ἠπειρωτικά, Δηλιακά β', περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι ἀγώνων ιζ', περὶ ἑορτῶν, περὶ ἡμερῶν, Σαλαμῖνος κτίσις.*

[6] As the six works, *περὶ θυσιῶν, περὶ μαντικῆς δ', περὶ καθαρμῶν, περὶ μυστηρίων τῶν Ἀθήνησι, ἡ πρὸς Ἄλυπον ἐπιστολή, ἐπιτομὴ τῆς Διονυσίου πραγματείας περὶ ἱερῶν.*

[7] As the four treatises, *περὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος, περὶ τῶν Σοφοκλέους μύθων βιβλία ε, περὶ Εὐριπίδου, συναγωγὴ Ἡρωΐδων ἤτοι Πυθαγορείων γυναικῶν.*

Callimachus, whom he accompanied to Alexandria. He lived there, or at Paphus in Cyprus, at that time part of the Egyptian monarchy, in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, between B.C. 250 and 220. He was, like most of the Alexandrian writers, a poet and grammarian, as well as a compiler of histories. Besides an *Atthis*, in at least sixteen books,[1] he wrote a variety of works on local history, religious traditions, and literary criticism. It was he who gave to the censorious Timæus the appropriate nickname Ἐπιτίμαιος.[2] He was himself severely criticised by Polemo, the celebrated collector of inscriptions,[3] who said that he deserved to be immerged in the great river from which he derived his name.[4]

---

[1] Harpocration, s.v. Τραπεζοφόρος. [2] Athenæus, VI. p. 272 B.

[3] He was called στηλοκόπης, 'the tablet picker,' and was 'a sort of *Old Mortality*, who used to go about copying the inscriptions on public monuments' (Liddell and Scott, s.v.).

[4] Athenæus, IX. p. 387 F: Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς Ἴστρον τὸν Καλλιμάχειον συγγραφέα εἰς τὸν ὁμώνυμον κατεπόντου ποταμόν.

CHAPTER XLIV.

MEDICAL LITERATURE—WRITINGS ATTRIBUTED TO HIPPOCRATES.

§ 1. Life of Hippocrates. § 2. Origin and growth of medical literature among the Greeks. § 3. Genuine works of Hippocrates. § 4. Doubtful works. § 5. Spurious works. § 6. Publication of the Hippocratic collection. § 7. Style and literary merits of Hippocrates.

§ 1. BEFORE we take leave of the classical period, we must go back to a contemporary of Socrates, who enjoys a reputation not unlike that of Homer; for while he represents a complete department or school of Greek literature, his personal existence is very shadowy and unsubstantial, and his claim to the writings, which are attributed to him, must in many cases be rejected, and in others admitted with no little doubt and uncertainty.[1] Among those who, with different objects, endeavoured to improve or acquire a rhetorical style by attending the lectures of Gorgias, was HIPPOCRATES, the son of Heracleides and Phænarete,[2] the hereditary chief of a renowned school of medicine, which had long been established in the island of Cos. One at least of his predecessors, and some three or four of his successors, bore the same name, and being the most eminent of the family and school, he has perhaps been

---

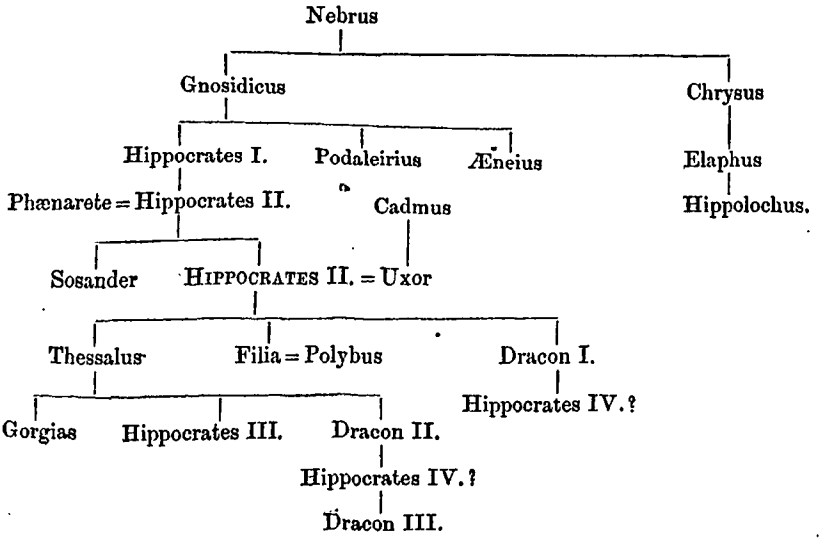
[1] The best modern authorities for the literary biography of Hippocrates, which are known to us, are the elaborate introduction to E. Littré's *Œuvres Complètes d'Hippocrate*, vol. I. Paris, 1839, and the excellent articles by Bähr, in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. III. Stuttgart, 1844, and by Dr. Greenhill, in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, vol. II. Lond. 1854.

[2] By one of those fortuitous coincidences, which amuse if they do not instruct, the mother of Socrates, the father of later Greek philosophy, and of Hippocrates, the founder of medical literature, bore the same name. Those who believe that talent is inherited from the mother, and that mother-wit is not an idle phrase, will perhaps think that both of the *Phænarete's* justified their name.

made responsible for the actions and writings of the whole race.[1] The contemporary references to him are very scanty, and only sufficient to establish his existence, and we are left for all details to a late biography attributed to Soranus—a name belonging to many medical writers from the time of Trajan downwards,[2]—and to a number of legends which have sprung up in the various countries, where Hippocrates has been received as the father of the art of healing.

The following particulars constitute the biography of the great Hippocrates. He was born Ol. 80, 1. B.C. 460, on the 26th day of the month Agrianus, which the inhabitants of Cos celebrated as his natal day.[3] He claimed descent from the two deities, who were regarded as the helpers and healers of mankind, being the nineteenth, or, as some say, the seventeenth,[4] in the direct line from Æsculapius, the god of medicine in general, and the twentieth from Hercules, the heroic cleanser of infested neighbourhoods,[5] the maker of roads,[6] and the patron

[1] The following table is given by Dr. Greenhill:—



[2] Tzetzes (*Chiliad.* VII. c. 155) merely borrows from Soranus. The article in Suidas, which is more than usually distinct and consistent, seems also to be derived from Soranus, or from the same sources. The coincidences are pointed out in Kuster's notes.

[3] Soranus, p. 1297 ad fin.

[4] Soranus makes him the 19th, and Tzetzes, who gives his genealogy, the 17th.

[5] Hence the story of Augeas.

[6] Aristot. περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων, c. 85.

of medicinal springs.[1] His professional education was, no doubt, conducted in the priestly college at Cos, his special instructors being his own father, and the celebrated Herodicus, of Selymbria, in Thrace, who combined gymnastic training with the medical treatment of his patients. It was probably in consequence of his literary tastes that he became a pupil of the great sophists, Prodicus and Gorgias. His intercourse with Democritus of Abdera, who was born in the same year with himself, is rather indicated than established by a fictitious correspondence, of which two letters, the production no doubt of a later sophist, are still extant; and it is clear that they were rather friends than related as teacher and pupil.[2] It is stated, and the statement is not improbable, that Hippocrates left Cos at an early period, and spent a great part of his life in travelling. His reputation among his contemporaries, and the familiar mention of his name by Athenian writers, seem to show that his activity was not confined to the little island off Halicarnassus. There is a familiar allusion to him in the *Thesmophoriazusæ* of Aristophanes, which was acted in B.C. 411,[3] and Plato expressly mentions Hippocrates of Cos as the most eminent medical man of the day in the *Protagoras*, which, as we have seen, was probably written a short time before the death of Socrates.[4] There is also reason to believe that Plato was acquainted with the writings of this physician, to one of which there is a special reference in the *Phædrus*.[5] On the whole, we cannot doubt

---

[1] Diodorus, V. 3. Schol. Soph. *Trachin.* 635.

[2] Suidas: *οὗτος μαθητὴς γέγονε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ πατρός, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἡροδίκου τοῦ Σηλυβριανοῦ καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου ῥήτορος καὶ φιλοσόφου· ὡς δέ τινες Δημοκρίτου τοῦ Ἀβδηρίτου (ἐπιβαλεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν νέῳ πρεσβυτήν* [they were of the same age], *ὡς δέ τινες καὶ Προδίκου.* With the exception of Prodicus all these names are mentioned by Soranus and Tzetzes.

[3] *Thesmoph.* 270:

> Εὐρ. *ὄμνυμι τοίνυν αἰθέρ', οἴκησιν Διός.*
> Μν. *τί μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἱπποκράτους ξυνοικίαν;*
> Εὐρ. *ὄμνυμι τοίνυν πάντας ἄρδην τοὺς θεούς.*

This is obviously an allusion to the oath of the school of Hippocrates, which begins as follows (Hippocr. vol. IV. p. 632, Littré): *ὄμνυμι Ἀπόλλωνα ἰητρὸν καὶ Ἀσκλήπιον καὶ Ὑγιείαν καὶ Πανακείαν καὶ θεοὺς πάντας τε καὶ πάσας, ἱστορας ποιεύμενος ἐπιτελέα ποιήσειν κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ κρίσιν ἐμὴν ὅρκον τόνδε καὶ ξυγγραφὴν τήνδε.*

[4] *Protagoras*, p. 311 B. See above, ch. XXXIX. § 6, p. 222 [62].

[5] *Phædrus*, p. 270 C. It had always been thought, on the authority of Galen

that Hippocrates aimed at and obtained a panhellenic reputation even in his lifetime; and the best way to effect this would be to make himself personally known to the leading communities. After a residence of many years in Thasos and at Abdera, he spent some time at Athens, and was honoured by an invitation to the Prytaneium, by the full franchise, and by initiation at Eleusis. It is stated that these honours were the rewards for his services during the great plague; but Thucydides, who gives such a minute account of that pestilence, makes no mention of Hippocrates, who says nothing of this disease in his writings. It is more likely that his residence at Athens commenced after that time, and continued till his country fell off from the Athenian alliance, some time after B.C. 411. He then took up his abode in Thessaly, and was condemned, in his absence, on an indictment preferred against him by Antiphon.[1] Whether the professional and literary labours, which occupied the remainder of his long life, were carried on chiefly in Thessaly, or in his native island of Cos, cannot be ascertained. It is stated, however, that he died and was buried at Larissa in Thessaly,[2] and there are reasons, which do not seem to have occurred to any of those who have written about Hippocrates, for concluding that his connexion with that district was more than casual. The name of Hippocrates is more likely to have

---

(Tom. V. pp. 2, 16 ed. Basil.), that Plato was here referring to the treatise by Hippocrates on the nature of man, or that the work to which he alludes is lost; but Littré argues that the reference in the *Phædrus* should be compared with two passages, one in the treatise 'on regimen,' and the other in that 'on ancient medicine' (*Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, I. pp. 299 sqq.).

[1] In the text of the *Vitæ X. Oratorum*, p. 833 D, it seems uncertain whether we should read Ἱπποκράτους τοῦ ἰατροῦ, or τοῦ στρατηγοῦ: but Photius (*Cod.* CCLIX.) has ἰατροῦ only.

[2] The following extract from a recent number of the *Medical Times* shows that this fact in the necrology of Hippocrates is likely to be supported by documentary evidence of the best kind:

'A good deal of interest has been excited on the continent by the supposed discovery of the tomb of Hippocrates near Larissa in Thessalia. We have the authority of Soranus for the belief that Hippocrates died at Larissa, and that his tomb was shown between that town and Gyrton. It appears that in 1826 some peasants discovered a sarcophagus near Larissa, after an inundation; and two Greek gentlemen, named Andreades and Œconomides, discovered an inscription on the lid, the letters ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤ being plainly visible. Nedjib-bey, the Turkish governor, had the tablet carried off, and some coins and a gold chain which were in

belonged to a noble Thessalian family than to an Asclepiad of Cos. We know, from Pindar, that Hippocleas, a very similar name, was borne by a wealthy young Thessalian of Pelinnæum, whose victory at Delphi was celebrated at Larissa.[1] The leading family in that place, the Aleuadæ, boasted, like Hippocrates, that they were Heracleidæ. Æsculapius himself was claimed by the Thessalians.[2] The principle, according to which the name of the son is the epithet of the father,[3] gives a special value to the fact that the elder son of Hippocrates was called Thessalus, while his younger son, Draco, was called after the serpent of Æsculapius. From all these circumstances, we are disposed to infer that the family of Hippocrates properly belonged to Thessaly, and that their connexion with the medical school at Cos may have been originally a result of their choice of that celebrated seat of the worship of their hereditary god.

---

the sarcophagus were stolen. This year Dr. Samartsides found the tablet in the house of the bey, and copied the following inscription in ordinary Greek characters :—

. . . . ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤ . . . . ΚΩ . . . . ΑΓΛΑΟΦ . . .
. . . . . ΣΩΜΑ . . . . . .
ΠΟΛΕΙ . . . . . ΜΕ . . . . . ΤΕΛΕΣΦ . . .
ΑΓΑΘΗ . . . . . ΑΡΕ . . . . ΕΝΕΚΑ . . . .
. . . . . ΧΡΗΣΤΕ . . . . . ΧΑΙΡΕ.

' He says he concludes from the form of the letters that they are very ancient. There are traces of effaced letters in the spaces marked by dots. The sarcophagus remains perfect in the spot where it was found. It remains for some professed antiquary to restore the lost letters, and seek for their interpretation ; but nothing satisfactory can be done without an exact copy of the inscription either by photography or a mould, as it is by the form of the letters and the mode in which they are cut, that the age of the inscription must be determined. The name Hippocrates is, and has been, a very common one in modern as in ancient Greece, and we want something more than the mere inscription of this name upon a stone before it can be decided whether the tomb found near Larissa is or is not that of the father of medicine.'

The copy of the inscription here given can hardly be quite correct. At least the words χρηστὲ χαῖρε should be written together as in Böckh, *Corp. Inscr.*, No. 554, I, p. 491, pp. 866, 867, &c. The line before seems to have been ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα. Aglaophon (Ἀγλαοφῶν), which seems to be implied in the first line, was a Thasian name, and may have referred to some Thasian friend of Hippocrates.

[1] Pind. *Pyth.* X.

[2] Pind. *Pyth.* III. 14. Apollodor. III. 10, § 3. Strabo, XIV. p. 647. Euseb. *Prep. Ev.* p. 124 A.

[3] Müller, *Dor.* I. 3, § 10, note F. The fact that Cimon's son was called *Lacedæmonius* is the strictest parallel.

The year of his death is uncertain; it is fixed by different ancient writers at Ol. 100, 4. B.C. 377; Ol. 102, 1. B.C. 372; Ol. 104, 1. B.C. 364; Ol. 105, 2. B.C. 359; Mr. Clinton[1] adopts the year B.C. 357, which makes him 104 years old at the time of his death. The celebrity of Hippocrates had made him almost a mythological personage. His journeys to Illyria, Macedonia, and Persia,[2] though possible in themselves, were probably suggested by incidents in the lives of Democedes and other famous physicians; and the well known story about his discovering the love-sickness of Perdiccas II. of Macedon is confuted by the chronology; for the incident refers to a time when Alexander, the father of Perdiccas, was still on the throne, and Hippocrates was a mere child at the time of that prince's death.[3]

§ 2. In order that we may appreciate the collection of writings attributed to Hippocrates, we must take a brief survey of the circumstances under which medical literature sprang up among the Greeks.

There can be no doubt that medicine was at first regarded as a branch of the priestly or prophetic office. To ward off or alleviate disease was considered as something superhuman. At all events, an immediate appeal to heaven was generally presumed and required, in order to impart sufficient confidence to the patient; and the superior education and studious habits of the priests would naturally make them the first in this as in other branches of scientific research. Whatever knowledge the priests thus acquired, they communicated only to those who were initiated into the mysteries of their temples; and when a special deity had been introduced to preside over the relief of human ailments, his priests would constitute a medical college, in which only those who were connected with the same worship would be permitted to graduate. It is clear that these priestly

---

[1] *F. H.* II. p. 125.

[2] The letter of Artaxerxes about Hippocrates, which is found among the epistles of the latter, and is also given by Suidas, is interesting in itself, and may represent as genuine a tradition as the letter which Themistocles is said to have addressed to the great king. Ctesias at all events received and accepted an invitation to the Persian court.

[3] It seems most probable that Alexander died about B.C. 454 (Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 222), *i.e.*, only six years after the birth of Hippocrates.

physicians first appeared in Egypt.[1] The god of medicine originally belonged to the elementary worship of that country and Syria.[2] He was the son of the god of light, and represented the atmosphere necessary to the life and health of man.[3] At a very early period this divinity was adopted by the Greeks, who assigned to him a Thessalian origin, and gave him a Greek name indicating that he was a Prometheus, or god of forethought, the inventor of those mild remedies which preserved men from pining away in sickness.[4] His sons, Podaleirius and Machaon, whose names admit of a surgical interpretation,[5] belonged to the heroes of the Trojan war. And though Æsculapius was slain by a thunderbolt for restoring a dead man to life,[6] he became himself a recognized divinity. Asclepeia, or temples of this divinity, were opened for the cure of diseases in many parts of Greece, especially at Epidaurus, in Rhodes, Cos, and Cnidos, and in the Libyan colony of Cyrene; and the priest-physicians very soon found it convenient to claim descent from the god of healing himself. The mode of treatment adopted in these curative establishments was a mixture of science and imposture, and, like most medical

---

[1] The physicians formed a caste in Egypt, and were divided into as many sections as the medical men in a modern metropolis. See Herod. II. 84.

[2] Creuzer, *Symbolik* II., pp. 558 sqq.

[3] Sickler, *die Hieroglyphen in dem Mythus des Æsculap* (apud Creuzer, u. s. p. 559).

[4] Whatever may be the oriental affinities of the god of health, it is clear that the Greeks fabricated their name for him, and that its elements are contained in the well-known lines of Æschylus (*Prom.* 478 sqq.):

> εἴ τις εἰς νόσον πέσοι,
> οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξημ' οὐδέν, οὔτε βρώσιμον,
> οὐ χριστὸν, οὔτε πιστόν, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκων
> χρείᾳ κατεσκέλλοντο, πρὶν ἐγὼ σφίσιν
> ἔδειξα κράσεις ἡπίων ἀκεσμάτων.

The ancient grammarians saw in the accentuation of the word Ἀσκλήπιος a trace of its connexion with ἤπιος (see Böckh, *Not. Crit. ad Pind. Pyth.* III. 6), and the first part of the compound is ἀσκελής, an Homeric word, which contains the root of κατεσκέλλοντο in the passage just quoted, and is opposed to the Homeric διερός, 'juicy, full of the sap of life.' So also in Æschylus (*Choeph.* 294) the victim of wasting death is described as: κακῶς ταριχευθέντα παμφθάρτῳ μόρῳ.

[5] *Podaleirius* implies the ready aid, and *Machaon* the surgical knife of the Asclepiads.

[6] Pind. *Pyth.* III. 97.

quacks, the Asclepiads relied in part on influencing the imagination of their patients. The sick man, who made application for a cure of his disease at any one of the more celebrated temples of Æsculapius, was subjected to a prolonged regimen under the name of religious purification. A sort of water-cure was combined with fasting, unction, and aperient medicine. When the head of the college thought that he was adequately prepared for the final remedy, the patient was admitted to the temple, where he passed the night, and the priests took care that the necessary treatment was prescribed to him in the form of a well-arranged theophany.[1] The success of the treatment adopted was generally aided by the locality chosen for the Asclepeion, which was situated either on some healthy sea coast, or in some cool and sheltered grove, so that the change of air and other concomitants assisted in the cure. Frequented as they were by invalids from all parts of Greece, these priest-colleges gradually acquired a large amount of empirical science, which was duly committed to writing and preserved for the use of the corporation.[2] These records of cases and their treatment furnished the physicians with a sufficient induction for certain generalizations, which were eventually published in the age immediately preceding Hippocrates, in the form of aphorisms. To this class belonged 'The Cnidian Sentences' (αἱ Κνίδιαι γνῶμαι), against which an important treatise of Hippocrates is directed. This transference of medical knowledge from the mysterious sanctity of the temple to the outer world of literature and science was farther assisted by the physical speculations of philosophers like Melissus, Parmenides, Empedocles, and others. One of these, Alcmæon of Crotona, combined the speculative philosopher with the practical surgeon, and introduced the indispensable adjunct of

[1] There is an elaborate caricature of one of these scenes in the Asclepeia in the *Plutus* of Aristophanes (vv. 660 foll.). First we have the priest sacking the cakes and dried figs from the altars (ταῦθ' ἥγιζεν εἰς σάκταν τινά). Then the representative of Æsculapius appears with his two daughters, Iaso and Panacea, and prepares remedies for the patients; and the scene is closed by an apparition of the tame snakes, whose tongues are supposed to be the immediate agents in the cure.

[2] Pliny, *H. N.* XXIX. 1, § 2; Tzetz. *Chil.* VII. 150; Petersen, *Hippocratis nomine quæ circumferuntur scripta ad temporum rationem disposita*, Hamburg, 1839, p. 42, note.

all scientific anatomy—the dissection of animals.[1] About the same time, the regular Asclepiads began to practise as travelling physicians (*περιοδευταί*), and without any reference to the sanitary establishments, with their hydropathy and incubations, at the temples of the god. As early as the time of Darius, a Greek physician, Democedes of Crotona, was in high favour at the Persian court, to the discomfiture of the Egyptians previously established there,[2] and the first foundations were laid of that fame of Greek physicians in the east which made *Bokrât*, as the Arabic writers call Hippocrates, an oriental celebrity even in the middle ages. Then, again, Herodicus of Selymbria, the teacher of Hippocrates, introduced the curative treatment of the *Asclepeia*, so far as it depended on bodily exercises, into the regular gymnasia or places of training, and he is reproached by Plato[3] as having introduced a system of nosotrophy for the benefit of feeble frames, to which a prolonged existence did not of right belong. Thus ventilated in every way—by the philosophical school, the travelling physician, and the palæstra —medicine was certain to establish itself as a branch of literature; and the circumstance, which probably gave Hippocrates his epochal position, was simply the fact that he was the first regular Asclepiad who was enabled to get a complete literary and rhetorical training, and so to enlist the muses in the cause of his special profession. In the succeeding age, as we have seen,[4] Aristotle, the greatest literary man of Greece, came forth from the schools of the Asclepiads, and starting with the physiological acquirements peculiar to his school, combined with this all the knowledge of his age, and sounded all the depths of natural and moral science.

Hippocrates himself, though he professed to be a philosopher, never digressed from his own proper subject-matter, and being the first who gave medicine a recognized and important position in literature,[5] it was not unnatural that he should in a sub-

---

[1] Littré, I. p. 14.

[2] Herod. III. 130 sqq.

[3] *Respublica*, III. p. 406 A, sqq.

[4] See above, chapter XL. § 1.

[5] Cicero seems to consider elegance of style a not unusual characteristic of medical writers: 'si, *id quod multi*, medicus de morbis diserte dixerit' (*De Oratore*, II. 9, § 38). It was this acquisition of the literary franchise which may be especially attributed to Hippocrates.

sequent generation monopolize the credit due to a large body of fellow-workers in this department, and so become invested with the authorship of the principal works on disease and its remedies which were published in his time, or immediately before and after him. And this tendency would be increased by the wish of the library-collectors at Alexandria and Pergamus to get as many as possible of his works, a demand which of course increased the supply, when the only labour imposed upon the bookseller was an alteration of the title of the manuscript.

§ 3. The Hippocratic collection of medical treatises is divided, according to the usual classification in such cases, into three classes—the genuine, the doubtful, and the spurious. The books belonging to the first and third of these classes are received or rejected with a certain amount of confidence; the doubtful works are those of which it can only be said that they were perhaps written by Hippocrates. It was necessary, even in early days, to draw up a canon distinguishing the authentic works of Hippocrates from those which were falsely or erroneously attributed to him, and the critics of Alexandria had comprised the former in a little tablet (*μικρὸν πινακίδιον*).[1] This list is unfortunately lost. Erotianus, who dedicates the work to Andromachus, Nero's chief physician, drew up a catalogue of the writings of Hippocrates, not exactly corresponding to those which have come down to us, and also compiled a glossary to the Hippocratic writings (*τῶν παρ' Ἱπποκράτει λέξεων συναγωγή*). In the reign of Hadrian, two learned physicians, Artemidorus Capito, and Dioscorides, undertook a critical edition of the Hippocratic works, but this is known to us only by name. Galen, in the second century after Christ, announced a treatise on the subject, which is not found among his numerous writings. He was followed by Palladius, in the seventh century, who recognized only eleven works as genuine. The scholars who have written on the subject since the revival of learning have come to various conclusions, according to the different principles by which they were guided in their discrimination of the genuine and spurious

[1] Galen, *De Diffic. Respir.* II. p. 182.

works. Hieronymus Mercurialis[1] admitted nineteen works as having proceeded from Hippocrates himself, Haller[2] recognized fifteen genuine writings, Gruner[3] reduced this list to ten, and J. H. Fischer[4] to seven. According to the latest investigations, the following works may be accepted as those best entitled to bear the name of Hippocrates.

(1.) The first and third books of the treatise 'on epidemic affections' (περὶ ἐπιδημιῶν), in which he describes the local diseases which he had observed in Thasos, Thessaly, and elsewhere. The division into chapters is due to Mnemon, who sold the third book to Ptolemy Euergetes. The remaining five books are recognized as genuine by Erotianus, and probably contain many germs of Hippocratic teaching, so that they have been sometimes attributed to Thessalus, whom Galen however expressly excludes from the authorship of the fifth and seventh books.[5]

(2.) The treatise 'on prognostics' (προγνωστικά) is generally regarded as a genuine and early work of Hippocrates, though it is obviously subsequent to the two genuine books on epidemics.

(3.) The treatise 'on regimen in acute diseases' (περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων) is accepted as genuine, with the exception of the last part, manifestly an interpolation. This book is sometimes styled 'against the Cnidian sentences' (πρὸς τὰς Κνιδίας γνώμας), sometimes 'on barley-water' (περὶ πτισάνης).

(4.) The books 'on atmospheres, waters, and localities' (περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων) is one of the most universally recognized works of Hippocrates. It seems to be alluded to in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, which was acted in B.C. 423,[6] and there is a *resumé* of its contents in Aristotle's *Politics*.[7]

(5.) The essay 'on wounds of the head' (περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ

---

[1] *Censura Operum Hippocratis*, Venet. 1583.

[2] *Artis Medicinæ Principia*, tom. IV. Præf. Lausanne, 1769–1784.

[3] *Censura librorum Hippocraticorum, quâ vera a falsis, integri a suppositis segregantur*, Vratisl. 1772.

[4] *Dissertatio de Hippocrate ejusque scriptis*, Coburg, 1777.

[5] Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* II. pp. 563 foll.

[6] *Schol. ad Aristoph. Nub.* 331: ἰατροτέχνας: καὶ ἰατροὶ περὶ ἀέρων καὶ ὕδατος συνέγραψαν. ὕδατα δέ εἰσι καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι. σύνταγμα δέ ἐστιν Ἱπποκράτους περὶ ἀέρων, τόπων, καὶ ὑδάτων.

[7] 4 (VII.), 7, 2; see Littré, I. p. 333.

τρωμάτων) is accepted by all the critics, except Grimm, as a genuine work of Hippocrates.

(6.) The treatise 'on fractures' (περὶ ἀγμῶν) is also generally accepted, though a modern critic[1] supposes that only a part of the work actually proceeded from Hippocrates himself.

(7.) 'The aphorisms' (ἀφορισμοί), perhaps the best known of all the Hippocratic books, are confidently placed in the first class. This work contains more than four hundred short sentences of a practical nature, either culled by Hippocrates himself at a late period of his life from his other works and from the memoranda of his medical practice, or formed by some writer of his school soon after his death. In this respect, the doubt is much the same as that which we have expressed regarding the epitomes attributed to certain historical writers,[2] though it is more likely that a practical physician would make a collection like 'the aphorisms' of Hippocrates, than that a writer of history would abridge the details which it was his professed intention to record. We are of opinion that this treatise, which contains the germs of all the doctrine of Hippocrates, and which is still not without its value in medicine, is a somewhat interpolated edition of a work which the great physician committed to writing himself, and which he intended to bear the same relation to his practice that the temple-archives of the *Asclepeia* did to the experience acquired by the managers of those establishments. It was such a work as a modern physician might compile from his case-book.

§ 4. The doubtful works, or those which were perhaps written by Hippocrates or published from his materials, include a number of treatises, which have been admitted into the first class by one or more critics. They are as follows:—

(1.) 'The oath' (ὅρκος) is recognized by Erotianus, and we have seen that it is manifestly referred to by Aristophanes.[3] Whether it was drawn up by Hippocrates himself for the corporation to which he belonged, or was a later document formed on the same model, may be doubted. In its original

---

[1] Petersen, *Hippocr. nomine quæ circumferuntur scripta ad tempp. ratt. disposita*, Hamburg, 1839, p. 13.

[2] For example, see above, chapter XLIII. § 6, p. 394 [234].

[3] Above, p. 399 [239].

form, at all events, it belonged to the oldest part of the Hippocratic collection.

(2.) 'The law' (νόμος) has been admitted by Erotianus, and is maintained by Littré as a necessary supplement to 'the oath' in the freemasonry of ancient medicine.[1] Dr. Greenhill,[2] on the contrary, thinks that 'the oath' and 'the law' belong to different periods, 'the former having all the simplicity, honesty, and religious feeling of antiquity, the latter somewhat of the affectation and declamatory grandiloquence of a sophist.'

(3.) 'On ancient medicine' (περὶ ἀρχαίης ἰητρικῆς). Most of the critics are agreed that this treatise was not written by Hippocrates; but Erotianus recognizes its genuineness, and Littré has entered upon a strenuous and elaborate vindication of its claim to a place in the first part of the Hippocratic collection. He relies very much on the fact, which he conceives he has discovered, that the reference to Hippocrates in the *Phædrus* of Plato can be verified in this treatise, in opposition to the less tenable opinion of Galen that this reference applied to the treatise 'on nature.'[3] The book 'on ancient medicine' is, at all events, an early and important treatise, and it is not at all improbable that it is a new edition of a work by Hippocrates.

(4.) 'On articulations' (περὶ ἄρθρων). This treatise is admitted by Erotian and Galen, it was commented on by Bacchius and Philinus, pupils of Herophilus, and is strenuously maintained by Littré.[4] Other critics reject it.

(5.) 'On the instruments of reduction' (μοχλικόν). This is directly admitted by Galen and others. Littré has shown that it was an abridgment of the book 'on articulations.'[5] In the old collections it was combined with the fragment 'on veins' (περὶ φλεβῶν).[6]

The remaining treatises of this class owe their position to the apparent admixture of genuine fragments with additions by the followers of Hippocrates: (6.) 'On ulcers' (περὶ ἑλκῶν);

---

[1] *Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, I. p. 344. [2] Smith's *Dictionary*, II. p. 487.

[3] *Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, I. p. 299 sqq., as cited above, p. 400 [240].

[4] *Ibid.* p. 333 sqq. [5] *Ibid.* p. 340.

[6] Παραστάτας· τὰς ἐπιδυμίδας ἐν τῷ περὶ φλεβῶν ὃ πρόσκειται τῷ μοχλικῷ. *Gloss.* s.v. παραστάτας, cited by Littré, p. 341.

(7.) 'on fistulas' (περὶ συρίγγων), and 'hemorrhoids' (περὶ αἱμορροΐδων); (8.) 'on epilepsy' (περὶ ἱερῆς νούσου); (9.) 'on the surgery' (κατ' ἰητρεῖον), which is closely connected with the treatise 'on the instruments of reduction.'[1]

§ 5. The spurious works of the Hippocratic collection have been subdivided by Dr. Greenhill[2] according to the following classification. They are either (I.), older than the time of Hippocrates; (II.), contemporary, or nearly so; (III.), later than Hippocrates.

(I.) In the first of these subdivisions we have only two treatises; 'the prognoses of Cos' (Κωακαὶ προγνώσεις), and 'the predictions, Book I.' (προρρητικὸν A). It has been supposed[3] that these very ancient writings contain, in part at least, the notes taken by the *Asclepiadæ* in the temples, which furnished, as we have seen, a starting-point to the medical literature of Greece. If so, they belong to the class of books to which Euripides makes reference in his *Alcestis*,[4] a tragi-comedy performed, according to a recently-discovered authority, in B.C. 458.[5]

(II.) The works supposed to belong to the same age as Hippocrates are again distinguished, as (*a*) those whose authors may be assigned with some probability, and (*b*) those whose authors are altogether unknown. (*a*) The treatise 'on the nature of man' (περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου), and its supplement 'on the healthy regimen' (περὶ διαίτης ὑγιεινῆς), are attributed to Polybus, the son-in-law of Hippocrates, because a passage quoted from Polybus by Aristotle is found *verbatim* in the

---

[1] Littré, I. p. 367.

[2] Smith's *Dictionary*, II. p. 486.

[3] Grimm, *German Translation of Hippocrates*, II. p. 508; Littré, I. p. 351.

[4] vv. 962 sqq.:

ἐγὼ καὶ διὰ μούσας
καὶ μετάρσιος ἦξα, καὶ
πλείστων ἀψάμενος λόγων
κρεῖσσον οὐδὲν ἀνάγκας
εὗρον, οὐδέ τι φάρμακον
Θρήσσαις ἐν σανίσιν, τὰς
Ὀρφεία κατέγραψεν
γῆρυς, οὐδ' ὅσα Φοῖβος Ἀ-
σκληπιάδαις ἔδωκεν
φάρμακα πολυπόνοις ἀντιτεμὼν βροτοῖσιν.

[5] See Dindorf, *Præf. Ed. Oxon.* 1834, p. 7.

former of these treatises.[1] References by Galen and Soranus have led to the inference that the celebrated Euryphon of Cnidus was the author of the second and third books of the treatise 'concerning maladies' (*περὶ νούσων*), and of the essay 'on the nature of women' (*περὶ γυναικείης φύσεως*),[2] and Littré has conjectured,[3] on the strength of a citation in Aristotle,[4] that a certain unknown Leophanes or Cleophanes was the author of the treatise 'on superfetation' (*περὶ ἐπικυήσιος*). (*b*) Among the works by unknown authors, which are supposed to have proceeded from the contemporaries of Hippocrates, that 'on diet' is fixed to a period subsequent to B.C. 381 by a coincidence with the calendar of Eudoxus, to which Dr. Greenhill has directed attention.[5] The other books of this class, such as the second, fourth, and sixth books of the *Epidemia*, and those 'on humours' (*περὶ χυμῶν*), and 'the use of liquids' (*περὶ ὑγρῶν χρήσιος*), are generally collections of notes and extracts, which have found a place in the Hippocratic collection, for the want of any definitely assigned authorship.

(III.) The spurious works admitted to be later than Hippocrates are sufficiently numerous, and are divided by the latest critics into three distinct classes: (*a*) those which are authentic but not genuine, *i.e.* not wilful forgeries, and these again into (a_1) works by the same author, or (a_2) books by different authors; and (*b*) those which are wilful forgeries. Of the first class of these (a_1), Littré infers[6] that they were anterior to Aristotle, and were all the works of some one writer, who announces that he had also written 'on peripneumony' (*περὶ περιπνευμονίης*), and 'on the diseases of young women' (*περὶ παρθενιῶν νούσων*), treatises which are quite lost. The essays which we have are 'on generation' (*περὶ γονῆς*); 'on the nature of the infant' (*περὶ φύσιος παιδίου*); the fourth book 'on maladies' (*περὶ νούσων τὸ τέταρτον*); 'on the maladies of females' (*περὶ*

---

[1] Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* III. 3: Πόλυβος δὲ ὧδε κ.τ.λ., compared with Hippocr. *περὶ φύσιος*, p. 23, Froben.

[2] Galen, *Comment. in Hippocr. de Morb. Vulg.* VI. I. 29, Littré, I. pp. 47, 363; Ermerius, *De Rat. Vict. in Morb. acut.* pp. 363, 9.

[3] *Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, I. p. 381.

[4] *De Generat. Animalium*, IV. c. 1.

[5] Smith's *Dictionary*, II. p. 487.

[6] *Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, I. pp. 373—379.

γυναικείων ά, β'); 'on the diseases of girls' (περὶ παρθενίων); 'on barren women' (περὶ ἀφόρων). In the second class (a_2) we have the fifth and seventh books of the *Epidemia*, a second book of 'the predictions,' and a number of minor treatises, including one 'on the weeks' (περὶ ἑβδομάδων), which exists only in a Latin translation, and one 'on the nature of the bones' (περὶ ὀστέων φύσιος), which is made up entirely of extracts from other works in the Hippocratic collection. In the last class (*b*), we have epistles, speeches, and other non-medical works, which are obviously due to the ingenuity of Sophists.

§ 6. A discussion of the time and manner of the publication of the Hippocratic books involves some questions of general interest in reference to a history of Greek literature. These questions have been adequately examined by Littré,[1] and we shall here content ourselves with an exhibition of the general results.

This collection, as far as the medical works are concerned, is authenticated, as consisting of treatises anterior to the year B.C. 300, by the fact that it was commented upon and cited by Hierophilus who flourished about that time, and by his immediate successors, Baccheius and Philinus. We have also seen that Aristotle quotes, by the name of Polybus, one of the works now included in this collection, and that we have, among these, others which can be assigned inferentially to persons who were contemporary with Hippocrates, or lived shortly after his time. It is also clear that we have in the collection some writings which are not entitled to be considered as independent or complete works, such as series of extracts and abridgments, notes and compilations. Finally, it is stated, that the Alexandrian grammarians themselves did not accept, without discrimination, the works presented to them as the productions of Hippocrates, but that 'the separators' (οἱ χωρίζοντες), as they were called, placed only those, which appeared to them authentic, in a special class, under the name of 'the book of the little table' (τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μικροῦ πινακιδίου).[2] From all these considerations, it may be inferred that the Hippocratic collec-

[1] *Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, I. pp. 262—292.

[2] Galen, III. p. 181, ed. Basil.

tion was formed at some time subsequent to Aristotle, and anterior to Ptolemy Euergetes; that at first it was regarded as made up of genuine works classed by themselves, and of other medical treatises brought to Alexandria at different times, and placed in the library beside Hippocrates; and that, ultimately, the line of demarcation, between the books of the little table and the rest of those medical works which a less critical or more ignorant age ceased to distinguish from them, was removed and forgotten. And the whole list of books came into the hands of the later critics and commentators, and was by them given forth to the world, under the great name of the father of medicine. There was nothing peculiar in this. The same thing has happened to all the great writers of antiquity, whose works were sufficiently famous and sufficiently voluminous to admit of this mixture of the genuine and the spurious. Aristotle, Demosthenes, and in a smaller degree Plato, have given their names to books or speeches included in the collections of their works, but certainly not written by them. And even the Canon of the New Testament is exhibited with an obliteration of the three distinctions known to Eusebius.[1] In the case of Hippocrates, it is sufficient to know that we have an adequate sample of his genuine writings, and can gather from them what he was both as a literary man and as a medical philosopher.

§ 7. It does not belong to our present business to discuss the medical science of Hippocrates; but we must not conclude without a few observations on his style, dialect, and literary merits.

In many particulars we must regard Hippocrates as standing in a similar position to Herodotus. Both born in Dorian colonies,—for Cos and Halicarnassus are separated only by a few miles of sea,—they were both resident for a considerable time at Athens, or in communication with Athenians; and we find that both of them wrote a form of the Ionic dialect nearly approximating to the old Attic, and that both of them imitated some favourite Attic author, Herodotus taking some of his

[1] The three classes distinguished by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* III. 25, pp. 244 sqq., Heinichen), namely, the ὁμολογούμενα, the ἀντιλεγόμενα, γνώριμα δ' οὖν ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς, and the νόθα—might furnish names to the three classes of the Hippocratic works.

most striking passages from the great poet Sophocles,[1] and Hippocrates selecting the great historian Thucydides as, in a certain sense, his pattern. With regard to the dialect of Hippocrates, it is clear that he adopted it as a conventional or fashionable idiom. Just as Herodotus wrote Ionic in imitation of the historians, who immediately preceded him, so Hippocrates conformed to the practice of the natural philosophers, whom he emulated in his own particular branch of physiology. He was not influenced by any desire to please Democritus, but he wished to adopt a style common to him with Parmenides, Anaxagoras, Melissus, and Diogenes of Apollonia. The manuscripts of Hippocrates, as they have come down to us, exhibit great inconsistencies in the orthography, but the general impression is that of an artificial and conventional Ionism, deliberately adopted as the most appropriate phraseology of science. Whether Thucydides, during his exile at Scaptesyle in Thrace, had any immediate intercourse with Hippocrates, who is said to have been resident at the same time in the island of Thasos, immediately opposite to that part of Thrace, or at Abdera on the same coast, cannot be determined; but it is more than probable that two such men would fall in with one another, and form the usual relations of literary intercourse. The account of the plague in Thucydides exhibits a minute detail of symptoms, which would almost persuade us that he had submitted his description to some medical man;[2] and as he does not mention Hippocrates, who, on the other hand, does not refer to this epidemic, it is not altogether unnatural to conjecture that Hippocrates may have revised this account derived from a sufferer; and that having done so, he did not repeat elsewhere what was so graphically told in the contemporary history, and was known to himself only from this source. Be this as it may, Littré, who has studied Hippo-

[1] See *Transactions of the Philological Society*, vol. I. p. 161.

[2] The description of the plague in Thucydides is so minutely accurate and circumstantial, that a modern physician has been able to infer from the words of the historian that the malady was in reality a very violent scarlatina, probably aggravated by the crowded state of the city, and other depressing circumstances; see Dr. C. Collier's *History of the Plague of Athens, translated from Thucydides; with remarks explanatory of its Pathology.* London, 1857.

crates with the most intelligent attention, recognizes a close affinity between his style and that of Thucydides,[1] though he attributes it to the general law that writers of the same epoch naturally fall into the same mode of thinking and expressing their meaning. The extreme brevity, which Galen notices as a remarkable characteristic of Hippocrates,[2] is also a conspicuous feature in Thucydides. It is in consequence of this that so many of the sententious phrases of Hippocrates have taken their place in the habitual language of civilized Europe. His statement at the beginning of his *Aphorisms*, that 'Life is short and art long, that time flies, that experience is deceitful, and that judgment is difficult,'[3] not only supplies rules for the medical practitioner, but furnishes common proverbs for every society; and it is repeatedly quoted by the Greek rhetoricians as a specimen of pregnant brevity.[4] In his style, no less than in his medical system, Hippocrates acts on the principle which is expressed, in very Thucydidean language, in a well-known passage of the treatise 'on articulations,' and he regards affected verbiage with the same contempt which he expresses for medical quackery and charlatanism. 'If it were possible,' says he,[5] 'to make men healthy in various ways, it would be best to choose that which is least troublesome; for this is both more honest and more scientific, unless one aims at vulgar imposition.' We see in his style that complete appropriation of all the resources of language which marks the great writer, whatever his subject may be. Thus, a common verb is made to bear in

---

[1] *Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, I. p. 474: 'plus j'ai medité sur le style de l'un et de l'autre, et cherché a pénétrer les procedés, la forme, et le sentiment, plus aussi je me suis convaincu qu'il existait entre ces écrivains une étroite affinité—ainsi est-ce à Thucydide qu'il faut comparer Hippocrate,' &c.

[2] IV. p. 11, ed. Basil.: Ἱπποκράτης μὲν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συγγραμμάτων ἐσχάτως βραχύλογος ὤν.

[3] *Aphor.* I. § 1: ὁ βιὸς βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρή, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὀξύς, ἡ δὲ πεῖρα σφαλερή, ἡ δὲ κρίσις χαλεπή.

[4] See Demetr. περὶ ἑρμηνείας, vol. IX. p. 3, Walz.; Joann. Sicel. *Schol. in Hermog.* vol. VI. p. 236, Walz.

[5] *De Articul.* p. 837 F: εἰ δὲ πολλοῖσι τρόποισιν οἷόν τε εἴη ὑγιέας ποιεῖν, τὸν ἀοχλότατον χρὴ αἱρέεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀνδραγαθικώτερον τοῦτο καὶ τεχνικώτερον, ὅστις μὴ ἐπιθυμέει δημοειδέος κιβδηλίης. The word ἀνδραγαθικός, which seems to be peculiar to Hippocrates, reminds one of the Thucydidean verb, ἀνδραγαθίζομαι (II. 63, III. 40).

its varied inflexions the meanings of the technical noun which is derived from it.[1] He does not hesitate to give emphasis to a passage by the introduction of a new but appropriate compound.[2] The technicalities of his subject are constantly relieved by an elegance of phraseology which is almost poetical.[3] And there is scarcely a beauty of simple and emphatic Greek prose which may not be exemplified in the oldest writings of the Hippocratic collection. On the whole, it may be said, with truth, that whatever may be the value of these old medical books to modern disciples of Æsculapius, no student of Greek has seen all the varied excellences of that wonderful language, if he has never made acquaintance with the original text of Hippocrates.

---

[1] For example, *κρίνομαι* is used in the medical sense of *κρίσις*. *Aphor.* I. 20: *τὰ κρινόμενα καὶ τὰ κεκριμένα ἀρτίως μὴ κινέειν, μηδὲ νεωτεροποιεῖν μήτε φαρμακείῃσι μήτ' ἄλλοισιν ἐρεθισμοῖσιν ἀλλ' ἐᾶν.* II. 2, 3: *τὰ ὀξέα τῶν νουσημάτων κρίνεται ἐν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἡμέρῃσιν.*

[2] *Aphor.* II. 44: *οἱ παχέες σφόδρα κατὰ φύσιν ταχυθάνατοι γίνονται μᾶλλον τῶν ἰσχνῶν.*

[3] As in the use of the verb *ξυναποθνήσκειν* of an incurable complaint, *Aphor.* V. 7, or of the verb *λυμαίνεσθαι*, to express the sufferings caused by a useless surgical operation, *De Articul.* vol. IV. p. 252, l. 14, Littré; cf. the *λυμανθὲν δέμας* of Æschylus, *Choëph.* 288.

THIRD PERIOD OF GREEK LITERATURE.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA—POETS.

§ 1. Alexandria and the Ptolemies. § 2. Alexandrian poets; their proper classification and arrangement. § 3. Philetas in Alexandria, and Aratus in Macedonia. § 4. Callimachus. § 5. Lycophron and the tragedians. § 6. The epic and didactic poets, Apollonius, Rhianus, Euphorion, and Nicander. § 7. The bucolic poets, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus. § 8. The parodists and phlyacographers.

§ 1. AS the literary predominance of Athens, which gave a special character to the second period of Greek literature, was due mainly to the political importance of Attica, it was a natural consequence that the downfal of Athenian independence should bring with it first a deterioration, and ultimately an extinction of that intellectual centralization which had for more than a century sustained and directed the best efforts of Hellenic genius and culture. But while the living literature of Greece was thus dying away, an incidental result of the oriental conquests of Alexander prepared a new home for the Muses on the coast of that wonderful country, to which all the nations of antiquity had owed a part, at least, of their science and of their religious belief.[1] In Egypt, as in other regions,[2] Alexander gave directions for the foundation of a city, which was to be called after his own name. This new city of Alexandria, which soon filled all the space between the lake Mareotis and the sea at the Canopic mouth of the Nile,

[1] There is a very lively and interesting account of the foundation of Alexandria, and the character of its literature, in Mr. Kingsley's *Alexandria and her Schools*, Cambridge, 1854.

[2] There were more than twenty cities named *Alexandria*, or *Alexandropolis*, and of these Candahar and Scanderoun still bear traces of their Greek name, and Herat is still a place of considerable importance.

and was connected with the island of Pharos by a great mole, on which the modern town has sprung up, was built by Cleomenes of Naucratis,[1] after the plans of the architect Dinochares, and became not only the most magnificent city of the Hellenic world, but the capital of a Greek kingdom, and the residence of a family who attracted to their court all the living representatives of the literature of Greece, and stored up in their enormous library all the best works of the classical periods which we have hitherto discussed.[2] It was chiefly in the reigns of the first three of these Ptolemies that the city of Alexandria was made a new home of Greek literature. Soter, who ruled from B.C. 306 to B.C. 285, under the inspiration of Demetrius Phalereus, the last of the Athenian orators, laid the foundations of the library, which was kept partly in the temple of Serapis, and partly in the Brucheium adjoining the palace; and also instituted the Museum, or temple of the Muses, where the literary and scientific men of the age were maintained by endowments not unlike our fellowships or lay canonries, and where they enjoyed collectively the advantage of a reference to

[1] See the plan and description in Parthey's valuable monograph entitled, *Das Alexandrinische Museum*, Berlin, 1838, pp. 18—34.

[2] The chief authority, or rather the most definite statement respecting the library at Alexandria, is a Latin scholium on Plautus, discovered by Professor Osann in 1830; see Welcker, *Der Epischer Cyclus* I. p. 8; Ritschl, *Die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken*, p. 3. The author quoted from is *Cœcius*, and W. Dindorf has shown (*Rhein. Mus.* 1836, p. 232) that this must be a classical substitute for Tzetzes, the Scholiast on Aristophanes, who sometimes calls himself Κέκος, or Κέκκος, The following is the statement concerning the library: 'Nam rex ille [Philadelphus] philosophis affertissimus [Ritchl reads differtissimus, and Thiersch (*De Pentat. Vers. Alex.* p. 9), proposes *affectissimus*] et ceteris omnibus auctoribus claris, disquisitis impensa regiæ munificentiæ ubique terrarum quantum valuit voluminibus opera Demetrii Phalerii phzxa senum [Ritschl reads *prehensa secum*, and Bernhardy: *et LXX. senum*], duas bibliothecas fecit; alteram extra Regiam, alteram autem in Regia. In exteriore autem fuerunt milia voluminum quadraginta duo et octingenta. In Regiæ autem bibliotheca voluminum quidem commixtorum volumina quadringenta milia, simplicium autem et digestorum milia nonaginta, sicuti refert Callimachus aulicus Regis bibliothecarius, qui etiam singulis voluminibus titulos inscripsit.' From this statement we gather that the library contained—(*a*) in the *Brucheium*, which was the primary place of deposit, 400,000 rolls of duplicates and other unsorted books, and 90,000 separate works properly arranged; and (*b*) in the *Serapeum* 42,800 volumes, probably the ultimate selection, or most valuable books in the whole collection. The value of this scholium consists mainly in the presumption that it was derived by Tzetzes from the genuine writings of Callimachus and Eratosthenes.

books, which, as we have seen, Aristotle had provided for himself individually at a very great expense. This encouragement of literature was carried on with still greater earnestness by Philadelphus (B.C. 285—247), who had the celebrated Callimachus for his librarian, and not only bought up the whole of Aristotle's collection, but transferred the native annals of Egypt and Judæa to the domain of Greek literature, by employing the priest Manetho to translate the hieroglyphics of his own temple archives into the language of the court, and by procuring from the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem the first part of that celebrated version of the Hebrew sacred books which was completed after the time of Philometor, and was called the Version of the Seventy, from the number of the Council which sanctioned it. Euergetes (B.C. 247—222), whose literary circle boasted of the great name of Eratosthenes, increased the library, not only by fair means, but also by somewhat dishonestly, though at a heavy cost to himself, depriving the Athenians of their authentic edition of the great dramatists, which Lycurgus had laid up in the public archives.[1] One of the plans which he adopted was to require from all merchants and navigators, who came to Alexandria, the loan of any books which they happened to have with them. A copy was made and given to the proprietor, but the original was deposited in the library, with the inscription, 'a book from the ships' (τὸ ἐκ τῶν πλοίων).[2] The tendency of all this hot-bed encouragement of literature was to produce a few eminent men of science, a reasonable supply of second-rate and artificial poets, and a host of grammarians and literary pedants, who indulged in speculations more or less intelligent on subjects of literary criticism, hermeneutics, and bibliography. This grammatical tendency began in the time of Philadelphus; and Callimachus, Alexander the Ætolian, Lycophron, Zenodotus, Aristarchus, and Aristophanes of Byzantium, compiled editions, glossaries, grammars, and commentaries, which had the effect of fixing the Greek language in a generally intelligible and uniform state or condition. The process was much the same as that adopted by

[1] Above ch. XLII. § 3, p. 354 [194].

[2] Galen, vol. V. p. 412, ed. Basil.; F. A. Wolf, *Prolegom.* p. CLXXVII.; Littré, *Hippocrates*, vol. I. pp. 274 sqq.

the Jewish Masorethæ after the return from exile,[1] or by the grammarians of King Vicramâditya's court in India.[2] The oldest writers suffered most under the Procrustean operation, and the Homer of Aristarchus appears in a modernized form, under which only the critical genius of Bentley could perceive the original and obsolete forms, with their digammas and primitive assibilations. In the course of time, the library founded at Pergamus by Eumenes, which multiplied pergament or parchment copies in rivalry of the papyrus or paper books of Alexandria, was transferred to Egypt; and however little we may be indebted to Callimachus and his successors for their remodelling of ancient works, we must always thank the Ptolemies for preserving to our times, in a form more or less complete and authentic, all the best specimens of Greek literature which have come down to us.

§ 2. In speaking of the literary productions, which were fostered or forced in the hot-beds of Alexandrian learning, we naturally begin with the poets. And here it is scarcely possible to classify the writers according to the older divisions of Greek poetry. For some of the most eminent of the Alexandrian men of letters tried their strength in many, some in all these departments. Callimachus, indeed, who was the head of the school, was not only a writer of all kinds of poetry, but also a critic, grammarian, historian, and geographer—one, in fact, who was a living representative of the great library over which he presided. It will be most in accordance then with the general objects of this work, and with the convenience of the reader, if we exhibit the Alexandrian poets in their distinct personality as a portrait gallery, arranged rather in chronological order than according to the subject-matter of their writings.[3] In this way we must begin with Philetas, who was the tutor, not only of the second Ptolemy but also of Theocritus, the most charming poet of the Alexandrian Court in the reign of

[1] Van der Hooght, *Præf. in Bibl. Hebr.* § 24. As we shall show in the next chapter, the Hebrew Masorets were not uninfluenced by the contemporary scholars of Alexandria.

[2] This was by far the most recent of these grammatical epochs of literature, as it began, according to Ideler's calculations, in the year B.C. 58. See Lepsius, *Chronologie der Ægypter* I. p. 4.

[3] The first six librarians of the Alexandrian collection were Zenodotus, Callimachus,

Philadelphus. With him we shall associate his contemporary Aratus. In the next place, we must present Callimachus, who is also distinguished by his success as a teacher of others, and who was not only the greatest man of letters under Philadelphus and Euergetes, but counted among his pupils the most eminent epic poet of the school, his successor, Apollonius Rhodius, besides the philosopher Eratosthenes, the historian Ister, and the grammarian Aristophanes of Byzantium. We shall assign the third representative position to Lycophron, who retains his place in all the different versions of the Pleiad, or list of the seven tragedians of Alexandria, and who was a contemporary and fellow-labourer of Callimachus in the Museum. In the fourth compartment we shall class together the epic poets Apollonius, Rhianus, and Euphorion. In the fifth group we shall have the writers of idyls, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus. And in the sixth place, we shall glance at the disreputable family of Sotades, and the sillographies of Timon.

Eratosthenes, Apollonius, Aristophanes, and Aristarchus (Ritschl, *Alex. Bibl.* p. 19 sqq., cf. Parthey, *Alex. Mus.* pp. 71 sqq.), and the following table gives the chronology of these writers and their contemporaries (Ritschl, u.s. pp. 89, 90).

Philip of Macedon. . .	Ol. 108 109	Philetas born.
Ptolemy Soter	114 115	*Zenodotus* born.
	114 115	*Callimachus* born.
	117, 3	Ptolemy Philadelphus born.
	118 119	Aratus born.
	121, 1	Demetr. Phal. comes to Alexandria.
Ptolemy Philadelphus . . .	124 125	Library founded. *Zenodotus* librarian.
Antigonus Gonatas		Aratus goes to Macedonia. Lycophron.
	126	*Eratosthenes* and Euphorion born.
	126 127	*Apollonius* born.
	129 130	*Aristophanes* born.
	131	*Apollonius* goes to Rhodes.
	133	*Callimachus* librarian.
Ptolemy Euergetes	133, 2	*Eratosthenes* summoned to Alexandria.
Attalus I.	135 136	*Eratosthenes* librarian.
	138 139	*Aristarchus* born.
Ptolemy Epiphanes	145 147	*Apollonius* librarian. *Aristophanes* librarian.
Eumenes II.	148 149	*Aristarchus* librarian.

§ 3. As far as we can learn, the founder of a school of poetry at Alexandria, and the model for imitation not only to those who immediately succeeded him in that city, but also to the Roman writers of elegiac poetry, whose names are familiar as household words to all educated Europeans, was PHILETAS of Cos, the son of Telephus, whom Ptolemy Soter invited to his Court, and made the tutor to his favourite son and successor Philadelphus.[1] This educational appointment was due less to the poetical eminence of Philetas than to his repute as a grammarian and critic, and he was associated with Zenodotus of Ephesus, not only in this office, but also in the work of editorship, which formed a great part of the literary business at Alexandria. The dates of the birth and death of Philetas are unknown. Suidas speaks of him as having lived in the time of Philip and Alexander, but this is hardly consistent with the fact that he was a contemporary of Aratus,[2] who flourished at the Court of Antigonus Gonatas, and of Theocritus,[3] who must have been at the height of his reputation in B.C. 270. The extreme emaciation of his person, which exposed him to the joking imputation of wearing lead in the soles of his shoes lest he should be blown away,[4] and which is attributed to a perplexing study of the Megaric subtleties,[5]—a study said to have shortened his life[6] —would seem to indicate a feeble constitution[7] quite incon-

[1] The notice in Suidas is: *Φιλητᾶς, Κῶος, υἱὸς Τηλέφου, ὢν ἐπί τε Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, γραμματικὸς [καί], κριτικός· ὃς ἰσχνωθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ ζητεῖν τὸν καλούμενον ψευδόμενον λόγον, ἀπέθανεν, ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ διδάσκαλος τοῦ δευτέρου Πτολεμαίου· ἔγραψεν Ἐπιγράμματα, καὶ Ἐλεγειὰς, καὶ ἄλλα.*

[2] *Vit. Arati, apud Clinton, F. H.* s.a. Ol. 272: *Ἄρατος . . . συνήκμασε δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Αἰτωλῷ καὶ Φιλητᾷ.*

[3] Theocritus speaks as though Philetas were still living in his VII. *Id.* 40, where he is coupled with Asclepiades of Samos; with reference to this passage we are told: *ἀκουστὴς δὲ γέγονε Φιλητᾶ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδου ὧν μνημονεύει (Θεοκρ. γένος)*; and the same statement has been extracted by Wüstemann (*Theocr.* p. 106) from a corrupt passage in Chœroboscus (fol. 176, *Catal. Bibl. Coislin.*): *Φιλητᾶς* [vulgo *Φιλίππας*] *ὁ διδάσκαλος Θεοκρίτου.*

[4] Plut. *An Seni* &c. p. 791, E.; Athen. XII. p. 552, B; Ælian, *V. H.* IX. 14, X. 6.

[5] Suidas, u.s.

[6] In Athen. IX. p. 401, F., we have the following epigram:—

ξεῖνε, Φιλητᾶς εἰμί· λόγων ὁ ψευδόμενός με
ὤλεσε καὶ νυκτῶν φροντίδες ἐσπέριοι.

[7] Plut. u.s. speaks of Prodicus and Philetas as *νέους μὲν ἰσχνοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσώδεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κλινοπετεῖς δι' ἀῤῥωστίαν ὄντας.*

sistent with longevity. All these considerations should induce us to fix the period of his birth at about B.C. 330, and his death shortly before the accession of Philadelphus in B.C. 285.

Philetas was chiefly celebrated as an elegiac poet, and in this branch of literature he occupied the highest place along with Callinus, Mimnermus, and Callimachus.[1] With the latter, he formed the chief model for the Latin elegiac poets. Propertius, in particular, constantly refers to Philetas as the source of his inspiration, once, according to an ingenious emendation, in conjunction with Mimnermus, more frequently coupled with Callimachus, to whom, however, he seems, on the whole, to have preferred him.[2] The style of his poetry, which is partly indicated by the fragments, is sufficiently represented by these Roman imitators. His elegies were occupied with the languishing sentimentalities of an eager or complaining lover. A particular mistress, or the feigned name of one, Bittis, Battis, or Batto,[3] plays the same part as the Cynthia and Delia of his Roman imitators. The high esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries is indicated by the manner in which Theocritus mentions his name,[4] and by the effect which he

---

[1] Proclus, *Chrestomath.* p. 379, Gaisford.

[2] The following are some of the references to Philetas in Propertius; III. 26, 31:

Tu satius memorem Musis imitere Philetam,
Et non inflati somnia Callimachi,

where Scaliger reads: *Musis meliorem*, and Hertzberg: *Tu socius Musis Mimnermi.*

Id. IV. 1, 1:

Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philetæ
In vestrum, quæso, me sinite ire nemus.

Id. IV. 3, 51:

Talia Calliope lymphisque a fonte petitis
Ora Philetæâ nostra rigavit aquâ.

Id. V. 6, 3:

Cera Philetæis certet Romana corymbis
Et Cyrenæas urna ministret aquas.

Callimachus and Philetas, and their three Roman imitators, are classed together by Statius, *Silv.* II. 1, 252—255.

[3] Βίττις, Hermesian. *apud Athen.* p. 598, F, v. 77. Βάττις, Ov. *Trist.* I. 6, 2; *Ep. ex Ponto*, III. 1, 58. The name Βιττὼ occurs in inscriptions, and Lachmann proposes to read *Battûs* from Βαττὼ, in Prop. III. 26, 31.

[4] Theocr. VII. 40: οὐ γάρ πω κατ' ἐμὸν νόον οὐδὲ τὸν ἐσθλὸν
Σικελίδαν νίκημι τὸν ἐκ Σάμω οὔτε Φιλητᾶν
ἀείδων· βάτραχος δὲ ποτ' ἀκριδας ὥς τις ἐρίσδω.

produced on the fashionable literature at Alexandria and the imported poetry of Rome; and there cannot be any doubt that he was an admirable specimen of that ingenious, elegant, and harmonious versification which takes the place of higher poetry in a refined and artificial age. Besides these elegies, Philetas wrote sportive epigrams on Bittis (*παίγνια*, Stobæus, *ἐπιγράμματα*, Suid.),[1] a poem in elegiac verse on the lamentations of Demeter for her daughter,[2] which may have served as a model for the laments of the Bucolic poets, and a poem in Hexameters, called *Hermes*,[3] which is described by Parthenius[4] as relating to a love affair of Ulysses. An attempt has been made to refer to this poet an elegiac couplet quoted by Strabo from the *Hermeneia* of Philetas,[5] but as he was a grammarian by profession, it is not at all improbable that the work referred to was a critical treatise on interpretation full of quotations from various poets.

Besides his labours as a poet Philetas was an eminent commentator and grammarian. In conjunction with his colleague Zenodotus, he wrote notes on Homer, which were sharply criticized by Aristarchus.[6] His principal contribution to grammar was a book of miscellanies (*ἄτακτα* or *ἄτακτοι γλῶσσαι*),[7] a work of such general notoriety that the comic poet Strato refers to it as a well known authority for the meaning of words.[8] It is also combined with a reference to his love poems by Hermesianax,[9] and is perhaps to be sought in an emendation

[1] Hertzberg, *Quæst. Propert.* p. 208.

[2] Stobæus, *Florileg.* CIV. 11, CXXIV. 26.

[3] *Id. Flor.* CIV. 12, CXVIII. 3; *Eclog. Phys.* V. 4. [4] *Erot.* 2.

[5] Strabo, III. p. 168: *καὶ Φιλητᾶς τε ἐν Ἑρμηνείᾳ*, where it is proposed to read *ἐν Ἑρμῇ ἐλεγείᾳ*.

[6] *Schol. Venet. ad Il.* II. 111.

[7] Cited by *Schol. Apoll. Rhod.* IV. 989, as *ἐν ἀτάκτοις γλώσσαις*: by *Etym. M.* s.v. Ἐλινός, as *ἐν γλώσσαις*. The emendation of Schweighæuser in Athen. XI. 467, of *ὡς Φιλητᾶς φησὶν ἐν Ἀτάκτοις* for *ἐν Ἀττικοῖς* is generally admitted.

[8] Athen. IX. p. 383, B:

ὥστε με
τῶν τοῦ Φιλητᾶ λαμβάνοντα βιβλίων
σκοπεῖν ἕκαστα τί δύναται τῶν ῥημάτων.

[9] Athen. XIII. p. 598, F:

Βιττίδα μολπάζοντα θοὴν περὶ πάντα Φιλητᾶν
ῥήματα καὶ πᾶσαν ῥυόμενον λαλίην.

of an epigram by the grammarian Crates which combines the glosses of Philetas with his Homeric studies.[1] The logical studies of Philetas are attested by the extravagant story, to which we have already referred, that he wasted his feeble frame in vain attempts to solve the Ψευδόμενος of the Megaric School.

The immediate successors of Philetas as an elegiac poet were his friend HERMESIANAX[2] and PHANOCLES, whose age is not known.[3] But if we would understand his importance with reference to the school of Alexandria, and the effects which the patronage of the Ptolemies produced on the formation of an artificial and exotic literature in that great city, we must compare him with his contemporary ARATUS, who was court poet to another successor of Alexander in Macedonia itself. No efforts on the part of the Macedonian kings seem to have succeeded, in creating a love of learning in the country, to the neighbourhood of which the Greeks referred the primitive poetry of Orpheus. Archelaus gave a welcome to Euripides; Philip committed the education of his son to Aristotle; and Antigonus Gonatas entertained Aratus at his court. But no lasting fruits were produced, and Macedonia, which contributed so much to the Hellenism of Asia, remained to the last only partially Greek itself.

Aratus, the son of Athenodorus, was born in Cilicia, according to some authorities at Soli, according to others at Tarsus,[4] and was a contemporary, perhaps a friend, of Philetas. He went to Athens at an early age, and there became a hearer

---

[1] *Anthol. Palat.* XI. 218:

Χοίριλος Ἀντιμάχου πολὺ λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν
Χοίριλον Εὐφορίων εἶχε διὰ στόματος,
καὶ κατάγλωσσ' ἐπόει τὰ ποήματα, καὶ τὰ Φιλητᾶ
ἀτρεκέως ᾔδει· καὶ γὰρ Ὁμηρικὸς ἦν.

The common reading is τὰ φίλητρα, which makes no sense in this connexion.

[2] There is a considerable fragment of Hermesianax in Athen. XIII. p. 597. It is part of the third book of his poem, addressed to his mistress Leontium, and has been repeatedly edited in a separate form.

[3] The style of Phanocles belongs to the same class with that of Philetas, Hermesianax, and Callimachus, and he was probably their contemporary.

[4] There are four lives of Aratus (Ἀράτου βίοι, *apud Buhl.* I. *Vitæ Arati tres*, II. pp. 429—445), besides the article in Suidas.

of the Stoic philosopher Perseus,[1] whom he eventually accompanied to the court of Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Here he was so well entertained that he spent the remainder of his life in Macedonia. At the request of his patron he composed the poem which gained him his chief celebrity. It was an ingenious versification of the two books entitled Ἔνοπτρον and Φαινόμενα, by which Eudoxus of Cnidus had made Egyptian astronomy and meteorology popular in Greece. And Aratus, who was not himself an observer, or, indeed, a scientific man in that sense, so completely superseded Eudoxus, that a great work of Hipparchus was a commentary more immediately on the poem of Aratus than on the scientific treatise from which its materials were derived.[2] Aratus divided his poem into two parts corresponding to the two works of Eudoxus, the first called Φαινόμενα, *Phænomena*, in 732 verses, being an essay on astronomy, and the second called Διοσημεῖα, or, more properly, Διοσήμια,[3] *Prognostics*, in 422 verses, being a treatise on the changes of weather and their effects. This latter poem was not only taken from Eudoxus, but also borrowed in good measure from Aristotle's *Meteorologica* and Theophrastus' *De signis ventorum*. The great popularity of this work, as a pleasing compendium of the existing knowledge on the subject, is shown not only by the fact already mentioned, that a really scientific man like Hipparchus made it the text of his learned commentaries, but also by the high repute which the work enjoyed among the educated Romans. Cicero, who was quite aware that Aratus was only a versifier of a subject which he did not thoroughly understand,[4] thought it worth while to translate the poem into Latin verse, and the same task

---

[1] According to Suidas he was also a pupil of Menecrates of Ephesus, of Timon, and of Menedemus.

[2] The title of the work of Hipparchus is: τῶν Ἀράτου καὶ Εὐδόξου φαινομένων, ἐξηγήσεων βιβλία γ'.

[3] The word Διοσήμια occurs in Aristoph. *Acharn.* 171, and elsewhere: there is no authority for Διοσημεῖα, and Grauert maintains (*über die Werke des Dichters Aratus von Soli*, Niebuhr's *Rhein. Mus.* 1827, p. 336, foll.) that even the former could not have been the title of a work or part of a work by Aratus.

[4] *De Oratore*, I. 16, § 69: 'si constat inter doctos hominem ignarum astrologiæ Aratum ornatissimis atque optimis versibus de cœlo stellisque dixisse,' &c.

was afterwards undertaken by the Emperor Domitian[1] and by Avienus.[2] Ovid says[3] that the fame of Aratus will be as lasting as the sun and moon; and the Apostle Paul, when speaking in the Areopagus, cites him to the Athenians as one of their own poets, for the saying at the beginning of his poem, that we are all the offspring of the chief of the gods.[4] Besides Hipparchus, who wrote on the book on account of its scientific contents, it formed the subject of numerous critical and grammatical commentaries, commencing with the time of Callimachus and Attalus of Rhodes, who were nearly contemporaries of Aratus, and going on to Aristophanes of Byzantium, Aristarchus, and Achilles Tatius. A work, which attracted so much notice, must have had some special merit, in addition to its popular treatment of a generally interesting and difficult subject. But we cannot profess much enthusiasm for the specimens preserved in the Latin translations, or for the magniloquence of such lines as this:

'Deep from the marsh where they lie croak forth the fathers of tadpoles.'[5]

Besides the two books, which became so popular, it seems that Aratus wrote several others on the subject of Astronomy, which are quoted under the titles of Ἀστροθεσία and ὁ κανών.[6] In a commentary on Hesiod, the grammarian Tzetzes quotes the fifth book of the Ἀστρικά of Aratus.[7] And a modern scholar, who does not believe that Aratus wrote a book called Διοσήμια,

---

[1] It is generally supposed that the Cæsar mentioned as the translator of Aratus was Germanicus, the father of Caligula, but Janus Rutgersius (*Var. Lect.* III. p. 276, quoted by Grauert u.s. p. 347) has proved that the translator must have been Domitian.

[2] *Aratea Phænomena*, and *Aratea Prognostica*, printed in Lemaire's edition of Avienus.

[3] *Amores* I. 15, 16:

Nulla Sophocleo veniet jactura cothorno,
Cum Sole et Lunâ semper Aratus erit.

[4] *Acts* xvii. 28: ὡς καί τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν· Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

[5] *Diosem.* 946:

αὐτόθεν ἐξ ὕδατος πατέρες βοοῶσι γυρίνων.

[6] *Schol. Arat.* v. 450; Suidas s.v.; Achilles Tatius ap. Petav. *Doctr. Temp.* III. c. 15.

[7] Ad *Hes. O. et D.* I. p. 6, Heins.: Ἄρατος ἐν τῇ πεμπτῇ τῶν Ἀστρικῶν.

but that the book so called got this erroneous name from a second title, προγνώσεις διὰ σημείων,[1] has conjectured that in the original form of the work called Φαινόμενα several books were interposed between the two which became so famous, so that the whole poem was of very considerable extent.[2] Aratus is also said to have written elegies, like his contemporary Philetas,[3] whom he emulated, too, as a critic and commentator on Homer, having published a recension (διόρθωσις) of the *Odyssey*.

From all this, it is clear that Aratus was a poet and grammarian of the same mark and likelihood as his contemporaries of Alexandria, and that he really belonged to the school in which he found his chief admirers and expositors. Theocritus, whose life was spent between Syracuse and Alexandria, addresses a poem to Aratus, and speaks of him as a familiar friend,[4] and could hardly have made his acquaintance unless Aratus had been to Alexandria, or had met Theocritus in Cos, in the school of Philetas, for he was not likely to have travelled to Sicily. We venture, therefore, to consider Aratus, as a corresponding member of the school of Alexandria, as an outlying appendage to that body of writers;[5] and we regard the

---

[1] This title is given to the second work in the life of Aratus (*Vita* II.).

[2] Grauert, u.s. It is the opinion of Grauert that the Ἀστρικὰ of Aratus was a poem in five parts, comprehending two parts of the *Phænomena*, the Ἀστροθεσία and the Συναναστελλόντων καὶ συνδυνόντων, or Ἀνατολή (which Hipparchus at the beginning of his commentaries calls Συνανατολαί), then the Κάνων, and after this the *Prognostica* or Διοσήμια. The *Canon* of Aratus is farther discussed in an excellent paper by Böckh, *De Arati Canone*, 1828, reprinted in the *Philological Museum*, II. pp. 101 foll. He says (p. 103): 'Aratum in *Canone* sonorum musicorum designationem et cum hâc sphærarum concentum et aliquid fortasse de motu docuisse liquet, conjiciasque illud sphærarum systema harmonicum, quod a musicis excogitatum refert Achilles Tatius, ex Arateo esse *Canone* petitum.'

[3] Judging, however, by the specimen in Macrobius (*Sat.* v. 20, 8), the style was not Philetæan:

ἀείδω Διότιμον ὃς ἐν πέτραισι κάθηται
Γαργαρέων παισὶν βῆτα καὶ ἄλφα λέγων.

[4] The sixth *Idyll* of Theocritus is addressed to Aratus, and in the seventh, of which the scene is laid in Cos, Aratus is mentioned several times, once as the ξεῖνος of the poet (v. 119, cf. vv. 97, 122), and there is good reason for the conjecture of Wüstemann (*ad Theocr.* p. 108) that Theocritus and Aratus were fellow pupils of Philetas in his native island.

[5] Athenodorus, the brother of Aratus, defended Homer against the attacks of Zoilus, and was probably a resident at Alexandria.

fact that he had no followers in Macedonia as a proof of the ungenial nature of the soil to which he was transplanted, and as an additional tribute to the zeal and good management by which the Ptolemies converted their African city into a second Athens.

§ 4. The established type of an Alexandrian man of letters, the most finished specimen of what might be effected by distinguished talents, unwearied learning, and the mere ambition to obtain the praise of contemporaries, when backed by the active patronage of a court, may be seen in CALLIMACHUS, who was the librarian of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the head of his museum, the teacher of Apollonius the poet, Eratosthenes the philosopher and historian, and Aristophanes the grammarian and critic, and himself the literary dictator and universal genius of his age. The following particulars, mainly derived from Suidas,[1] contain all that is known of his life. He was a native of Cyrene, son of Battus and Mesatme, and belonging to the founder's kin or clan of the Battiadæ. His grandfather, also called Callimachus, had been general of the Cyreneans.[2] Educated by the grammarian Hermocrates, he established himself as a schoolmaster in a suburb of Alexandria, called Eleusis, and gained such reputation by his various writings that he was appointed to the place of chief librarian, when it became vacant by the death of Zenodotus, about B.C. 260; and he filled this office for the remainder of his life. The year of his death is not known, but Aulus Gellius says that he was still flourishing at the commencement of the first Punic war,[3] and it is known that he was alive in the reign of Euergetes.[4] It is pretty clear,

[1] Καλλίμαχος, υἱὸς Βάττου καὶ Μεσάτμας [Μεγατίμας Hemsterh.], Κυρηναῖος, γραμματικός, μαθητὴς Ἑρμοκράτους τοῦ Ἰάσεως, γραμματικοῦ, γαμετὴν ἐσχηκὼς τὴν Εὐφράτου τοῦ Συρακουσιοῦ θυγατέρα, οὗτω δὲ γέγονεν ἐπιμελέστατος ὡς γράψαι μὲν ποιήματα εἰς πᾶν μέτρον, συντάξαι δὲ καὶ καταλογάδην πλεῖστα, καὶ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τὰ γεγραμμένα βιβλία ὑπὲρ τὰ ὡ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων ἦν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου. πρὶν δὲ συσταθῇ τῷ βασιλεῖ γράμματα ἐδίδαξεν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι κωμυδρίῳ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. καὶ παρέτεινε μέχρι τοῦ Εὐεργέτου κληθέντος Πτολεμαίου.

[2] Callim. *Epigr.* XXII. *Anthol. Pal.* VII. 525:

ὅστις ἐμὸν παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδα Καλλιμάχου με,
ἴσθι Κυρηναίου παῖδά τε καὶ γενετήν.
εἰδείης δ' ἄμφω κεν. ὁ μέν κοτε πατρίδος ὅπλων
ἦρξεν· ὁ δ' ἥεισεν κρέσσονα βασκανίης.

[3] *Noctes Atticæ*, XVII. 41, 21. [4] Suidas, u. s.

at any rate, that he did not die before Ol. 133, B.C. 248—245.[1] His wife was a daughter of Euphrates of Syracuse; and his sister Megatime, who married Stasenor, had a son Callimachus, who wrote an epic poem 'on the islands' (*περὶ νήσων*),[2] and is distinguished from his uncle as Callimachus the younger.

Few writers have been more prolific than Callimachus. Living in the midst of books, and engaged in incessant study, he seems to have thought himself obliged to write in verse or prose on every subject which he had read about; and he believed at last that he was not only omniscient, but enjoyed a monopoly of knowledge. Hence we find that some of his works are expressly directed against literary men of rising eminence, whom he regarded as poaching on his manor, and his own pupil, Apollonius of Rhodes, was a special object of his jealousy. It is stated by Suidas that his works were eight hundred in number. This means, of course, that every separate poem and pamphlet was counted as a distinct work; and, with the exception of the *Hecale*, which he wrote to show that he could manage to compose a lengthened poem, Callimachus used to justify, by his own practice, his saying, which has become so celebrated, that 'a great book is a great evil.'[3] It was his object, as he tells us in answer to Apollonius and the other critics, who thought nothing of a poet unless he could pour forth an ocean of words, to give little, but pure and undefiled drops from the sacred fountain.[4] And it is therefore possible

---

[1] Clinton, *F. H.* s. a. B.C. 256, extends his life to B.C. 230, but see Meikel in the *Prolegomena* to his edition of Apollonius Rhodius, Lips. 1854, pp. XI. seqq.

[2] Suidas: Καλλίμαχος Κυρηναῖος ἐποποιός, ἀδελφιδοῦς τοῦ προτέρου, υἱὸς Στασήνορος καὶ Μεγατίμας τῆς ἀδελφῆς Καλλιμάχου. And in the former article: ἀδελφῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ παῖς ἦν ὁ νέος Καλλίμαχος ὁ γράψας περὶ νήσων δι' ἐπῶν. The writer of the article *Callimachus* in Smith's *Dictionary*, calls his father *Stasenorus*, which is not a Greek word.

[3] Athen. III. p. 72 A: ὅτι Καλλίμαχος ὁ γραμματικὸς τὸ μέγα βιβλίον ἴσον, ἔλεγεν, εἶναι τῷ μεγάλῳ κακῷ.

[4] *Hymn. ad Apollinem*, 105 sqq.:

ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὔατα λάθριος εἶπεν·
'οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος ἀείδει.'
τὸν Φθόνον ὠπόλλων ποδὶ τ' ἤλασεν ὧδέ τ' ἔειπεν·
''Ασσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ
λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἕλκει.
Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι Μέλισσαι,

that he may have made up the large number of writings attributed to him in the shape of hymns, elegies, epigrams, and fugitive pieces in prose. Of all these writings, we have only a few poems; and one of these is extant merely in a Latin translation by Catullus, a man of greater poetical genius than Callimachus, but who took the Alexandrian poet as his model for taste and style. The prose writings of this great grammarian would have been very instructive from the recondite reading in which they abounded. But they are all lost; and his poetry fully justifies the accurate criticism of Ovid, that his celebrity was assured, though he was distinguished by skill, and not by genius.[1]

The extant poems of Callimachus are:—

(1.) Six hymns: five in hexameter verse, and in imitation of Homer, namely, 'To Zeus,' 'To Apollo,' 'To Artemis,' 'To Delos,' and 'To Demeter;' and one in Doric hexameters and pentameters, 'On the Bath of Pallas.' These poems are little better than mythological scholia in ingenious and musical verse. In the last, the poet describes rather pleasingly how Pallas inflicted blindness on Teiresias, who came upon her while bathing

---

ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράντος ἀνέρπει
πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς, ἀκρὸν ὕδωρ.'
χαῖρε, ἄναξ· ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἵνα φθορος, ἔνθα νέοιτο.

This passage is of some importance in regard to the literary history of Callimachus and Apollonius. It seems from v. 67:

καὶ ὤμοσε τείχεα δώσειν
ἡμετέροις βασιλεῦσίν, ἀεὶ δ' εὔορκος Ἀπόλλων—

that the hymn to Apollo was written for the feast in honour of that God instituted by Philadelphus (Vitruv. *Præf.* libr. VII.), about the time when Euergetes married Berenice, the daughter of Magas, king of Cyrene. This would fall about the time when Apollonius published the first part of his *Argonautics*, and as the poem is inscribed to Apollo, it may have been recited at the same feast. The criticism to which Callimachus here replies, in an epilogue manifestly added afterwards, was probably that of Apollonius. This is shown by the manner in which Apollonius parodies the words of Callimachus, *Argon.* III. 932 sqq.:

ἀκλείης ὅδε μάντις ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα παῖδες ἴασιν
οἶδε νόῳ φράσσασθαι.

And it is not unlikely that Apollonius wrote these words at Rhodes, where he was composing his third book, and the μείδησε δὲ Μόψος ἀκούσας (v. 938) shows that he no longer entertained any bitter animosity against his old teacher. See Merkel (*Prol. in Apollon.* pp. XII. XVIII. XIX.).

[1] *Amor.*, 15, 14:

Battiades semper toto cantabitur orbe:
Quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet.

with her chosen companion his mother Chariclo, but consoled him on her account with the gift of prophecy. This poem was translated into Latin elegiac verse by the celebrated Angelo Poliziano, who wished to be the Catullus of revived classical Latinity.

(2.) Seventy-six epigrams, which have very considerable merit, being in fact among the best of their kind. They are preserved in the *Anthologia*, sometimes, however, attributed to other writers, such as Simonides, Bacchylides, Leonidas of Tarentum, or Tymnes. The 76th is preserved in a Latin translation, and may be the production of some modern poet. The epigrams of Callimachus were commented on by Archibius soon after that poet's death, and paraphrased in iambic lines by Marianus, who flourished in the reign of Anastasius, and performed the same office for the epic poems of Callimachus and Apollonius, for the idyls of Theocritus, and for the *Phænomena* of Aratus.

(3.) Elegies, which exist only in fragments, or in imitations by the Roman poets. We have seen that Propertius constantly couples Philetas with Callimachus, as his models, and the great objects of his admiration. It is supposed that the 20th of Ovid's *Heroidum Epistolæ* is borrowed from the *Cydippe* of Callimachus. And it is known that the *Coma Berenices*,[1] which appears among the elegies of Catullus, is a close translation, sometimes word for word,[2] of a poem in which the court poet of Alexandria recognized among the stars the beautiful tresses, which Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy Euergetes, had suspended in the temple in performance of a vow, but which had been sacrilegiously abstracted. This poem, which is perhaps the most far-fetched effort of court flattery in

---

[1] Merkel has shown (*Prolegom. ad Apollonii Argonautica*, Lips. 1854, p. xii.) that the Berenice in question was the daughter of Magas, king of Cyrene, who was married to Ptolemy Euergetes, and that the *captam Asiam Ægypti finibus addiderat* of the poem refers to the conquests of the third Ptolemy in Asia Minor, when he founded the city of Berenice in Cilicia, and named it in honour of this queen.

[2] The following are some of the fragments of Callimachus, which correspond exactly to the translation of Catullus:—

Idem me ille Conon cœlesti munere vidit
E Berenices vertice cæsariem,

existence, represents the lost tresses as describing their own deification. They have the extravagance of Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, without its wit or consistency. Yet they attracted the admiration of Catullus, one of the most original of the Latin poets, and, at the revival of letters, Salviano of Florence endeavoured to reproduce the Greek original from the Latin translation.

The lost writings of Callimachus included two epic poems, the Αἴτια and the Ἑκάλη, to which we have frequent references. The former, which Marianus paraphrased, was an antiquarian poem in four books, on the causes and origin of mythologies, religious usages, and other curiosities of literature, and may be regarded as bearing the same relation to the more general disquisitions of Ephorus and Theopompus that the *Hecale* did to the *Atthis*, properly so called. This latter poem, the fragments of which have been submitted to a searching examination by an eminent modern scholar,[1] derives its name from a hospitable old woman,[2] who entertained Theseus with supper and mythology when he was on his way to encounter the Marathonian bull. The work, which his contemporary Philo-

---

Fulgentem clare: quam multis ille Deorum
Levia protendens brachia pollicita est.
ἤ με Κονων ἔβλεψεν ἐν ἠέρι τὸν Βερενίκης
βόστρυχον ὃν κείνη πᾶσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖς.
Theo *in Arat. Phæn.* 146.

Adjuro teque tuumque caput.
σήν τε κάρην ὤμοσα σόν τε βίον.
Etym. M. 450, 32.

Juppiter ut Chalybum omne genus pereat.
Ζεῦ πάτερ, ὡς Χαλύβων πᾶν ἀπόλοιτο γένος.
Schol. Ap. Rh. I. 1323.

It has been supposed that the fragment in the *Etym. M.* s.v. Ἀσσύριοι: ἡ ἀπ', (Blomfield ἦι' ἐπ'), Ἀσσυρίων ἡμεδαπὴ στρατιὴ corresponds to the lines in Catullus:

Quâ rex tempestate novo auctus hymenæo
Vastatum fines iverat Assyrios.

But the version is hardly close enough, unless we adopt the other opinion that Catullus sometimes departed from the letter of his original; see Näke, *Rhein. Mus.* 1837, p. 13.

[1] A. F. Näke in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1834, pp. 509—588; 1835, pp. 509—588; 1837, pp. 1—100.

[2] On the name of Ἑκάλη, see *New Cratylus*, § 276.

chorus wrote on the Tetrapolis of Marathon, may have furnished Callimachus with some of the materials for this versification of legends. The long episode about Visvâmitra, which Janaca tells Râma on a similar occasion, in the Sanscrit Epos, represents, in spirit at least, the aged Hecale's outpourings of Attic lore.[1] The *Galatea* and *Glaucus* were probably epic poems of a similar description. Of the tragedies, comedies, and choliambics of Callimachus we have not a trace. The *Ibis*, so called from the Egyptian bird, sacred to Thoth or Hermes, which was worshipped for its services in keeping down the plague of serpents and other dangerous reptiles,[2] would have furnished a chapter on the quarrels of authors. It was written expressly against Apollonius, the quondam pupil of Callimachus, whom his master from literary jealousy had begun to regard with the most rancorous animosity. We have an imitation of it in the attack which Ovid wrote under the same title against Hyginus or some other literary opponent.

The numerous prose works of Callimachus are lost altogether, and if they had been extant we must have reserved the consideration of them to the following chapter. It is sufficient to mention here the work, which would have been most serviceable to us, and which was most intimately connected with the general business of Callimachus as head of the great library at Alexandria. This was a sort of encyclopædia of Greek literary history, a *Catalogue Raisonné* of all the books in the Alexandrian *Bibliotheca*. It extended to 120 books or rolls of papyrus,[3] and was no doubt the result of the labours attributed

---

[1] *Râmâyana*, I. cc. 50–65.

[2] It is difficult to see why Apollonius was called by the name of this bird, or what reproach was involved in the designation. Its services as a scavenger were meritorious, and its religious connexion with Hermes was eminently respectable. There may have been some pungent irony in the appellation, just as we might call a pedantic scholar 'an owl,' from the bird of Minerva. Or it may have been intended to intimate the want of a power of judicious selection which Callimachus seems to impute to Apollonius in the words quoted above from the epilogue to the Hymn to Apollo:

τὰ πολλὰ
λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἕλκει.

[3] Suidas: πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν ἐν βιβλίοις κ' καὶ ρ'. See Bernhardy, *Grundriss der Griech. Literatur*, I. p. 134.

to Callimachus by the author of the fragmentary scholium on Plautus,—namely, that he wrote the titles of all the books in the library—for this would presume that he made himself acquainted with their contents. A similar work was his *Museum*, which probably gave an account generally of the literary establishments of Ptolemy, and of the persons connected with them.

§ 5. Next to Callimachus, as a representative of the learned poetry of Alexandria, we must place the dramatist and dramatologist, LYCOPHRON. Notwithstanding his great celebrity, we know but few particulars of his career, and, as we shall see, some of the most eminent scholars of the present century have raised the question whether his extant poem is not to be referred to a later writer of the same name. Suidas informs us that Lycophron was a native of Chalcis in Eubœa, that his father was Socles, and that he was adopted by Lycus of Rhegium,[1] an historian who flourished in the time of Alexander's immediate successors, and was an object of animosity to Demetrius the Phalerian.[2] It is to be inferred from this adoption that he spent some time among the Eubœan colonies of Magna Græcia, which would account for his familiar acquaintance with the affairs of Italy. As his adoptive father Lycus wrote among other works a history of Libya, we may easily conceive the manner in which Lycophron became connected with the court of Alexandria. To compose such a work, Lycus must have visited and perhaps established himself in Egypt, and the plot against him attributed to Demetrius would seem to imply that they were both at the court of Ptolemy, and that the banished Athenian used his influence with the king to procure the ruin of a rival author. Be that as it may, we know, on the authority of the Scholium on Plautus, which has been already cited,[3] that Lycophron was

[1] Suidas: Λυκόφρων Χαλκιδεὺς ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας, υἱὸς Σωκλέους, θέσει δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Ῥηγίνου, γραμματικὸς καὶ ποιητὴς τραγῳδιῶν. Tzetzes, *Chil.* VIII. 481, says that he was really the son of Lycus.

[2] Suidas: Λύκος ὁ καὶ Βουθήρας, Ῥηγῖνος, ἱστορικός, πατὴρ Λυκόφρονος τοῦ τραγικοῦ, ἐπὶ τῶν διαδόχων γεγονὼς καὶ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως. οὗτος ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν Λιβύης καὶ περὶ Σικελίας.

[3] *Scholion Plautinum* apud Ritschl, *Alex. Bibl.* p. 3: 'Alexander Ætolus et Lycophron Chalcidensis et Zenodotus Ephesius, impulsu regis Ptolemæi, Philadelphi cognomento, qui mirum in modum favebat ingeniis et famæ doctorum

one of the learned men employed by Ptolemy Philadelphus to form a collection and arrangement of the Greek poets; and while Alexander the Ætolian undertook the tragedies, and Zenodotus the poems of Homer and other illustrious poets, the comedies were assigned to Lycophron. As a result of these labours in the library, we are informed that he composed a very valuable work on Greek comedy,[1] abounding as it seems in anecdotes respecting the authors, which, to judge by a specimen in Athenæus,[2] must have been lively and entertaining. But although Lycophron wrote on comedy, his own poetical compositions were chiefly tragic dramas. Suidas gives us a list of twenty of these plays,[3] and Tzetzes attributes to him forty-six or sixty-four tragedies. The fragment of his *Pelopidæ* quoted by Stobæus is a simple statement of the common thought that death, though prayed for by the unfortunate, is never welcomed when it really comes.[4] He also wrote a satyrical drama called *Menedemus*, in which he makes his eminent countryman, the head of the school of Eretria, appear in the character of a temperate Silenus, teaching the doctrines of total abstinence to a chorus of Satyrs.[5] The caricature must have been received by the philosopher as good-natured and friendly criticism, for we are told that he was very fond of Lycophron.[6] By these compositions, Lycophron obtained a place in the pleiad of Alexandrian tragedians, and his name

---

hominum, Græcæ artis poeticos libros in unum collegerunt et in ordinem redegerunt; Alexander tragœdias, Lycophron comœdias, Zenodotus vero Homeri poemata et reliquorum illustrium poetarum.'

[1] See Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com. Gr.* p. 100.

[2] XIII. p. 555.

[3] They are the *Æolus, Andromeda, Aletes, Æolides, Elephenor, Hercules, Supplices, Hippolytus, Cassandreis, Laius, Marathonii, Nauplius, Œdipus* I. II., *Orbus, Pentheus, Pelopidæ, Socii, Telegonus, Chrysippus.*

[4] Stob. *Flor.* 119, 13:

ἀλλ' ἡνίκ' ἂν μὲν ᾖ πρόσω τὸ καθανεῖν
ᾄδης ποθεῖται τοῖς δεδυστυχηκόσιν.
ὅταν δ' ἐφέρπῃ κῦμα λοίσθιον βίου
τὸ ζῆν ποθοῦμεν· οὐ γάρ ἐστ' αὐτοῦ κόρος.

[5] See Athen. X. p. 420.

[6] Diog. Laërt. II. p. 177 C: ἠσπάζετο δὲ καὶ Ἄρατον καὶ Λυκόφρονα τὸν τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητήν.

appears in all the lists along with Homerus and Philiscus.[1] His ingenuity was shown by the composition of anagrams, two of them being the conversion of Πτολεμαῖος into ἀπὸ μέλιτος, and of Ἀρσινόη into ἴον Ἥρας,[2] complimentary transpositions which were highly appreciated by the courtiers. All the works of Lycophron are lost with the exception of the oracular poem called *Alexandra* or *Cassandra*,[3] in 1474 regular tragic trimeters, which has obtained for its author and itself the name of 'the dark or obscure' (Λυκόφρων ὁ σκοτεινός, τὸ σκοτεινὸν ποίημα).[4] The dates of the birth and death of Lycophron are equally unknown. Ovid, in the *Ibis*, which he wrote in imitation of Callimachus, intimates that Lycophron was assassinated by being shot through the heart with an arrow,[5] but why or by whom we are not told.

There is no poem of the Alexandrian school which has been more honoured by the attention of ancient and modern scholars that the *Alexandra* of Lycophron. The great number of the manuscripts shows that it has always been in demand, and it may have been adopted at one period as a text-book of mythology and geography.[6] An epigram intimates that it was

---

[1] The following are the four different versions of the Pleiad:

Suidas.	*Schol.* I.	*Schol.* II.	*Tzetzes.*
Homerus	Homerus	Homerus	(Theocritus)
Sositheus	Sositheus	Sositheus	(Aratus)
Lycophron	Lycophron	Lycophron	(Nicander)
Alexander	Alexander	Alexander	Æantides
Philiscus	Philiscus	Æantides	Philiscus
Sosiphanes	Dionysides	Sosiphanes	Homerus
. . . .	Æantides	Philiscus	Lycophron

See Clinton, *F. H.* III. p. 502.

[2] See the note in the appendix to *Dehèque's* edition and translation of the *Alexandra*, Paris, 1853 (pp. 68, 69).

[3] Ἀλεξάνδρα is the only name known to the ancients, *Cassandra* being a modern corruption.

[4] Suidas. Hence Statius says (*Silv.* III. 5, 156):

Tu pandere doctus
Carmina Battiadæ tenebrasque Lycophronis atri.

[5] *Ibis*, 531:

Utque cothurnatum cecidisse Lycophrona narrant,
Hæreat in fibris fixa sagitta tuis.

[6] Boissonade, *Biogr. Universelle* s. n. LYCOPHRON. Canter says (in *Lycophr. Prolegom.* p. VI.): 'affirmare ausim, quicunque hoc poema, licet parvum, diligenter

caviar to the multitude.[1] And besides the scholia of Duris, Theon, and Orus, it has been voluminously commented on by John Tzetzes. Since the revival of letters, it has been frequently re-edited, and in England it was published in Greek at the beginning of the eighteenth century by one of our most learned archbishops,[2] and was translated into harmonious English verse, about fifty years ago, by an accomplished young nobleman.[3] Notwithstanding this celebrity, the identity of the author is still a matter of doubt. For while Aristotle attributes to a rhetorical sophist of his own time, who bore the same name, a love of compound and glossematic words exactly like those which we find in Lycophron the poet,[4] Lord Royston,[5] our great orator C. J. Fox,[6] and the historian Niebuhr,[7] have argued, from certain allusions to Rome and Macedon in the *Alexandra* itself, that it could not have been written in the reign of Philadelphus, but must have proceeded from some author who wrote after the downfal of Perseus at the latter end of Ol. 152, B.C. 169. To these objections another eminent scholar, F. G. Welcker of Bonn, has replied by the suggestion,

---

perlegerint, eos et historiarum et poeticarum fabularum partem non exiguam probe perfecteque esse cognituros.'

[1] *Anthol. Pal.* IX. 191 :· *εἰς τὴν βίβλον Λυκόφρονος—*

εἰ δέ σε φίλατο Καλλίοπη λάβε μ' ἐς χέρας· εἰ δὲ
νῆϊς ἔφυς Μουσέων, χερσὶ βάρος φορέεις.

[2] *Curâ et Operâ Joannis Potteri*, Oxonii, 1697 and 1702.

[3] 'Cassandra, translated from the original Greek of Lycophron, and illustrated with notes, by Viscount Royston, Cambridge, 1806.' The translator perished in the Maelstroom a year or two after the publication of this version, which does the greatest credit to his learning and poetical talents. There are few translations of Greek poets into English which exhibit a greater command of language, or a more sustained power of versification. We have a copy including some of the proof sheets, which show with what carefulness the author revised his work.

[4] *Rhet.* III. 3, 1—3.

[5] In the *Classical Journal*, vol. XIII. No. 25, XIV. No. 27, and in the preface to his translation.

[6] *Correspondence of Wakefield and Fox*, published in 1813. Fox states the objection first in a letter dated 12th March, 1800 (p. 129), and gives his conclusion the 26th Jan., 1801 (p. 171).

[7] *Rheinisches Museum*, 1827, pp. 108—117.

that the passages in question are probably interpolations. 'If,' he says,[1] 'interpolations may be expected anywhere, a long oracular poem is the most probable place for them; and if any subject could lead to the continuation of such prophecies, surely the morning-dawn of the empire of the world would be most likely to do so.' Without entering at length into the controversy, we may be permitted to say that certain inflexions and forms of words in the *Alexandra*[2] indicate rather a Hellenist of the later Alexandrian school, who wrote according to new-fangled analogies, than a Greek fresh from the Eubœan colonies of Italy, and from the study of the best Attic comedians. On the other hand, there is nothing to have prevented an attentive observer, who had been in the south of Italy in the interval between the invasion of Pyrrhus and the first Punic war, from drawing a formidable picture of the increasing power of Rome. If then the original edition of the *Alexandra*, which is universally attributed to Lycophron of Chalcis, contained any references to the prowess of the Romans, whom Leonidas of Tarentum had called 'invincible' in B.C. 279,[3] the later editors of the work, whose hands are indicated by the grammatical peculiarities to which we have referred, would feel an irresistible temptation to add some prophecies after the event to the ominous presages of the contemporary of Philadelphus. That the prophecies referring to the glory of Rome,[4] and the downfal of Macedon,[5] are such additions, is shown by the fact that the former is inserted after the account of

---

[1] *Die Griech. Trag.* pp. 1259—1263.

[2] Such as ἐσχάζοσαν for ἔσχαζον (v. 21), πέφρικαν for πεφρίκασιν (v. 252), &c., which belong to the language of the Septuagint: see Sturz, *de Dialect. Maced. et Alexandrinâ*, p. 58.

[3] In the inscription on the spoils taken in the battles of Heraclea and Asculum, B.C. 280, 279, which is preserved in Latin Saturnians. See Niebuhr, *H. R.* III. note 841, and *Varronianus*, p. 228, ed. 2, where an attempt is made to reproduce the original.

[4] vv. 1226—1280. The reference to the δίπτυχοι τόκοι Μυσῶν ἄνακτος, Τάρχων τε καὶ Τυρσηνος (1245—1248), indicates a considerable knowledge of the ethnography of Italy, and is quite in accordance with the present writer's theory as to the distinct origin of the Etruscans and Tyrsenians: see *Varronianus*, p. 71, and elsewhere.

[5] vv. 1446—1450.

the disasters of Idomeneus and his family, and before the lines :—[1]

> Such woes, so hard to bear, shall they endure
> Who soon will devastate my native land.

And the definite reference to the overthrow of Perseus as sixth in descent from Alexander[2] is the close of the poem, where such an addition would naturally be appended.

With regard to the poetical merits of this extraordinary production, the most diverse opinions have been expressed. The German critics will not allow it to be called a poem. One of them[3] terms it 'a grammatical monster, in which a store-house of nomenclature, consisting in mythical and geographical names of rare occurrence, in glossematical words from Æschylus and other poets, and in bombastic compounds, is employed, without any gain to mythology,' and tells us that it has no spirit, and cannot be read with any pleasure; and Niebuhr thinks that the word 'poem' would be misapplied in speaking of the *Alexandra*.[4] On the other hand, a great English orator is soothed by its melancholy strain, and an eminent scholar reads it again and again with increasing gratification;[5] and we have an English version of it, which, if it is obscure and

---

[1] v. 1281 :

> τοσαῦτα μὲν δύστλητα πείσονται κακά
> οἱ τὴν ἐμὴν μέλλοντες αἰστώσειν πάτραν.

[2] See Lord Royston's *Preface*, p. X., where the six generations are counted from Alexander the Great, in the persons of the five lineal descendants of Antigonus, namely, Demetrius, Antigonus Gonatas, Demetrius II., Philip V., Perseus. Dehèque counts 207 years from the expedition of Xerxes, B.C. 480, to the treaty between the Romans and Ptolemy Philadelphus, in B.C. 273, to which he thinks the six generations refer.

[3] Bernhardy, *Grundriss d. Gr. Lit.* II. p. 1027.

[4] *Rhein. Mus.* 1827, p. 112. Schlegel calls the *Alexandra*, 'einen endlosen, weissagenden mit dunkler Mythologie überladenen Monolog,' and Wachler terms it, 'ein verkünstelt-dunkles prophetisch-episches Monodrama.'

[5] Gilbert Wakefield says, in a letter to Charles James Fox (u.s. p. 120): 'Lycophron by all means read—a spirit of melancholy breathes through his poem, which makes him, with his multitude of events, as delightful to me as any of the ancients. I have read him very often, and always with additional gratification. His poem is delivered in the form of a *prophecy*, and therefore affects an enigmatical obscurity by enveloping the sentiment in imagery, mythological allusions, and a most learned and elaborate phraseology. You cannot fail, I think, after the first difficulties are surmounted, to like him very much.' Fox replies (p. 128): 'I have lately read Lycophron, and am much obliged to you for

enigmatical like the original Greek, is at least conceived in the highest elevation of poetical language. We are not able to compare the poem with the Αἴτια of Callimachus and other versifications of mythology, but it appears to us that for the kind of thing which it pretends to be, and for the special taste which it was intended to gratify, it is neither an unskilful nor an unpleasing composition. The oracular obscurity was of course intentional; and it afforded, no doubt, considerable amusement to the ingenious scholars of Alexandria to interpret familiar allusions clothed in enigmatic phraseology. The poem begins with a few lines addressed to Priam by the guard whom he had set over Cassandra, in which there is an apology for the length of the predictions. And then we have in Cassandra's own words the prophecy which she uttered when Paris was setting sail for Greece. This prophecy begins with a reference to the exploits of Hercules, whose Phœnician mythology was not unknown to the poet. It passes on to the history of the Trojan war and its immediate results in the wanderings and other misfortunes of the Greek leaders. It then reverts to the old legends of enmity between Asia and Europe, of which the Trojan war was a special development, and the counter-invasions of Xerxes and Alexander the final consummation. After all this, Cassandra checks herself abruptly with the reflexion that no one will believe her presages. And the poem concludes with a prayer from the guard on behalf of his master's house:—

> But oh! may all these woes be turned to joy!
> Still may the God who watches o'er thy house
> Spread round thy bosom his protecting shield,
> And guard with arms divine the Phrygian throne!

On the whole, we are inclined to think that Lycophron has left us a favourable specimen of the versified and diversified learning, which delighted the courtiers of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

§ 6. The Alexandrian poets, whom we have hitherto discussed—Philetas of Cos, Callimachus of Cyrene, and Lycophron of Chalcis—were foreigners attracted to Alexandria by the

recommending me to do so; besides there being some very charming poetry in him, the variety of stories is very entertaining.' And in another letter he says (p. 137): 'to my mind nothing was ever more soothing, in the melancholy strain, than many passages in Lycophron.'

literary fame of the city and the prospect of royal patronage. We now pass on to one who was a native Alexandrian, educated in the Museum, and brought up in the philosophic court circle of Philadelphus, but compelled by the jealousy and ill-will of Callimachus to leave his native place, and not welcomed back again until he had achieved a reputation in the distant island which has given him his usual epithet. APOLLONIUS, generally known as 'the Rhodian,' was the son of Silleus or Illeus of Alexandria, where he was born some time in Ol. 126, 127, B.C. 276—269, being a contemporary of Eratosthenes, whom he ultimately succeeded in the librarianship. Athenæus calls him 'the Rhodian or Naucratite,'[1] and is followed by Ælian.[2] The former collector may have had no other reason for connecting Apollonius with his own city Naucratis than the fact that the poet wrote a book on the foundation of that place, from which Athenæus is quoting in the particular passage. This would be an equally good reason for assigning him to Canus or Canopus, for he wrote on the origin of those cities also. It is expressly stated that Apollonius was not only an Alexandrian,[3] but belonged to the tribe called Ptolemais in that city.[4] He was a scholar of Callimachus; but it appears that some early misunderstanding between the teacher and his pupil soon developed itself into a deadly quarrel between them. The particulars are not known to us, and we are left to the conclusion, which is supported by incidental statements, that the younger poet either rejected the dictation of the veteran critic, or excited his jealousy by attempting a more ambitious style of poetry, or entered into direct rivalry with him by reciting his *Argonautica* at a feast of Apollo, for which Callimachus had prepared his own hymn to that god.[5] There are many examples in the history of literature of this opposition between the head of a school and some prominent disciple; and we have seen in the case of Aristotle that there is a tendency to impute this feeling of conscious rivalry even when it does not exist—a proof, at least, that the antagonism is not considered unnatural.

---

[1] Athen. VII. 283 D: Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἢ Ναυκρατίτης ἐν Ναυκράτεως κτίσει.

[2] *Hist. Anim.* XV. 3.

[3] Strabo XIV. p. 655.

[4] Suidas.

[5] Above, p. 431 [271] note.

As far as we can judge from the few circumstances known to us, the quarrel between Callimachus and Apollonius originated in some discrepancy of opinion with regard to the subjects and mode of treatment best suited for epic poetry. The chief effort of Callimachus in this field was his poem called Αἴτια; and an epigram attributed to Apollonius is still extant, in which a most abusive reference is made to this work of the older poet.[1] On the other hand, Apollonius had selected for his subject one which admitted of a more purely Homeric treatment, and in which the book-learning of the Alexandrian school would become subservient to the elaboration of a well-known and interesting story. The antagonistic principles of the younger poet were perhaps exhibited in the familiar discussions of the Museum with little deference to the veteran librarian who guided the taste of the court and of the city. And when Apollonius published his poem in the usual way, namely, by a public recitation of it, and in this particular instance, at a feast of Apollo,[2] it was probably by the influence of Callimachus that it was condemned and rejected. The young poet was so mortified by this failure, and his literary prospects so blighted by the ill-will and opposition of the head of the Alexandrian school and his partizans, that he left his native city and established himself as a teacher of rhetoric in the island of Rhodes, which was in some sort a rival to Alexandria as a seat of learning. Here his genius and attainments were adequately appreciated, and he became the most renowned man of letters in his adopted country. The Rhodians honoured him with the full franchise and some other distinctions

---

[1] *Anthol. Pal.* XI. 275: Ἀπολλωνίου γραμματικοῦ—

Καλλίμαχος τὸ κάθαρμα, τὸ παίγνιον, ὁ ξύλινος νοῦς,
αἴτιος, ὁ γράψας Αἴτια Καλλιμάχου.

Merkel supposes very ingeniously (*Prolcg. ad Apollon.* p. XXI.), that Apollonius here uses the word κάθαρμα, in the sense of 'mythological rubbish' (Niebuhr, *H. R.* II. p. 19), and with a playful reference to the word κάταργμα, which, as he conjectures, may have been used in the Αἴτια, as the ἄκρος ἄωτος of the Hymn to Apollo, v. 112, cf. *Etym. M.* p. 53, l. 53. The fourth book of the Αἴτια treated of rites and usages; among these may have been the ἐπικρήνια (ἑορτὴ Δήμητρος παρὰ Λάκωσιν, Hesych.), to his treatment of which Callimachus perhaps alludes in the epilogue to Hymn to Apollo, 110:

Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι.

[2] Above, p. 431 [271] note.

—perhaps a seat in their senate—and he took from thenceforth the name of Rhodian. It is expressly stated that he revised and considerably improved the epic poem, which was so ill received at Alexandria, but there is no doubt that in plan and conception it was substantially the same, and it still retains the dedication to Apollo, which was probably due to the recitation of the poem at the feast of Apollo, instituted by Philadelphus, when Apollonius and Callimachus were brought into rivalry with one another.[1] From his independent position in the island of Rhodes he was enabled to make Callimachus feel the effects of his vindictive criticism. The old poet retorted by an obscure and scurrilous poem, in which he assailed Apollonius as an *Ibis* or devourer of reptiles and vermin,[2] and showed by more than one incidental allusion how he smarted under the blows of his rival, and feared the posthumous consequences of his detraction. The established reputation, which Apollonius gained by his epic poem, led to his recall or voluntary return to Alexandria. This was certainly after the death of Callimachus, perhaps not till the reign of Epiphanes, when the librarianship again became vacant by the decease of Eratosthenes, whom Apollonius was appointed to succeed in B.C. 194. How long he held this office, and when he died, we are not informed. He was most probably librarian at the time of his death, about Ol. 147, 4. B.C. 193—189; and, according to one account, was buried in the same tomb as Callimachus.

Apollonius wrote grammatical works 'on Archilochus,'[3] and 'against Zenodotus,'[4] and a number of poems relating to the foundations (κτίσεις) of various cities. That 'on Canopus' seems to have been composed in choliambic verse.[5] Of his epigrams we have only the one on Callimachus, which has been

---

[1] See above, p. 431 [271], note.

[2] On the title of this poem Merkel remarks (*Prolegom. in Apollon.* p. XXI.): 'scriptam olim conjiciebam, quo tempore Apollonius Rhodii cognomen adsumpsisset, quod biographus testatur, p. 532, 27: ut Callimachus patriam minus illustrem Naucratin ei objecerit.' As we have already mentioned, the reference to Naucratis as the birthplace of Apollonius is probably due to the wish on the part of Athenæus to claim the poet for his own native place, and the *Ibis* would not refer him to Naucratis rather than any other Egyptian town.

[3] Athen. X. p. 451, D.

[4] Schol. *Il.* ν, 657.

[5] See Steph. Byz. s.vv. χώρα, Κόρινθος.

already cited. His reputation depends on his epic poem 'on the Argonautic expedition' (Ἀργοναυτικά) in four books, of which the fourth is the longest, and containing altogether 5835 lines. This poem has come down to us complete,—indeed, with traces of its two distinct recensions by the author,[1]—and illustrated by elaborate scholia of a very early date, which are a repertorium of information on many points of antiquarian interest. Apollonius could hardly have chosen a better subject for a poem, which was to combine the properties of the old epos with an opportunity for displaying the erudition of an Alexandrian scholar. The fourth Pythian ode of Pindar had developed some of the epic qualities of the Argonautic legend, and had connected it with the establishment of a Greek colony at Cyrene. And it was perhaps on this account, among others, that Callimachus resented the choice of such a subject by his scholar, when he had himself neglected or declined to commemorate the legendary glories of his own family. Besides having a good love-story, and a plentiful supply of supernatural incidents, the expedition of the Argonauts enabled a learned poet to introduce any amount of geographical or mythological episodes. The heroes themselves belonged to a period immediately preceding the Trojan war, in which their sons took a prominent part, and had appeared in the old epic, lyric, and dramatic poems of the classical period. And their popularity at Alexandria is indicated by the use which Theocritus has made of some of their adventures. The subject, then, in spite of Callimachus, could not fail to be attractive; and it cannot be denied, that Apollonius has treated it with considerable skill, and, all things considered, with wonderful freedom from affectation.[2] The language is the conventional epic style founded on a careful study of Homer, whose words are not always used

[1] This subject has been fully discussed by Gerhard, *Lectiones Apollonianæ*, Lip. 1816: See also Bernhardy, *Grundriss*, II. pp. 235 sqq.

[2] Our great orator, Charles James Fox, had a high opinion of Apollonius. When he had only read a portion of the *Argonautica*, he wrote to Wakefield (u. s. p. 109): 'from what I have read, he seems to be held far too low by Quintilian [X. 1, § 54], nor can I think the *æqualis mediocritas* to be his character.' What he had read appeared to him 'as fine poetry as can be.' And when he had studied the whole poem, and compared it with the imitations by Virgil and Ovid (p. 194), he was still able to say (p. 211): 'there are some parts of Apollonius, such as Lib.

in their original signification, as it has been established by the researches of modern philologers. The effect is much the same as if an English poet of the nineteenth century were to undertake a poem in the style of Chaucer, or, to adduce an actual case, it was the same as if Chatterton had published his forgeries in his own name instead of assuming that of the old monk Rowley. Apollonius has the usual fault of imitative poets—a liability to artificial exaggeration, instead of that natural wonder which belongs to an earlier form of civilization.[1] For example, no ancient Epopœist would have said of Jason's cloak that the eye could easier gaze on the noontide sun than on its brilliant scarlet.[2] Such an exaggeration would have been reserved by Homer for the blaze of golden armour wrought by Vulcan.[3] There is great inequality in the delineation of character. The impersonation of Jason, who is the hero of the piece, is very indistinct; but the love of Medea is painted in very vivid colours, and nothing can be prettier or more natural than the embarrassment of the maiden, when she is left alone with her lover in the temple of Hecate;[4] and there is exquisite tenderness in the passage where she tells Jason how she shall think of him when he is far away, and how she will know, by some instinct or omen, whether he remembers his deliverer.[5] There is also a good rough trait of Hercules, when the heroes look to him as their leader, and he tells them that the man who mustered the crew ought to be captain;[6] and the sulkiness

---

III. from 453 to 463, and from 807 to 816, that appear to me unrivalled.' Longinus calls him ἄπτωτος (*De Subl.* XXXIII. 4).

[1] We find special examples of this in the florid rhetoric of Lucan. What Homeric hero would have been made to act like the historical Scæva? (*Pharsal.* VI. 217.)

[2] *Argon.* I. 725, 6:

τῆς μὲν ῥηΐτερόν κεν ἐς ἠέλιον ἀνιόντα
ὄσσε βάλοις ἢ κεῖνο μεταβλέψειας ἔρευθος.

[3] *Iliad* XVI. 70, XVIII. 610.

[4] *Argonaut.* III. 962—965, 1008 sqq.

[5] *Ibid.* 1109 sqq.:

ἀλλ' οἷον τυνὴ μὲν ἐμεῦ, ὅτ' Ἰωλκὸν ἵκηαι,
μνώεο, σεῖο δ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἐμῶν ἀέκητι τοκήων
μνήσομαι· ἔλθοι δ ἡμῖν ἀπόπροθεν ἠέ τις ὄσσα,
ἠέ τις ἄγγελος ὄρνις ὅτ' ἐκλελάθοιο ἐμεῖο.

[6] I. 343:

ὁ δ' αὐτόθεν, ἔνθα περ ἦστο
δεξιτέρην ἀνὰ χεῖρα τανύσσατο φώνησέν τε·

of Idas is well described.[1] The poem is full of epigrammatic prettinesses and neatly turned commonplaces; as when he expresses the trite sentiment that mortal joy is ever mixed with anxiety,[2] or when he paints, in a few touches, the stillness of night.[3] He sometimes rises to a higher strain, as when he makes Medea meditate on suicide[4] and combat the thought with reflections on the sweets of life,[5] in a strain not altogether unworthy of a great dramatist. On the whole, we are not disposed to underrate this effort of the Alexandrian school, and we think that it deserves more attention than has been paid to it by classical students in this country. The value which was set upon the work by the ancients is shown by the antiquity of the scholia, which are derived from nearly contemporary commentaries by Lucillus of Tarra, Sophocles, and Theon,[6] and by the attempts to translate or imitate the poem which were made by the learned Romans P. Terentius Varro Atacinus, and Valerius Flaccus. At a later period Marianus paraphrased the poem in iambic trimeters.

EUPHORION of Chalcis and RHIANUS of Crete, who obtained considerable reputation as epic poets, and represented the principles and taste of the Alexandrian school, though the former does not appear to have visited the city of the Ptolemies, have not left any adequate specimens of their writings. We have two specimens of didactic versification from the pen of NICANDER of Colophon, who lived in the reigns of Ptolemy Epiphanes and the last Attalus (B.C. 185, 135).

Rhianus and Euphorion flourished in the latter part of the third century B.C., and were, therefore, contemporaries of Era-

---

'μή τις ἐμοὶ τόδε κῦδος ὀπάζετω· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε
πείσομαι, ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον ἀναστήσεσθαι ἐρύξω.
αὐτός, ὅτις συγάγειρε, καὶ ἀρχεύοι ὁμάδοιο.'

[1] I. 462 sqq., III. 556 sqq.

[2] IV. 1165 sqq.:

ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔποτε φῦλα δυηπαθέων ἀνθρώπων
τερπωλῆς ἐπέβημεν ὅλῳ ποδί· σὺν δέ τις αἰεὶ
πικρὴ παρμέμβλωκεν ἐϋφροσύνῃσιν ἀνίη.

[3] III. 746—750.

[4] *Ibid.* III. 771 sqq.

[5] *Ibid.* III. 811 sqq.

[6] *Vit. Apollon.*: παράκειται τὰ σχόλια ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Λουκίλλου Ταρραίου καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Θέωνος. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 397. Steph. Byz. s. vv. Ἄβαρνος, Κάναστρον.

tosthenes. The former was an epic poet[1] of the same kind as Panyasis, whom he probably imitated in his *Heracleia*, a poem of mythological incidents in fourteen books. His *Achaica* in four books, his *Eliaca* in three books at least, his *Thessalica* in sixteen books, and his *Messeniaca* in about six books, were historical romances in verse, and the latter especially kept so close to the facts that Pausanias appeals to it as an authority.[2] Rhianus has left eleven epigrams of an erotic character which are extremely elegant and vivacious. He was also a commentator on Homer. Euphorion was born in 274 B.C., and, after spending the best part of his life at Athens, where he became very opulent, entered the service of Antiochus the Great as librarian, and died at Apamea in Syria, or, according to some writers, at Antioch.[3] We have some twenty titles of works written by him,[4] including mythological epics, satirical or controversial poems like the *Ibis* of Callimachus,[5] and elegiac poems of an amatory kind, which were imitated in Latin by Propertius and Tibullus, and in Greek by the Emperor Tiberius,[6] and at a later period by Nonnus, and were very popular at Rome in Cicero's time.[7] Like his countryman Lycophron, Euphorion was considered eminently obscure,[8] and encumbered by the

---

[1] Athenæus calls him Ῥιανὸς ὁ ἐποποιός (XI. p. 499 D).

[2] IV. 1, § 6, 6, § 2, 15, § 2, esp. 17, § 11: δηλοῖ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ Ῥιανοῦ πεποιημένα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους—

οὔρεος ἀργεννοῖο περὶ πτύχας ἑστρατόωντο
χείματά τε πολιάς τε δύω καὶ εἴκοσι πάσας—

χειμῶνας γὰρ καὶ θέρη κατέλεξε, πολιὰς εἰπὼν τὸν χλωρὸν σῖτον καὶ ὀλίγον πρὸ ἀμητοῦ.

[3] Suidas, s. v.

[4] There is a full account of Euphorion's writings in Meineke, *De Euphorionis Vitâ et Scriptis*, Gedani, 1823.

[5] Of this class the most important were his ἀραί, ἡ ποτηριοκλέπτης, which suggested the *Diræ* of Cato and Virgil, his χιλιάδες, which probably supplied the name of the well-known collection of John Tzetzes, and the ἀντιγραφαὶ πρὸς Θεωρίδαν (or Θεοδωρίδαν), which is supposed to have been part of a grammatical controversy in verse.

[6] Suetonius says (*Tiber.* 70): 'fecit et Græca poemata imitatus et Euphorionem et Rhianum et Parthenium, quibus poetis admodum delectatus, scripta eorum et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter veteres et præcipuos auctores dedicavit.'

[7] Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* III. 19, § 45; of Ennius: 'o poetam egregium, quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur.'

[8] Id. *De Divin.* II. 64, § 132: 'poeta nimis obscurus. At non Homerus. Uter igitur melior?'

excessive ventilation of his learning. In the epigram, which we have already quoted from Crates of Mallus,[1] Euphorion is described as an imitator of Chœrilus, and, if the reading suggested is correct, of Philetas also. His prose works were chiefly on antiquarian and grammatical subjects.

Nicander was a medical man and naturalist, and his poems have no value except as contributions to the history of these branches of science.[2] Besides a number of works in prose and verse, which are known to us only by their titles and some fragments, he wrote two poems which are still extant, one in 630 lines on the remedies for poisons (Ἀλεξιφάρμακα), and one on the bites of venomous beasts (Θηριακά) in 958 lines.

§ 7. Of all the writers of the Alexandrian school, the bucolic poets have enjoyed the most universal and permanent popularity. The first beginnings of pastoral poetry among the Greeks are to be sought in the primitive life of the shepherds and husbandmen, especially in those countries which fell under the dominion of the Dorian tribes; and it assumed a definite form in Laconia, where it was connected with the worship of the Doric Artemis, and in Sicily, where this goddess was honoured by special festivals at Tyndaris and Syracuse.[3] Epicharmus had mentioned the bucolic strains of the Sicilian shepherds,[4] and Stesichorus had given a lyric form to this species of poetry.[5] But this was rather an application or accommodation of the thing than its genuine or natural condition. Bucolic poetry, as it exhibits itself in Greek literature, cannot be reduced strictly under any one of the three heads of epic, lyric, or dramatic poetry. It appeared originally as a set of alternating strains sung in rivalry by the shepherds, who were candidates for the rustic prize, and these amœbean poems (ἀμοιβαῖαι ἀοιδαί), as they were called, are not only reproduced

---

[1] Above, p. 425 [265].

[2] Plutarch says of Nicander, Empedocles, and Parmenides, that the verse is but a vehicle for the prose of their thoughts (*De audiendis Poetis*, p. 61, Wytt.).

[3] See Müller, *Dorians*, IV. 6, § 10. Bernhardy, *Grundriss*, II. p. 925.

[4] Athen. XIV., p. 619 B: Δίομος δ' ἦν ὁ βούκολος Σικελιώτης ὁ πρῶτος εὑρὼν τὸ εἶδος· μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἀλκυόνι καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ ναναγῷ.

[5] Ælian, *V. H.* X. 18. Stesichorus wrote a pastoral poem called Δάφνις; Theocritus, VII. 72; see above, ch. XIV. § 6, p. 202.

among the most polished compositions of this class, but were, till lately, extant in some parts of Southern Italy and Sicily.[1] As we have it in the writers whom we are about to examine, the bucolic poem is generally epic in metre, Doric in dialect, dramatic in form, and elegiac or erotic in character. Thus it combined the characteristic refinements of the artificial poetry of Alexandria with subjects and a mode of treatment borrowed from the fresh green pastures and wooded mountains of Sicily; and we can readily imagine what a charm this must have had for the courtiers and citizens of Alexandria, hemmed in as they were between two seas, and having no access to rural scenery. 'One can well conceive,' says an able English writer,[2] 'the delight which' this bucolic poetry 'must have given to those dusty Alexandrians, pent up for ever between sea and sandhills, drinking the tank-water, and never hearing the sound of a running stream, whirling, too, for ever in all the bustle and intrigue of a great commercial and literary city. Refreshing, indeed, it must have been to them, to hear of those simple joys and simple sorrows of the Sicilian shepherd, in a land where toil was but exercise, and mere existence was enjoyment.' To this we must add, that the bucolic poetry of the Alexandrians was dressed out in the court colours; and though the shepherds and shepherdesses did not appear in the drawing-room attire of the ladies and gentlemen of Watteau's pictures, their language and sentiments are those which breathe in the refined elegiacs of Philetas or Asclepiades, and in the love scenes of Apollonius; and the Doric is just broad enough to give a zest to the elegancies of the metre and diction. These pastoral poems were called by a name significant of their pictorial and descriptive character—*Idyls* (εἴδη, εἰδύλλια),[3] *i.e.*, little pictures of common life, a name for which the later writers have sometimes substituted the term *Eclogues* (ἐκλογαί), *i.e.*, 'selections,' a name applicable to any short poem, whether complete and

---

[1] Swinburn's *Travels in Sicily*, I. p. 480. Riedesel's *Reise nach Sicilien und Grossgriechenl.*, p. 175, quoted by Pauly, I. p. 1188.

[2] Kingsley, *Alexandria and her Schools*, p. 46.

[3] Εἰδύλλιον is a diminutive of εἶδος, which might signify a poem like the odes of Pindar: εἰδύλλιον λέγεται ὅτι εἶδός ἐστιν, ὁποῖόν ἐστι λόγος· ὑποκοριστικῶς δὲ εἴρηται εἰδύλλιον, *Prolegom. in Theocr.*

original, or appearing as an elegant extract.[1] The *Idyl*, or 'picture poem,' is a refinement of the old mimes of Sophron, being both descriptive and dramatic, and appearing as a little drama in a framework of narrative. Now and then we have a bright burst of merry humour;[2] here and there we listen to the melancholy strains of a dirge or a lover's elegy;[3] but the general effect is warm and sunny, or fresh with the cool breezes which play at eventide among the rustling leaves. Such is the poetry which made Theocritus a favourite both with Hiero and Ptolemy; which Virgil imitated in his choicest hexameters under Augustus; and which we still read with undiminished enjoyment.

THEOCRITUS, who gives his name to the most important of the extant bucolic poems, is said by Suidas to have been the son of Praxagoras and Philinna of Syracuse,[4] and this is confirmed by an epigram attributed to him, and by Moschus.[5] According to another account, he was a native of Cos, and only a resident at Syracuse, and his father's name was not Praxagoras, but Simichidas or Simichus. This statement has perhaps no better foundation than an inference from the apparent fact that Theocritus resided in Cos as a pupil of Philetas, and from the language of the seventh idyl, which is narrated in the person of one Simichidas of Cos. It is not at all improbable that Theocritus may have called himself by the pastoral name Simichus or Simichidas with reference to the σιμότης of the goat,[6] just as Virgil represents himself as a

---

[1] The term ἐκλογὴ is applied primarily to the short passage considered as an extract (Athen. XIV. p. 663 C: ἔχει δὴ ἡ σύμπασα ἐκλογὴ οὕτως); but it also denotes the shortness of the passage, whether prose or verse, without any reference to the idea of selection or borrowing; see Suetonius, *Vita Horat.* p. 50, ed. F. A. Wolf.

[2] As in Theocritus, *Id.* X. 38 sqq. [3] As in Theocritus, *Id.* I. 64 sqq.

[4] Θεόκριτος, Πραξαγόρου καὶ Φιλίννης· οἱ δὲ Σιμμίχου, Συρακούσιος· οἱ δέ φασι Κῷον, μετῴκησε δὲ ἐν Συρακούσαις.

[5] *Epigr.* 22:

ἄλλος ὁ Χῖος· ἐγὼ δὲ Θεόκριτος ὃς τάδ' ἔγραψα
εἷς ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εἰμὶ Συρηκόσιος,
υἱὸς Πραξαγόραο περικλειτῆς τε Φιλίννης·
μοῦσαν δ' ὀθνείην οὔποτ' ἐφελκυσάμην.

So also Moschus, *Epitaph. Bionis*, 106: ἐν δὲ Συρακοσίοισι Θεόκριτος.

[6] Cf. Theocr. III. 8, VIII. 50; Plato, *Theaetet.* p. 133, E; *Sympos.* 216, C, D.

Tityrus, which was the Laconian and Sicilian name for the leading goat or ram of the flock.[1] The general impression left upon the reader of his poems is that Theocritus was a native Dorian from Syracuse, and this is especially apparent in passages like that in the *Adoniazusæ*, where he speaks somewhat proudly in the person of a Syracusan woman.[2] The dates of his birth and death are unknown. It is stated in the argument to his fourth idyl that he flourished in Ol. 124, B.C. 284—281;[3] his fourteenth, fifteenth, and seventeenth idyls were manifestly written at Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and he is referred to the same period by his relations with Philetas and Aratus; while the sixteenth idyl, which is an encomium on Hiero the son of Hieroclès, was probably written about the time when that personage was raised to the throne, *i.e.*, in B.C. 270.[4] As in this poem he speaks of being in search of a patron,[5] it may be inferred that he returned from Alexandria shortly before this time, and spent the remainder of his life in his native island.

Our imperfect and uncertain information respecting the biography of Theocritus is supplemented by considerable doubts as to the authorship of the thirty poems which bear his name. An epigram attributed to Theocritus would lead us to conclude that he had himself made a collection of his writings.[6] Another, which bears the name of Artemidorus, a pupil of Aristophanes of Byzantium, speaks of a general collection of the bucolic poets.[7] To prove that the thirty poems ascribed to Theocritus were not all written by him, appeal is made to great differences of style and character, and these are most conspicuous in the compositions which stand at the end. Then it is known

---

[1] Müller, *Dor.* IV. 6, § 10, note e. That the name Simichidas was a general designation of a shepherd is shown by the line in the *Syrinx* 13: πᾶμα Πάρις θέτο Σιμιχίδας.

[2] XV. 90–95. We do not of course overlook the comic force of the passage.

[3] Θεόκριτος δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐδείξαμεν κατὰ τὴν κδ' (read ρκδ') Ὀλυμπιάδα ἤκμαζεν.

[4] Wüstemann, *Theocritus*, p. 244. [5] XVI. 5, 13 al.

[6] Above, p. 451 [291], note 5.

[7] *Anthol. Pal.* IX. 205: Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀθροίσει τῶν βουκολικῶν ποιημάτων:—

βουκολικαὶ Μοῖσαι σποράδες ποκα, νῦν δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι
ἐντὶ μιᾶς μάνδρας, ἐντὶ μιᾶς ἀγέλας.

that many Alexandrian grammarians wrote commentaries on Theocritus,[1] which form the basis of our extant scholia. But these scholia do not extend beyond the eighteenth idyl. From these and similar considerations we should infer that a number of miscellaneous poems have been bound up at the end of a collection containing some of the genuine works of Theocritus. On the other hand, it is clear that he wrote many poems which do not appear at all in our collection. Athenæus has preserved a fragment of his *Berenice*,[2] and Suidas says that he wrote Προιτίδες, Ἐλπίδες, Ὕμνοι, Ἡρωΐναι, Ἐπικήδεια μέλη, Ἐλεγεῖα, Ἴαμβοι, of which only the Ὕμνοι can be identified with the poems which we still have. From all this it would appear that the Theocritean poems correspond in a smaller degree to the Hippocratic collection, and contain portions of the various writings which were accepted at Alexandria as belonging to the same class with the works of Theocritus.

The collection, however, is as miscellaneous in its subjects and character as it is in authorship. Only the first eleven poems, and the twenty-seventh, are in any sense bucolic poems of the Sicilian stamp, and of these the second, called Φαρμακεύτρια, or 'the Sorceress,' is not so much a pastoral poem as a scene from common life, borrowed, we are told, from one of Sophron's mimes.[3] The fourteenth, fifteenth, and twenty-first are three dramatic scenes of the same kind; the second being laid in the city of Alexandria, and the last being a dialogue between two fishermen. The twelfth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-third, and twenty-ninth, are erotic poems, of which the twentieth approaches nearest to the bucolic strain. The thirteenth and the eighteenth are derived from epic subjects.[4] The sixteenth and seventeenth, though in hexameter verse, belong to the same class as the encomia of

---

[1] For example, Theon, Amarantus, Asclepiades of Myrlea, Munatus, Neoptolemus, Nicanor of Cos, and Amerias.

[2] Athenæus, VII. p. 283 A. This Berenice was the mother of Philadelphus, not the wife of Euergetes, whose hair is honoured by Callimachus.

[3] *Hypoth. Gr.*: τὴν δὲ Θεστυλίδα ὁ Θεόκριτος ἀπειροκάλως ἐκ τῶν Σώφρονος μετήνεγκε Μίμων.

[4] The Scholiast tells us that the eighteenth idyl, or the hymenæal song of Menelaus and Helen, was an imitation in many places of a poem by Stesichorus on the same subject.

the old lyric poetry. The twenty-second, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth, are fragments of epic poems of the Alexandrian school. The twenty-eighth is an occasional poem on an ivory distaff which the poet was about to take with him as a present to Theagenis, the wife of his friend Nicias, a physician of Miletus, to whom the eleventh and thirteenth idyls are inscribed. The thirtieth is an anacreontic poem on Adonis. This classification will show how much diversity there is in the Theocritean collection. We proceed to examine the separate poems in detail, with a view to a proper estimate of their authenticity.

The first criterion is the dialect, the second the subject. If we rightly interpret the profession of Theocritus himself, he wrote only in the Doric dialect, and only on subjects which admitted a legitimate application of the Doric hexameter.[1]

Both of these considerations will exclude the twelfth idyl, called Ἀίτης, or 'the beloved youth,' which has nothing in common with the bucolic style, and is written in the Ionic dialect. It is more likely to have been composed by Theocritus, the sophist of Chios, than by his namesake of Syracuse. The second criterion, or that of subject, affects most strongly the assumed authenticity of the epic or quasi-epic fragments (twenty-second, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth), two of which (the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth) have been attributed by some writers to Peisander[2] or Panyasis.[3] In a lesser degree this objection applies to the half epic fragments (the thirteenth and eighteenth). The peculiar relations of the poet might explain the deviations from the usual topics and mode of writing in such poems as the addresses to Hiero and Ptolemy (the sixteenth and seventeenth), and the envoy of the distaff (twenty-eighth). The subject will overbalance the mode of treatment in the twentieth idyl, called Βουκολιασκὸς or 'the young herdsman;' but the other erotic poems, the nineteenth, twenty-third, and twenty-ninth, are not at all in the style of Theocritus. The

---

In *Epigr.* 22, l. 4:

μοῦσαν δ' ὀθνείην οὔποτ' ἐφελκυσάμην,

where ὀθνεῖος must mean strange or foreign in reference to Theocritus, as a Dorian of Sicily, and a bucolic poet κατ' ἐξοχήν.

[2] This was Reiske's opinion. [3] See F. Schlegel, *Vorles.* vol. I. p. 201.

Sophronic mimes, the second, fourteenth, fifteenth, and twenty-first, must be retained on account of their style and mode of treatment, although, as we have said, they are not strictly bucolic. It has been conjectured[1] that the first part of the eighth idyl is an unskilful addition by some later hand, and that this and the ninth idyl, which have the same interlocutors, should be melted down into one poem.

Supposing then, according to this discrimination, that we recognize as genuine works of Theocritus all those poems which are written in the new Sicilian Doric, and which are either bucolic, mimic, or demonstrably related to the special circumstances of the poet's life, we shall be able out of these materials to form an adequate estimate of his peculiar talents: and we shall say that Theocritus has had few equals in his power of appreciating and describing scenery, and in the happy faculty of portraying characters by a few distinctive touches. The former quality of his poems is of course most seen in those which are strictly bucolic; the latter is most conspicuous in those which belong to the same class as the Sophronic mimes. Picturesque descriptions are found in all the idyls of the first class. For example, nothing can be prettier than the opening lines of the whole collection, where even the cadence of the metre imitates the sweet whispering of the pine tree which murmurs beside the fountain.[2] Again, we have a rustic prettiness in the serenade of the third idyl, where the amorous shepherd wishes he was a humming bee, and could come into the grot of his Amaryllis, penetrating through the ivy and fern which mantled around it.[3] Similarly in the fifth, we have a charming picture of the oaks and the cyperus, the swarms of bees in one continued humming, the two cool fountains, the birds chirping on the boughs, the unrivalled

---

[1] By Reinhold (*De genuinis Theocriti carminibus et suppositiciis*, Jenæ, 1819).

[2] I. init.:

ἁδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἁ πίτυς, αἰπόλε, τήνα,
ἃ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι μελίσδεται.

[3] III. 12:

αἴθε γενοίμαν
ἃ βομβεῦσα μέλισσα καὶ ἐς τεὸν ἄντρον ἰκοίμαν,
τὸν κισσὸν διαδὺς καὶ τὰν πτέριν ἃ τὺ πυκάσδῃ.

shade, and the fir-cones falling from on high.[1] But the most complete of all these landscapes is furnished by the seventh idyl, of which the scene is laid in Cos. The poet, who here calls himself Simichidas, is going with two friends, Eucritus and Amyntas, to keep the feast of Ceres by the river Halens with Phrasidamus and Antigenes, the sons of Lycopes.[2] When about half-way, they are overtaken by a Cretan shepherd, Lycidas, whose attire is minutely described.[3] 'Whither,' he says, 'are you dragging your feet at midday, when the lizard is sleeping on the dyke, nor are the crested larks on the wing? Are you invited to some feast or vintage? As you march along every stone rings against your thick-soled boots.'[4] The poet greets his friend with compliments, and invites him to join in bucolic strains. Whereupon Lycidas bursts forth into a pastoral song in praise of his favourite Ageanax, who has sailed for Mitylene.[5] Simichidas in return describes the love of Aratus for young Philinus.[6] Here Lycidas leaves the party, having first presented Simichidas with his shepherd's crook, as an acknowledgment of his poetic skill.[7] The three friends arrive at the country place of Phrasidamus, and take their seats on prepared heaps of sweet lentisk, with black poplars and elms nodding over their heads, and the sacred water running close by them in a bubbling brook from a grotto of the nymphs; the sun-burnt cicadas are chirping on the branches, farther off the woodlark murmurs in the acacia, larks and linnets are singing, the turtle dove is cooing, the bees are

---

[1] V. 45 sqq.:

τουτεὶ δρύες, ὧδε κύπειρος,
ὧδε καλὸν βομβεῦντι ποτὶ σμανεσσι μέλισσαι,
ἔνθ' ὕδατος ψυχρῶ κρᾶναι δύο· ταὶ δ' ἐπὶ δένδρων
ὄρνιχες λαλαγεῦντι· καὶ ἀ σκιὰ οὐδὲν ὁμοία
τᾷ παρὰ τίν· βάλλει δὲ καὶ ἀ πίτυς ὕψοθε κώνους.

[2] VII. 1—4.

[3] V. 10 sqq.

[4] *Ibid.* vv. 21 sqq.:

Σιμιχίδα πᾷ δὴ τὺ μεσαμέριον πόδα ἕλκεις,
ἀνίκα δὴ καὶ σαῦρος ἐφ' αἱμασίαισι καθεύδει,
οὐδ' ἐπιτυμβίδιοι κορυδαλλίδες ἠλαίνοντι;
ἢ μετὰ δαῖτα κλητὸς ἐπείγεαι; ἢ τίνος ἀστῶν
λιχνὸν ἐπιθρώσκεις; ὡς τεῦ ποσὶ νεισσομένοιο
πᾶσα λίθος πταίοισα ποτ' ἀρβυλίδεσσιν ἀείδει.

[5] *Ibid.* Vv. 52 sqq.

[6] *Ibid.* 96 sqq.

[7] *Ibid.* vv. 128 sqq.

fluttering about the streamlets—everywhere there is the smell of fruitful autumn;[1] pears, and apples, and plums are strewed around them in the greatest profusion, and the cask of four-year-old wine is broached for the occasion.[2] It is one of those cheerful scenes which we find in Walton's *Angler*, only that we have the more gorgeous colours of a landscape in the Ægean.

The mimetic or dramatic power of Theocritus is most conspicuous in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and twenty-first idyls. In the first of these, Æschines, a country farmer, accounts for his neglected person and dress by detailing to his friend Thyonichus how his jealous temper had led him to strike his mistress Cynisca at a drinking-bout, in consequence of which she had forsaken him; and he is recommended to take service under Ptolemy, whose character is drawn in very flattering colours,[3] and the farmer become soldier is painted most accurately with a few strokes of the pen. The well-buckled cloak, the lengthened stride, and the firmness of the disciplined phalangite are all brought before our eyes in a line or two.[4] The fifteenth idyl takes advantage of a sumptuous feast, instituted by Arsinoe in honour of Adonis, to praise Ptolemy and his whole family. The machinery is very ingeniously contrived. Two Syracusan women of the lower order, Praxinoe and Gorgo, who have migrated to Alexandria with their husbands, are introduced just as they are starting in their smartest dresses to see the spectacle. The whole of the introduction is a little comedy. The crowd is described with all the exaggerations of female terror.[5] The amiable women abuse their husbands,[6] deceive their children,[7] and scold the maid-servant.[8]

---

[1] V. 143:

πάντ' ὤσδεν θέρεος μάλα πίονος, ὤσδε δ' ὀπώρης.

[2] *Ibid.* v. 147:

τετράενες δὲ πίθων ἀπελύετο κρατὸς ἄλειφαρ.

[3] XIV. 58—62.

[4] *Ibid.* 63—65;

εἴ τοι κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον ἀρέσκει
λῶπος ἄκρον περονᾶσθαι, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις δὲ βεβακὼς
τολμασεῖς ἐπιόντα μένειν θρασὺν ἀσπιδιώταν,
ᾧ τάχος εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

[5] XV. 4-7. [6] vv. 9-20. [7] vv. 14, 40. [8] vv. 27, 31.

Praxinoe's gown is admired and priced.[1] They are frightened out of their wits by the king's led horses.[2] An old woman gives them oracular encouragement as they are forcing their way into the palace.[3] They are separated from their waiting-maids and get their dresses torn.[4] One person in the crowd protects them and is praised;[5] another rebukes their incessant gabbling,[6] and is proudly told that they are Syracusans, originally from Corinth, 'the country of Bellerophon, if you please, sir,' and that they exercise their undoubted privilege of talking the pure Doric of the Peloponnese.[7] The piece terminates with a song in honour of Adonis by the *prima Donna* of Alexandria, and Gorgo returns home to face an angry husband, who has not yet had his breakfast, and is not very approachable under such circumstances.[8] The twenty-first idyl, addressed to Diophantus, begins with a minute description of a poor fisherman's establishment on the seashore, and then introduces us to Asphalion the angler,[9] who beguiles a sleepless night by relating to his partner how he had dreamt one afternoon that he had caught a golden fish, and had sworn never to go fishing again. He is prudently reminded that his oath is as unsubstantial as his dream, which will find its best accomplishment if he plies his rod and line without dozing. 'Seek,' says his friend, 'the fish of flesh, lest you die of hunger, with all your golden dreams.'[10] It seems that this idyl is composed in direct imitation of Sophron, who wrote two mimes about fishermen, the Ἁλιεὺς and the Θυννοθήρας. This

---

[1] vv. 34 sqq.
[2] vv. 51–56.
[3] vv. 60–63.
[4] vv. 69–76.
[5] vv. 74, 75.
[6] vv. 87, 88.
[7] vv. 90–93:

Συρακοσίαις ἐπιτάσσεις;
ὡς εἰδῇς καὶ τοῦτο, Κορίνθιαί εἰμες ἄνωθεν,
ὡς καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφῶν. Πελοποννασιστὶ λαλεῦμες·
Δωρίσδειν δ' ἔξεστι δοκῶ τοῖς Δωριέεσσι.

[8] vv. 147, 148.

[9] The man is represented as fishing with a rod (XXI. 43, 47), and his name Ἀσφαλίων points to the word ἀσπαλιευτής, about which we hear so much in the *Sophistes* of Plato (pp. 218 E, sqq.).

[10] vv. 65–67:

εἰ δ' ὕπαρ οὐ κνώσσων τὺ τὰ χώρια ταῦτα ματεύσεις
ἐλπὶς τῶν ὕπνων· ζᾶτει τὸν σάρκινον ἰχθύν,
μὴ σὺ θάνῃς λιμῷ καίτοι χρυσοῖσιν ὀνείροις.

poem is unusually corrupt in the copies which have come down to us.

Besides these longer compositions, twenty-two epigrams bear the name of Theocritus, and he is made the author of a fantastic little poem called the *Syrinx*, in which twenty verses are so arranged that complete and catalectic lines succeed one another in couplets, passing from the hexameter down to the dimeter dactylic metre, so as to represent the successive lengths of the reeds in a Pandean pipe. This *jeu d'esprit* is attributed with more justice to Simmias of Rhodes, who composed similar copies of verses in the shape of an egg, an altar, and a double-edged axe or pair of wings. It is not improbable that Theocritus wrote most of the epigrams. But, on the one hand, the tenth epigram of Erycius is attributed by a manuscript to Theocritus; and, on the other hand, the seventeenth and tenth epigrams of Theocritus are assigned to Leonidas of Tarentum by the modern editor of the *Anthology*.

There can be no doubt that Theocritus had an original genius for poetry of the highest kind. The absence of the usual affectation of the Alexandrian school, the constant appeal to nature, the perception of character, the power of description, the keen sense both of the beautiful and of the ludicrous, contribute to indicate the highest order of literary talent, and account for the universal and undiminished popularity of an author whose æra was not that of original men. His conspicuous superiority to Virgil, who directly imitates him, shows that the greatest skill as a writer of verses would not have enabled him to produce these effects, if he had been merely a second-hand writer of idyls. At the same time, it is quite clear that he had many models to guide him or suggest his subjects to him. Philetas, Aratus, and Asclepiades, were his immediate teachers. Sophron and the older writers of his own country were constantly before him; and there are evidences of a careful study of the great Attic poets, especially Sophocles.[1] But with all

[1] For example, the following coincidences in one chorus of the *Antigone* can hardly be fortuitous:

Soph. *Antig.* 585:

κυλίνδει
βυσσόθεν κελαινὰν
θῖνα καὶ δυσάνεμον,

this, his position may have been as independent as that of our own Shakspere, who had the stories of his plays ready to his hand in Italian novels, English annals, and translations of Plutarch, but made everything new as it passed through the alembic of an imagination, with which, it must be owned, Theocritus had much in common.

The two other bucolic poets of the Alexandrian school were BION of Phlossa near Smyrna, and his pupil MOSCHUS of Syracuse. A sort of elegy by the latter poet, which is extant as his third idyl (Ἐπιτάφιος Βίωνος), is our chief authority for all that we know about Bion's personal history. It appears that he migrated from Asia Minor to Sicily, the home of bucolic poetry, where he was poisoned, and where just punishment overtook his murderers.[1] The appeal to the Bistonian nymphs to bewail the Dorian Orpheus[2] does not at all prove that Bion had visited Macedonia. The passage, from which it was concluded that he was a contemporary of Philetas, Asclepiades, Lycidas, and Theocritus, is justly considered as an interpolation borrowed from the seventh idyl of the last-named of these poets.[3] As, however, Bion was the friend and, as it seems, the teacher of Moschus, who was an acquaintance of Aristarchus,[4] and therefore flourished about the middle of the second century B.C., and as he died prematurely, he must have lived in the generation immediately succeeding Theocritus, and was therefore a contemporary of Apollonius and Eratosthenes. The poems of Bion, which used to be mixed up with those of Theocritus, consist of a lament of Adonis, with a continual

---

Theocr. VII. 58:

εὗρον ὃς ἔσχατα φυκία κινεῖ.

Soph. *Antig.* 600:

οὔτ' ἀκάματοι θεῶν [l. θέοντες] μῆνες.

Theocr. XVI. 71:

οὔπω μῆνας ἄγων ἕκαμ' οὐρανὸς οὔτ' ἐνιαυτούς.

[1] *Epitaph. Bionis*, 136:

φάρμακον ἦλθε, Βίων, ποτὶ σὸν στόμα, φάρμακον, εἶδες.

Ibid. 136:

ἀλλὰ Δίκα κίχε πάντας.

[2] *Ibid.* 16, 17,

εἴπατε πάσαις
Βιστονίαις νύμφαισιν, ἀπώλετο Δώριος Ὀρφεύς.

[3] See Hermann, *Bionis et Moschi Carmina*, Lipsiæ, 1849, pp. 77, 78.

[4] Suidas s.v.: Μόσχος, Συρακούσιος, γραμματικός, Ἀριστάρχου γνώριμος.

refrain,[1] not unlike that in the first idyl of Theocritus, or the elegy on himself by Moschus; and eighteen other fragmentary idyls, including the Κηριοκλέπτης, which occupies also the nineteenth place among the idyls of Theocritus, but which Hermann has added to the poems of Bion in accordance with the suggestion of Valckenaer.[2] Bion writes harmonious verses with a good deal of pathos and tenderness; but he is as inferior to Theocritus as he is superior to Moschus. From the latter we have the following poems: (1) 'Runaway Love' (Ἔρως δραπέτης), a little piece in twenty-nine lines, also included in the *Anthologia*, and written in the style of the later Anacreontics; (2) 'Europa,' in 169 lines; (3) 'The Elegy on Bion' already mentioned; (4) 'Megara the wife of Hercules,' in 127 lines; to which are added three short fragments from Stobæus, and an epigram from the *Anthology* of Planudes; and Hermann has also appended to his edition of Moschus 'the Conversation' (Ὀαριστύς) between Daphnis and the Nymph, which appears as the twenty-seventh idyl of Theocritus.[3] Of these remains of Moschus, the two poems on *Europa* and *Megara* are not bucolic, but fragments of epic poems of the Alexandrian class, and they are written in the Ionic dialect. The style of Moschus is very artificial, with occasionally very unusual transpositions or inversions of the natural order;[4] and in his imitations it may be sometimes doubted whether he understood the figures which he borrowed.[5] Altogether, he is rather the learned versifier

---

[1] αἰαῖ τὰν Κυθέρειαν, ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις; so also in the *Epitaphius Bionis*: Ἄρχετε Σικελικαὶ τῷ πένθεος, ἄρχετε Μοῖσαι, and in Theocritus I. 64, &c.: ἄρχετε βωκολικᾶς, Μῶσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' ἀοιδᾶς.

[2] Hermann, p. 63.

[3] Jacobs says: 'sunt qui Moschum auctorem existiment. Quæ opinio ut minime absurda est, ita certis firmisque argumentis destituitur.' There is a pretty general agreement among critics that, whether Moschus was the author or not, this poem cannot be justly ascribed to Theocritus.

[4] For example, IV. 19, 20:

οὐ δέ σφιν δυνάμην ἀδινὸν καλέουσιν ἀρῆξαι
μητέρ ἐήν,

for καλέουσιν μητέρ' ἐήν: and similarly in vv. 85, 93.

[5] In IV. 58:

τὰ δέ οἱ θαλερώτερα δάκρυα μήλων
κόλπον ἐς ἱμεροέντα κατὰ βλεφάρων ἐχέοντο—

Moschus seems to have imitated the strong metaphor in Theocritus XIV. 38: τήνῳ τὰ σὰ δάκρυα μᾶλα ῥέοντι, without exactly understanding it.

than the true poet, and more exactly represents his friend Aristarchus than his predecessor Theocritus.

§ 8. We must not conclude this account of the Alexandrian poetry without a few remarks on an inferior species of it, belonging, like the bucolic poems which we have just discussed, to the old carnival sports and rude burlesques of the Dorian rustics.[1] These efforts of the merry-andrew class were called sometimes ἱλαροτραγῳδίαι or 'tragi-comedies,' sometimes παρῳδίαι or 'travesties,' and sometimes φλύακες τραγικοὶ or 'tragic fooleries,' whence the class of writers is termed the *Phlyacographers* (φλυακογράφοι). The founder of this style of writing was RHINTHON of Tarentum, called also a Syracusan, who flourished in the reign of the first Ptolemy, and who gave the earliest literary expression to the old farces of the Dorians. The merit is claimed for him in an epigram of Nossis in rather humble terms,[2] and he does not appear to have set much value on his own performances.[3] It is pretty clear, from the subjects of the plays attributed to him, that he particularly delighted in travesties of Euripides. He was succeeded in his own particular style by SOPATER, SCIRAS, and a Campanian named BLÆSUS, and was well known to the Romans, insomuch that Lucilius made him a model for imitation.[4] Parodies on Homer had been made at an earlier date, and we have a long fragment from a poem of this kind by MATRON of Pitana,[5] who was at the latest a contemporary of Alexander the Great. As Rhin-

---

[1] Müller, *Dor.* IV. 7, § 7.

[2] *Anthol. Pal.* VII. 414:

καὶ καπυρὸν γελάσας παραμείβεο καὶ φίλον εἰπὼν
ῥῆμ' ἐπ' ἐμοί. Ῥίνθων δ' εἰμ' ὁ Συρακόσιος,
Μουσάων ὀλίγη τις ἀηδονίς· ἀλλὰ φλυάκων
ἐκ τραγικῶν ἴδιον κισσὸν ἐδρεψάμεθα.

[3] He seems to have expressed his disregard of metre even in the middle of his poems. Thus Hephæstion says (p. 9, Gaisford): Ῥίνθων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐν ἰάμβῳ ἐπισημασίας ἠξίωσε τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἐν γὰρ Ὀρέστῃ δράματι φησίν·

ὡς σὲ Διόνυσος αὐτὸς ἐξώλη θείη
τὸ μέτρον Ἱππώνακτος· οὐδέν μοι μέλει,

where he seems to have been writing iambic trimeters, and to have allowed a choliambic to slip in inadvertently. The common reading is εἰθ' Ἱππ. τὸ μ.; where εἰθ' is probably a gloss on the ὡς in the line above.

[4] Lydus I. 41.

[5] Athen. IV. pp. 134–137. He is called Matreas in Athen. I. p. 5 A.

thon and Matron burlesqued the tragedians and Homer, so TIMON of Phlius, a contemporary of Philadelphus, in his three books of Σίλλοι or 'mockeries,'[1] satirized and ridiculed all the schools of philosophy, except that of the Sceptics to which he belonged. This work was in hexameter verse, and the second and third books were in the form of a dialogue between himself and Xenophon of Colophon.[2] From the specimens it seems to have been a poem of considerable merit, and was made the subject of special commentaries by Apollonides of Nicæa, Antigonus Carystius, and Sotion of Alexandria.

With these Σίλλοι of Timon, Diogenes of Laërte immediately connects Κίναιδοι or 'obscene poems,' as having been written by this satirist of the philosophers,[3] and the same degraded class of writings is connected with the Φλύακες, in an article by Suidas[4] respecting SOTADES and ALEXANDER the Ætolian, who were the authors of this lascivious versification. The other writers mentioned by Suidas are PYRRHUS the Milesian, THEODORUS, or THEODORIDAS, TIMOCHARIDAS, and XENARCHUS. Alexander the Ætolian, as we have already seen, was a respectable grammarian and poet of the Museum at Alexandria, and not only undertook the editorship of the tragic writers, but obtained a place in the Pleiad by his own tragedies; and it must be hoped, that his contributions to the class of writings

[1] There is a difficulty about the etymology of this word. Some compare it with σιμός, and it must be remarked that σιμφδός, from the name of the Magnesian poet Simus, was a synonym for ἱλαρῳδός, Athen. p. 620, D. Ælian (*V. H.* III. 10) connects it with Σειληνός, and adds: τὸν δὲ σιλλὸν ψόγον λέγουσι μετὰ παιδιᾶς δυσαρέστου. Others derive it from ἱλλός (see Schoell, *Hist. de la Litt. Gr.* III. p. 179). Something may be said for each of these derivations. With regard to the last opinion, as Apollonius of Rhodes was the son of *Silleus* or *Illeus*, we may easily account for the moveable *s*; and as ἱλλίζω (= διανεύω, Suidas) and ἐπιλλίζω occur, especially in writers like Apollonius, in the sense of καταμωκᾶσθαι (cf. *Argonaut.* I. 486, and especially III. 791, where ἐπιλλίζουσιν is followed by μωμήσονται), it does not seem at all unlikely that σίλλος and its verb σιλλαίνω (= διασύρειν or μωκᾶσθαι, Hesych.) really involve the same root. This at least is quite in accordance with the description given of Timon's book, Diog. Laërt. IX. 111: ἐν οἷς (σίλλοις), ὡς ἂν σκεπτικὸς ὤν, πάντας λοιδορεῖ καὶ σιλλαίνει τοὺς δογματικοὺς ἐν παρῳδίας εἴδει.

[2] Diog. Laërt. IX. 111. The first book was αὐτοδιήγητος, or μονοπρόσωπος, and began: ἔσπετε νῦν μοι ὅσοι πολυπράγμονες ἐστὲ σοφισταί.

[3] *Ibid.* 110: καὶ γὰρ ποιήματα συνέγραψε καὶ ἔπη, καὶ τραγῳδίας καὶ σατύρους καὶ δράματα κωμικὰ τριάκοντα, τραγικὰ δὲ ἑξήκοντα, σίλλους τε καὶ κιναίδους.

[4] s.v. Σωτάδης; cf. Athen. XIV. p. 620, from whom Suidas gets this information, and Strabo, XIV. p. 648.

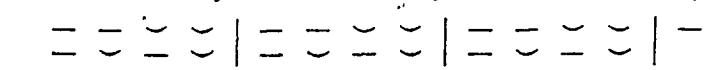
under consideration approximated rather to the Φλύακες of Rhinthon than to the Κίναιδοι of Sotades. This latter, who was a Cretan from Maronea, carried the extravagances of his indecency so far that Suidas called him 'possessed of an evil spirit' (δαιμονισθείς); and he has the main discredit of the cinædological poetry, which is called after him the Σωτάδεια ἄσματα. The subjects of his poems are chiefly mythical,[1] and they were probably travesties like those of Rhinthon, only combined with unrestrained obscenity, and applied to purposes of personal satire and defamation. He had the audacity to attack both Lysimachus and Ptolemy Philadelphus; and having provoked the anger of the latter by a gross allusion to his marriage with his sister Arsinoe, he was obliged to abscond from Alexandria, after having sustained a grievous imprisonment there, and being overtaken at Caunus by Patroclus, one of Ptolemy's generals, was inclosed in a leaden case and flung into the sea.[2] He wrote both in the Ionic dialect and in the so-called *Ionic a majore* metre, which bore the same relation to the choriambic that the *Ionic a minore* did to the anapæstic.[3] The general tone, in spite of the indecency, was borrowed from the commonplaces of morality, and Sotades had many imitators, including the Roman poets Ennius and Accius; but his name became a by-word of reproach, and in the same way as the intolerant churchmen of the middle ages combined an imputation of unnatural lust with the charge of heresy so frequently alleged, the opponents of Arius thought themselves bound to accuse

---

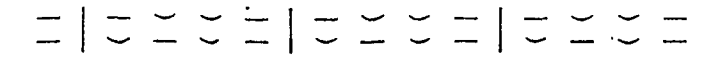
[1] The titles given are Ἄδωνις, Ἀμάζων, εἰς Ἅιδου κατάβασις, εἰς Βελεστίχην, Ἰλίας, Πρίηπος.

[2] Athen. XIV. pp. 620 F—621 B.

[3] The *Ionic a majore* was really a dactyl with an anacrusis, and the rhythm of the tetrameter brachycatalectic line used by Sotades was generally choriambic: for



might be divided as:



which is quite in the choriambic cadence. The following are specimens (Stob. *Flor.* XCVI.):

αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐὼν παντογένης ὁ πάντα γεννῶν
οὐ κρινεῖ δικαίως τὰ κατ' ἄνθρωπον ἕκαστον.

him of imitating the style of the Sotadean poems.[1] The life of Sotades was written, and his works commented on, by his son Apollonius, and by Carystius of Pergamus.

---

[1] *Select Treatises of Athanasius*, translated by J. H. Newman, Oxford, 1842: p. 94: 'he drew up his heresy on paper, and imitating, as if in festivity (ὡς ἐν θαλίᾳ), no grave writer, but the Egyptian Sotades, in the dissolute tone of his metre, &c.'; and p. 179: 'and for Moses and the other saints, they have made the discovery of one Sotades, a man whom even Gentiles laugh at.' See Newman's note on the former passage.

CHAPTER XLVI.

PROSE WRITERS OF ALEXANDRIA.

§ 1. Classification of the prose writers of Alexandria: Demetrius the Phalerian. § 2. (a) Grammarians and critics: Zenodotus of Ephesus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus of Samothrace. § 3. The recension of Homer. § 4. (b) Historians and chronologists. § 5. Translations of Egyptian, Chaldean, and Hebrew annals. § 6. (c) Pure and applied mathematics: Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius of Perga, Eratosthenes, and Hipparchus.

§ 1. THE multifarious studies and avocations of the book-learned men of Alexandria render it almost as difficult to classify the prose writers as it has been to arrange the poets, whose productions have characterized this epoch of Greek literature. Very many of the most eminent poets were also prose writers, and not only so, but they exhibited their versatility by writing on almost every subject of literary interest. Callimachus, as we have seen, composed numerous books on criticism and history, which are now lost, and Eratosthenes, who must be, in some sense, the hero of our present chapter, not only composed original and important works on geography, chronology, literary criticism, mathematics, and philosophy,[1] but was also the author of a poem called *Hermes*, which was probably an exposition of astronomy, like that of Aratus,[2] and a mythological poem called *Erigone*, which Longinus pronounces faultless.[3] This being the case, it is obvious that a mere arrangement of the principal prose writers, whether they

[1] The following enumeration of the works of Eratosthenes has been drawn up by Bernhardy (*Eratosthenes*, p. XVI.): '(1) *Geographica;* (2) *Mercurius, Poema;* (3) *Libri de Mathematicâ disciplinâ;* (4) *Cubi duplicatio;* (5) *Opera philosophica;* (6) *De antiquâ cœmœdiâ;* (7) *De chronographiis.*' He omits the *Erigone*, the epistles, the *Arsinoe*, and the treatise 'on good and bad things.'

[2] The commentary on Aratus, which is attributed to him, is a later work; see Bernhardy, *Eratosthenes*, pp. 117, 185.

[3] *De Subl.* XXXIII. 5: Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῇ Ἠριγόνῃ (διὰ πάντων γὰρ ἀμώμητον τὸ ποιημάτιον).

were also poets or not, according to their chronological succession, would not correspond to a methodical classification of the subjects on which they wrote. It seems best, therefore, that we should endeavour to ascertain the departments which were chiefly studied by the scholars of the Museum, and the order or succession in which these studies were developed, and that we should then treat of the authors individually according to the branch of study in which they obtained the greatest reputation. An able writer on this subject[1] has divided the performances of the Alexandrian writers according to three epochs. In the first and earliest of these periods, he finds a preponderating number of poets, and an active criticism of the ancient writers. In the second, which he regards as the ripe manhood of the Alexandrian school, he recognizes a development of the severer sciences, not unconnected with their application to practical matters. And in the third, which he considers the period of decline, he places the speculations of the Eclectics and Neo-Platonists. This subdivision is generally true. Accordingly, reserving for a future chapter[2] the consideration of the last of these three epochs, we must inquire what is the proper and methodical arrangement of the authors who have rendered the two former periods illustrious; and having already discussed the poets who preponderate in the first of them, we shall find that the progress of development was from grammar and criticism, the firstfruits of book learning, to the more elaborate and learned treatment of history and chronology, and from the ancillary questions of space and time, of distances and dates, involved in such an examination of ancient annals, to observations and speculations in pure and mixed mathematics, perhaps not altogether unconnected with researches in the ancient literature and learning of Egypt. The eminent Athenian, to whose arrival at Athens the literary tendencies of the active and warlike Ptolemy Soter are generally attributed, was likely, from the nature of his previous avocations, to give precisely this direction to the studies of the Egyptian Greeks. DEMETRIUS the PHALERIAN, the disciple of Theophrastus and the friend and

[1] Parthey, *Das Alexandrinische Museum*, pp. 216 sqq.

[2] See below, chapter LIII.

fellow-pupil of Menander, had governed Athens as the head of the Macedonian party, from Ol. 115, 4. B.C. 317, to Ol. 118, 2. B.C. 307, when his power was overthrown, and he took refuge at the court of Ptolemy Soter, over whom he acquired great influence, insomuch that he engaged the king in that formal patronage of literature with which we are now concerned, and was even indulged with the favourite occupation of a philosopher, the formation or revision of a code of laws.[1] Having given advice unfavourable to the pretensions of Philadelphus, he was banished to Upper Egypt when that monarch came to the throne, and died in exile (from the bite of an asp) some little time after B.C. 283.[2] During the long period which Demetrius thus spent at Alexandria,[3] he was occupied in the composition of works belonging to the class which we regard as specially characteristic of the first period of Alexandrian prose literature. We are told that he wrote on history and politics, on the poets, and on rhetoric, publishing also some of his own speeches; and that besides this he prepared collections of Æsop's fables.[4] He made, therefore, a first beginning of the grammatical and critical literature of his adopted country. As he had distinguished himself, while still in power at Athens, by a revival of the taste for epic poetry, and by a restoration of the old rhapsodical recitations of Homer,[5] it is not improbable that he stimulated the labours which bore so much fruit in the hands of Zenodotus and Aristarchus. As an Athenian, who never forgot his native land,[6] it may be supposed that he took a special interest in the old history of the country which sent forth the legendary Cecrops, and which the conquerors of Xerxes had endeavoured to make an appendage of Attica.[7] And it is not at all improbable that

---

[1] Ælian, *V. H.* III. 7.

[2] Diog. Laërt. V. 78: *ὑπ' ἀσπίδος τὴν χεῖρα δηχθείς.*

[3] Cic. *De fin.* V. 19, § 54.

[4] Diog. Laërt. V. 80, gives a long list of his writings, *ὧν*, he says, *ἐστι τὰ μὲν ἱστορικά, τὰ δὲ πολιτικά, τὰ δὲ περὶ ποιητῶν, τὰ δὲ ῥητορικά, δημηγοριῶν τε καὶ πρεσβειῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαί καὶ ἄλλα πλείω.*

[5] Athen. XIV. p. 620. Eustath. *ad Il.* p. 1479.

[6] Plut. *De Exilio*, p. 601, F.: *οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, μετὰ τὴν φυγήν, πρῶτος ὢν τοῦ Πτολεμαιοῦ φίλων, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐν ἀφθόνοις διῆγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δωρεὰς ἔπεμπε.*

[7] Thucyd. I. 104, 109.

he may have given the first suggestion for those translations of the hieroglyphic annals of Egypt which are connected with the names of Manetho and Eratosthenes. A similar impulse of curiosity may have led him to wish for a version of the mysterious books of the Jews, and an old and consistent tradition carries back the commencement of the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament to the period when the advice of Demetrius was still respected in the Museum, which he did so much to found.[1] The school of Alexandria followed the impulse thus given to it. From grammar and criticism, which dealt with words and with books, it passed to history, which treated of events; and from Greek history, it passed, in a scholar-like spirit unknown to the earlier Greeks, to researches in the old Egyptian and Hebrew annals, to which the peculiar position of Alexandria directed the attention of the learned men of the Museum. And the peculiar genius of a few eminent mathematicians found a ready transition from these subjects to the further prosecution of those geometrical studies for which the ancient Egyptians had always been remarkable. We can hardly adopt a more methodical arrangement of the prose writers of Alexandria than that which is thus suggested by the predominant influence of such a man of letters as Demetrius the Phalerian.

§ 2. The earliest grammarians and critics of the Museum were, as we have seen, Alexander of Ætolia, Lycophron of Chalcis, and Zenodotus of Ephesus; and while we are told by the scholiast on Plautus that the two former especially undertook the recension of the tragic and comic poets respectively, the great epos of Homer and the other illustrious poets were assigned to Zenodotus. We have already mentioned Alexander and Lycophron among the poets of Alexandria, and we know little or nothing of their prose writings. But Zenodotus, who wrote little or no poetry himself, deserves a special notice here, as the leader of the professed critics of the Museum.

The ancient lexicographers and scholiasts mention three, or, as some think, four critical scholars of the name of Zenodotus

---

[1] Valckenaer, *Diatribe de Aristobulo*, cc. XVI. sqq. p. 47 sqq.

—the Ephesian,[1] the Alexandrine,[2] the native of Mallus,[3] the disciple of Crates.[4] F. A. Wolf[5] identifies the last three with one another, conceiving that the disciple of Crates of Mallus was of the same place as his teacher, but was called the Alexandrian from his settlement in Egypt. Be this as it may, it is clear that the Alexandrian Zenodotus wrote in opposition to the Homeric criticisms of Aristarchus,[6] to whom Crates of Mallus was especially opposed; and it is not absolutely impossible that the name of the great Zenodotus, the first editor of Homer, may have been assumed as a *nom de guerre* by any man of Alexandria or Mallus, who wished to impugn the subsequent editorship of Aristarchus. We have seen that the Ephesian Zenodotus was the colleague of Philetas, as the tutor of Philadelphus, and as the editor of Homer. Some have made him the pupil of Philetas, and the preceptor of the children of Philadelphus. It is not impossible that he may have taught both the father and his sons, and it is clear that he flourished in the reign of the second Ptolemy as well as under the son of Lagus. Although Suidas calls Zenodotus an epic poet (ἐποποιός), and though the *Anthology* contains three epigrams attributed to him,[7] which may, however, be the work of another and later writer of the same name, it seems pretty clear that Zenodotus did not, like Callimachus, indulge in poetical composition, but that he devoted himself heartily and unreservedly to the business of a grammarian and critic. Besides the *Epitomæ*[8] and *historical memoirs*[9] quoted by Athenæus, which may have been the works of the Alexandrian Zenodotus,[10] and the collec-

---

[1] Suidas: Ζηνόδοτος, Ἐφέσιος, ἐποποιὸς καὶ γραμματικός, μαθητὴς τοῦ Φιλητᾶ, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου γεγονὼς τοῦ πρώτου, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος τῶν Ὁμήρου διορθωτὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βιβλιοθηκῶν προῦστη καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Πτολεμαίου ἐπαίδευσε.

[2] *Id.*: Ζηνόδοτος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, γραμματικός, ὁ ἐν ἄστει κληθείς.

[3] Theon, *ad Arat. Phænom.* 33: Ζηνόδοτος ὁ Μαλλώτης.

[4] Schol. *ad. Il.* XXIII. 79: Ζηνόδοτος ὁ Κρατήτειος.

[5] *Prolegom. Hom.* p. CXCIX.

[6] Suid.: πρὸς τὰ ὑπ' Ἀριστάρχου ἀθετούμενα τοῦ ποιητοῦ.

[7] Stobæus (*Serm.* 2, 61) gives a few iambic lines attributed to Zenodotus.

[8] Athen. X. p. 412, A.

[9] *Id.* III. p. 96, A: ἐν ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι.

[10] This is the opinion of Reinesius and other scholars.

tions of unusual words (γλῶσσαι),[1] and foreign phrases (λέξεις ἐθνικαί),[2] which undoubtedly belonged to the Ephesian critic, the first librarian of the Museum published an elaborate edition of all the chief poets, the tragic and comic writers only excepted. Among these we hear of a recension of Pindar[3] and Anacreon,[4] and a collection of the poets of the Epic Cycle.[5] But his greatest work, and that on which his reputation mainly rests, was his edition (ἔκδοσις) or revision (διόρθωσις) of the text of Homer. His main object seems to have been the comparison of the different manuscripts brought together in the library at Alexandria, and the establishment of a consistent text, by expunging or obelizing the doubtful verses, by transposing the lines, or by introducing verbal alterations, in accordance with certain principles which he had laid down for himself.[6] The scholia mention about 400 readings due to Zenodotus, 200 introduced by Aristophanes, and 1000 corrections of Aristarchus. It does not appear that Zenodotus wrote any commentary on Homer, but the lexical works referred to above may have been connected with his Homeric studies, and he is supposed to have been the author of the calculation of the days of the Iliad, which is found in the Ilian table, and was prefixed to his edition of Homer.[7]

The path opened by Zenodotus was pursued in a more comprehensive spirit of philology by his pupil ARISTOPHANES, the son of Apelles of Byzantium, who succeeded Eratosthenes and Apollonius in the management of the Alexandrian library, and flourished about B.C. 200. There was hardly any department in the labours of Zenodotus, in which he was not followed by Aristophanes, who was, like his master, an editor of Homer and the other great poets,[8] and,

---

[1] *Schol. Apollon. Rhod.* II. 1005.

[2] Galen, *Gloss. Hippocr.* s.vv. πέζαι, πέλλα.

[3] Böckh, *Præf. ad Schol. Pind.* p. IX. sqq.

[4] Bergk, *Anacreont. Carm. Relliquiæ*, p. 25.

[5] Heffter, *De Zenodoto ejusque studiis Homericis.* Brandenburg, 1839.

[6] See Clinton, *F. H.* III. pp. 491 sqq.

[7] Düntzer, *De Zenodoti Studiis Homericis.* Göttingen, 1848, pp. 194 seqq.

[8] He was especially an editor of Pindar. Thomas Magister says in his life of Pindar (p. XLV. Donalds.): ὁ δὲ ἐπινίκιος οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ, 'Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ,' προτέτακται ὑπὸ Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ συντάξαντος τὰ Πινδαρικά.

like him, compiled collections of unusual or foreign words (γλῶσσαι, λέξεις),[1] and wrote memoirs or commentaries (ὑπομνήματα). But Aristophanes took a wider range in his studies. He was a philologer in the largest sense of the term, and may be regarded as the great Masoret of Greek literature; for he invented the system of accentuation, which, for so many years, preserved the original pronunciation of the language;[2] he introduced punctuation, and the divisions of words in the lines;[3] and by his various writings prepared the groundwork for our revival of scholarship in modern times. He not only endeavoured, by the aid of the manuscripts, to establish a good text of the best writers, but also criticized them with regard to their subject-matter, and their taste and judgment in handling it. Nor did he, like Zenodotus, confine his attention to the poets. He edited Plato[4] and Aristotle, and wrote an abridgment of the work by the latter 'on the nature of animals.' Many of the arguments of the ancient dramas are due to him, and he is constantly quoted in the scholia. His independent works were a commentary on the tables of Callimachus,[5] an elaborate treatise, in several books, on the courtesans of Athens,[6] and some historical monographs, especially on Thebes or Bœotia.[7] To Aristophanes belongs the honour of having first founded a school of grammar; he counted among his pupils the far-famed Aristarchus, Agallias of Corcyra, Diodorus, and Callistratus; and it was from this school that the canon of Greek writers emanated; so that Aristophanes and Aristarchus nearly succeeded in doing for Greek literature what the scribes of the Great Congregation effected for the sacred books of the Jews.[8]

---

[1] A portion of his λέξεις is still extant, and is printed in Boissonade's edition of Herodian's *Partitiones*.

[2] See Foster's *Essay on Accent and Quantity*, p. 181 sqq.

[3] *Id. ibid.* p. 186, sqq., 'Before his time the words were written, *uno ac perpetuo ductu*, the letters of the same and of different words at exactly the same distance, without any mark of a pause to distinguish either sentences, or members of sentences, or words from one another.'

[4] He arranged the dialogues of Plato in *Trilogies*, Diog. Laërt. III. 61.

[5] Athen. IX. p. 408.

[6] *Ibid.* XIII. pp. 567, 583. He enumerated no less than 535 of them.

[7] Suid. s.v. ὁμολώϊος Ζεύς. Plut. *De Malign. Herodoti* 31. 33, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀντικονδυλεῖς.

[8] Cicero (*De Oratore*, III. 33, § 132) mentions Aristophanes and Callimachus

The complete establishment of the Alexandrian school of grammar and criticism is attributable to ARISTARCHUS of Samothrace. Having succeeded his teacher Aristophanes both in his lecture-room and at the library, he was intrusted by the sixth Ptolemy, Philometor, with the education of his son, and also had Ptolemy Physcon for his pupil.[1] The period of his greatest eminence was about B.C. 156. In the decline of his life he was so dissatisfied with the treatment which he received from Physcon (who commenced his sole and undisputed reign in B.C 146,) that he retired to Cyprus, where he died at the age of seventy-two, having, it is said, starved himself to death because he was labouring under incurable dropsy.[2] He left two sons, Aristagoras and Aristarchus, who were also grammarians, but he was succeeded in his school by Ammonius.[3] He counted no less than forty scholars, and his school flourished for a long time at Alexandria, and afterwards at Rome. There can be no doubt that Aristarchus deserves the reputation which he enjoys as the greatest critic of ancient times. He carried to the highest point of perfection and refinement the traditions which he derived from Zenodotus and Aristophanes, and occupied himself mainly with the objects which they had pursued—the correction and elucidation of the texts of the ancient authors in general, of the poets in particular, and above all of Homer. Suidas says that he wrote no less than eight hundred memoirs

among the most eminent men in different branches of literature and science; Pliny (*H. N.* V. 5) calls the former 'celeberrimus in arte grammaticâ;' and Mr. Foster, who has elaborately vindicated his reputation, says (*Essay on Accent and Quantity*, p. 191): 'On the whole, in regard to this man's real character and merit, I cannot help repeating what has been said above, and declaring even more, that posterity hath been more truly and essentially benefited by the ingenuity of this learned Greek, than by the writings of any one profane author of antiquity.' He refers particularly to the invention of punctuation, of which he had said (p. 187) that 'he should not scruple to prefer the merit of it to that of the best critical or grammatical treatise that was ever written, not excepting Aristotle's and Quinctilian's great rhetorical works.'

[1] Athen. II. p. 71, B.

[2] Suidas, s.n.: τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἑαυτὸν ὑπεξαγαγὼν ἐνδείᾳ τροφῆς νόσῳ τῇ ὕδρωπι λῃφθείς.

[3] Suidas informs us respecting the sons of Aristarchus: ἄμφω δὲ ἐγένοντο εὐήθεις ὥστε καὶ ἐπράθη ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐλθόντα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐξωνήσαντο.

or commentaries (*ὑπομνήματα*),[1] but unfortunately all his works are lost, and we are left to form a judgment of his wonderful acuteness and accuracy from the fragmentary extracts scattered through the pages of Eustathius and the scholiasts on Homer. His great object, like that of our modern critics of the Porsonian school, was to reduce everything to fixed principles and definite rules, and this led him to mark with the *obelos* a great number of passages in Homer which did not square with his Procrustean criterion of genuineness.[2] Against these rude remedies of fire and steel there was much reclamation among his contemporaries, and the younger Zenodotus, Callistratus, and others, wrote against his principles of rejection. On more general grounds, he was involved in more than one controversy with CRATES of Mallus, the head of the school and library of Pergamus. Crates wished to favour the allegorical interpretation of Homer, which was for a long time fashionable,[3] and which has revived in modern times; but Aristarchus insisted on a literal understanding of the narratives in the epic poem. And the strict principles of uniformity in usage and construction, which were maintained by Aristarchus in his treatise 'on analogy' (*περὶ ἀναλογίας*), were directly combated by Crates in an essay 'on irregularity' (*περὶ ἀνωμαλίας*).[4] We may infer the love of form and order, which was so characteristic of Aristarchus,[5] from the fact that he was at the pains to arrange the two great Homeric poems in exactly twenty-four books each, in accordance with the number of letters in the complete or later Greek alphabet, a process which must have been quite arbitrary, and must have increased his predilection for limitations and exclusions. The same process must have

---

[1] *λέγεται δὲ γράψαι ὑπὲρ ὡ βιβλία ὑπομνημάτων μόνον.* See the list of his writings in Clinton, *F. H.* III. p. 530, note f.

[2] See Lehrs, *De Aristarchi Studiis Homericis*, Königsberg, 1833.

[3] On the theories and works of Crates, see Wolf, *Prolég.* p. CCLXXVI. Clinton, *F. H.* III. p. 528, note e.

[4] A. Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, II. 25: 'duo autem Græci grammatici illustres Aristarchus et Crates summâ ope, ille *ἀναλογίαν*, hic *ἀνωμαλίαν* defensitavit.'

[5] This love of order and symmetry was not exhibited in his person, for Aristarchus was a notorious sloven. Athen. I. p. 21, C: *Καλλίστρατος ὁ Ἀριστοφάνειος Ἀρίσταρχον ἐν συγγράμματι κακῶς εἴρηκε ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ εὐρύθμως ἀμπέχεσθαι, φέροντός τι καὶ τοῦ τοιούτου πρὸς παιδείας ἐξέτασιν.*

been adopted in his dealing with the canon of Greek writers in general. It seems that this canon or rule for the exclusion of all unworthy writers from the list of first-rate or classical writers, was first conceived by Callimachus. It was completed by Aristophanes of Byzantium, and the list was most rigorously revised by Aristarchus, who struck out of the canon at least all writers of his own time. It is not possible to restore the list which met with the approbation of Aristarchus. Different authorities give us different enumerations of the canonical writers, amounting in all to 109 names, and it is clear that many of these must have been omitted by the fastidious head of the Alexandrian school. The numerous grammarians of Alexandria, who followed Aristarchus, were less particular. Indeed, they seem to have preferred commenting on poets who were almost their contemporaries, and there can be little doubt that the canon ultimately contained every Greek writer who succeeded in obtaining any reputation or popularity.[1]

Aristarchus was regarded by his immediate successors as the leader of grammarians (ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν γραμματικῶν), the arch-grammarian of Greece (ὁ γραμματικώτατος), and Panætius considered that his wonderful sagacity amounted to a kind of inspired divination.[2] He stands far above the numerous tribe which followed in his steps—the scholiasts, writers on points of syntax, etymology, metres, and music, the lexicographers, and the laborious collectors of peculiarities of dialects, whose numerous works are still extant, whereas we know Aristarchus only by the reflex of an universal reputation.

§ 3. The chief employment of Zenodotus, Aristophanes, and Aristarchus, and that which was common to all three of these early scholars, was the revision and settlement of the text of Homer. And as the form, in which these only remaining specimens of the epic cycle have come down to us, is mainly that which was finally established by Aristarchus, the subject deserves a special notice in a history of Greek literature.

---

[1] Vide Ruhnken, *Hist. Or.* p. XCIV., Parthey, *Das Alexandrinische Museum*, pp. 125—128.

[2] Athen. XIV. p. 634 C.: Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ γραμματικός, ὃν μάντιν ἐκάλει Παναίτιος ὁ Ῥόδιος φιλόσοφος διὰ τὸ ῥᾳδίως καταμαντεύεσθαι τῆς τῶν ποιητῶν διανοίας.

The scholiast on Plautus, to whom we have more than once referred, tells us that the first collection of the previously scattered poems of Homer was made in the time of Pisistratus by Conchylus and Onomacritus of Athens, Zopyrus of Heraclea, and Orpheus of Croton, and that the work which they began was finally completed by Aristarchus.[1] By the side of this statement respecting Pisistratus and his edition of Homer, we have the regulation of his contemporary Solon, that the rhapsodes who recited the Homeric poems at the Panathenæa should do so according to the regular succession of the subjects,[2] and should be kept to the authorized text by a prompter appointed for that purpose. These traditions taken together show that at a very early period the same step had been taken with regard to the Homeric poems in particular, as was adopted with regard to all the epic poems of the Greeks when they were formed into the epic cycle, which was an arrangement of the poems according to the succession of the events recorded in them. How far we are to agree with the χωρίζοντες or separators, who referred the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to different authors, how far these poems, as they were arranged in the time of Solon and Pisistratus, corresponded to the text which we have received from Aristarchus, how far the διασκευασταὶ or interpolators began their work in the days of Orpheus and Onomacritus, how far the 'Wrath of Achilles' and the 'Iliad,' properly so called,[3] were melted down into one whole before the Athenian recension, are questions which we cannot expect to settle with the data now accessible to us. Thus much, however, may be concluded with tolerable certainty. Aristarchus, with his love of uniformity, and with that pedantic

---

[1] Ritschl, *Alexandr. Bibl.* p. 4: 'Pisistratus sparsam prius Homeri poesim ante Ptolemæum Philadelphum annis CC. et eo etiam amplius sollerti curâ in ea quæ nunc extant redegit volumina, usus ad hoc opus divinum industriâ quattuor celeberrimorum et eruditissimorum hominum, videlicet, Conchyli, Onomacriti, Atheniensium, Zopyri Heracleotæ, et Orphei Crotoniatæ. Nam carptim prius Homerus et nonnisi difficillime, legebatur. Quinetiam post Pisistrati curam et Ptolemæi (*i.e.* Philadelphus, who employed Zenodotus) diligentiam Aristarchus adhuc exactius in Homeri elimandam collectionem vigilavit.'

[2] Diog. Laërt. XXI. 57, quoting Dieuchidas; Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* p. 378.

[3] See Müller, above, chapter V. §§ 5, 6. Grote, *History of Greece*, II. pp. 236, foll.

accuracy which led him to insert the accents throughout the poems of Homer, did not allow any incongruities either of language, style, or subject, so far as he could discover them. He therefore reduced the two poems to one dialect, and as he arranged them in a number of books exactly corresponding to the letters of the Greek alphabet in his own time, he must have dealt with the subdivisions in a somewhat arbitrary manner. Perhaps it was he who first inserted some of the episodes in order to make up the number of books which his fondness for symmetry suggested to him as the most appropriate. Originally the separate rhapsodies were arranged merely in accordance with their subjects—thus, what are now the fifth and sixth books of the *Iliad* were originally called 'the prowess or paramount excellence of Diomed;' the second book was divided into two rhapsodies, 'the dream,' and 'the catalogue;' and the ninth was called 'the supplications.' Crates of Malus, the opponent of Aristarchus, adopted an arbitrary division of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, suggested by that of Herodotus, according to the number of the nine muses, for he arranged each poem in nine books.[1] In taking the greater number of books of unequal length, Aristarchus must have wished to incorporate all that was contained in the different editions of Homer, as they appeared in the Alexandrian library. Of these editions there were two classes, the public texts, as they were received in the different cities, which had from an early period encouraged the recitation of Homer's poems (*αἱ πολιτικαί, κατὰ πόλεις, ἐκ πόλεων*)[2] and the editions revised by certain eminent individuals (*αἱ κατ' ἄνδρα*). Of the former, the best known were the Massilian, Chian, Argive, Cyprian, Sinopic, Cretan, and Æolic, the most highly esteemed being the Massilian, which was imported at a very early period from Phocæa to the south of Gaul, and the Chian, which claimed a transmission from an original school of the Homeridæ. Of the individual texts, the best known was the recension by Antimachus of Colophon, who flourished at the same time as Plato,[3] that which the great

[1] Suidas s.v. Κράτης: *συνέταξε διόρθωσιν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσείας ἐν βιβλίοις θ'.*

[2] Wolf, *Proleg.* p. CLXXV.; Villoison, *Prol. ad Schol. Venet.* p. 26; Mure, *Hist. of Lit. of Gr.* I. p. 190.

[3] Above, ch. XXX. § 5.

Aristotle prepared for the use of Alexander,[1] the edition of the *Odyssey* by Aratus,[2] and that of both poems by Rhianus,[3] a contemporary of Eratosthenes. All these copies must have been accessible to Aristarchus, and there is no reason to think that he either introduced his own conjectural emendations into the text, or that he omitted any passage which he regarded as ungenuine. Thus, though he agreed with Aristophanes in considering that the *Odyssey* properly terminated at l. 296 of book XXIII.,[4] he did not hesitate to publish all the twenty-four books as they now are, and though his ἀθετήσεις or disallowances of passages were of constant occurrence, he did not expunge any of the lines to which he objected. He controverted the doctrine of the χωρίζοντες or separators, who, originating it seems with Xenon, and supported by Hellanicus of the school of Zenodotus, wished to assign the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to two different poets.[5] In general we may conclude that Aristarchus claimed for Homer all that had been attributed to him on any competent authority, and though his love of regularity induced him to impose upon the language and metres of Homer a modernized uniformity of orthography and dialect, beneath which we have to seek for the language of the old poems as they were recited by the rhapsodists before the invention or common use of writing,[6] and though he arranged his collection in an arbitrary and fanciful number of books, we are indebted to his critical sagacity and literary honesty for a *textus receptus* of these oldest relics of Greek poetry, which has preserved and transmitted to us a record of the concurrent traditions respecting the Homeric rhapsodies, so far as they were known at Alexandria in the second century before our era.

§ 4. It was not likely that a literary community, such as that which flourished under royal patronage at Alexandria, would

---

[1] Above, ch. XL. § 1.

[2] Wolf, *Prol.* p. CLXXXVI.

[3] *Id.* p. CLXXXVII.

[4] Schol. Buttmann. ad loc.

[5] Mure, I. p. 192, II. pp. 119, foll.

[6] For example, he writes ἕως for the old ἄFος, where the metre requires a trochee, though the existence of ἄς in Pindar and Aristophanes, and the analogy of λᾶς, λέως and λαός, νέως and ναός, might have induced him to leave the old word: see *New Cratylus*, § 257; *Varronianus*, p. 288, where this was first indicated.

undertake the composition of histories like those of the classical period. Neither the state of public affairs nor the opportunities enjoyed by these scholars would have enabled them to write original histories like that of Philochorus, to say nothing of the greater works of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Philistus. The only writers of this class belonging to the Ptolemaic period were some of the kings themselves. PTOLEMY SOTER, in particular, wrote a history of the wars of Alexander the Great, in which he took an active and distinguished part; and Arrian, to whom we are indebted for our best account of the battles, in which the Macedonian conqueror overthrew the power of the Persian Empire, often speaks in high terms of the information which he derived from the memoirs of Ptolemy. He mentions them, along with those of ARISTOBULUS, as the most trustworthy authorities for the events which he recorded, and it is almost certain that the military details in Arrian, which have quite the air of a contemporary description, were derived directly from the soldier-like narratives of Ptolemy in particular. It is clear, from some passages, that Ptolemy was as careful to abstain from claiming a share in exploits in which he had no share, as he was in narrating the facts which fell under his own cognizance.[1]

There were other historians of Alexander the Great, who flourished in the time of the earlier Ptolemies, but were not, as far as we can learn, connected with the Alexandrian school of literature. Such were ANTICLEIDES of Athens, whose books on Alexander and other historical subjects are often cited; ANAXIMENES the rhetorician of Lampsacus, who wrote *Philippica*, or the history of Philip and his son; CALLISTHENES, the nephew of Aristotle, who published a history of Alexander and other memoirs; NEARCHUS the admiral, and his pilot ONESICRITUS of Ægina, HIERONYMUS of Cardia, CHARES of Mytilene, CLEITARCHUS of Æolia, DURIS of Samos, and NYMPHIS of Heraclea, all of whom composed histories of the whole or part of Alexander's expeditions, and some of whom wrote about his successors.[2] Their works are lost, and we can only say that

[1] See for example Arrian, *Anab.* VI. 11, §§ 7, 8.

[2] See a list of these writers in Schoell's *Histoire de la Litterature Greque profane*, III. pp. 199, seqq. The fragments have been collected by C. Müller, as a supplement to Dübner's edition of Arrian, Paris, 1846.

they belonged, more or less, to the same class with the writings of Ptolemy Soter and Aristobulus of Cassandria, though they do not seem to have possessed the same value and authenticity.

The majority of the Alexandrian writers on history were book-learned compilers from the written materials to which they had such ready access. They belonged to precisely the same class as the Atthidists, whom we have discussed in a previous chapter, and one of these, the Callimachean ISTER, was an Alexandrian grammarian. The Alexandrian compilers, however, did not confine themselves to Attic history, or even, as a general rule, make this the basis of their investigations. On the contrary, as we have already seen, some of the most eminent of them wrote on the antiquities of the Greek towns in Libya, and others discussed questions relating to Bœotia and other provinces of old Greece. Their mythography, too, was very general. The favourite form which they gave to their researches was that of poetry, and this again furnished a vehicle for learned commentaries in explanation of the allusions which served the same purpose as the special investigations of the Atthidists. Sometimes, however, they wrote systematic treatises on mythology, and so endeavoured to bolster up the popular belief, which had been sorely shaken by the levity of the comic writers, and had received a very questionable support from the rationalistic ingenuity of the Cyrenaics. One of this school, EVEMERUS or EUHEMERUS, who was living at the court of Cassander in B.C. 316,[1] had published a book of 'sacred records' (ἱερὰ ἀναγραφή), in which he endeavoured to deprive the ancient mythology of all its supernatural elements, and to represent the gods of Hellas as human beings who performed ordinary, or at least possible, exploits.[2] This procedure found no favour with the learned men of Alexandria, and Eratosthenes treated Euhemerus with great contempt. And the old poetical machinery is revived in a treatise of the Alexandrian school, which has come down to us, at least in part. This is the

[1] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* II. 2, p. 59 sqq. (I. p. 130, Gaisford; p. 67, Heinichen,) Clinton's *Fasti Hell.* III. p. 481.

[2] Plut. *Is. et Osir.* c. XXIII. p. 360; Lactant. *Inst.* I. XI. 33; Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* I. 11, 119; Varro, *R. R.* I. 48, 2; and especially see Hieron. Columna, in his edition of Ennius, Neap. 1590, pp. 479-505; Creuzer, *Symbolik*, I. 113, sqq., II. 54, 258, III. 143, IV. 667.

Bibliotheca of APOLLODORUS of Athens, who was, for a long time, the pupil of Aristarchus,[1] and flourished in the second half of the second century B.C.[2] This work, which is in three books, and which has not been preserved without many mutilations and corruptions; contains a general sketch of the mythic legends of the Greeks, derived directly from the old chroniclers and poets, especially from the lost poems of the epic cycle.[3] The accuracy with which the author followed the traces of his old books, is shown by the frequent occurrence of purely poetical phrases in the midst of his prose,[4] and on this account the work is of considerable value to us. The first book begins with six sections about the theogonies and cosmogonies of the ancients, and then passes on to the oldest Hellenic myths, especially those of the Æolic tribes; we have the groundwork of many an epic poem; the stories of the Aloides, of Marpessa, of Œneus, Ino, and Athamas, Peleus, Neleus and Nestor, Bias and Melampus, the hunt of the Caledonian boar, and the voyage of the Argonauts. The second book contains the history of the families of Inachus and Perseus. From these the author passes on to a full account of Hercules and his adventures; and the book closes with the return of the Heracleidæ, and the mythic history of the Peloponnesus down to the time of Æpytus. The third book takes up the family of Agenor, which it discusses in seven sections, beginning with the Cretan legends, going on to those of Thebes, with a special episode about Bacchus, and a brief exposition of the Theban war and the fate of Alcmæon. In the next two chapters it treats of Arcadian myths, and goes through the seven daughters of Atlas. Taygete introduces us to Lacedæmonian, and Electra to Trojan legends. We have then somewhat abrupt transitions

[1] Suidas s.v. 'Απολλόδωρος· εἷς τῶν Παναιτίου τοῦ 'Ροδίου φιλοσόφου καὶ 'Αριστάρχου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ μαθητῶν, 'Αθηναῖος τὸ γένος. Scymn. Chius v. 22: συνεσχολακὼς δε πολὺν 'Αριστάρχῳ χρόνον.

[2] He dedicated his *Chronica* to Attalus Philadelphus, who died in B.C. 138, and the work came down to B.C. 143. Hence it is concluded that Apollodorus was known as a writer between Ol. 150–160.

[3] He mentions expressly Stesichorus, Pindar, the tragedians, especially Euripides, Pherecydes, Herodotus, Acusilaus, Amelesagoras, Philocrates, Demaratus, Asclepiades, Castor, besides Homer, Hesiod, the poets of the epic cycle, and Apollonius of Rhodes.

[4] Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* p. XL.

to the Æacidæ, and the stories of Attica; and the book breaks off in the history of Theseus, although we know that Apollodorus discussed the Trojan war and the return of Ulysses.[1] Apollodorus writes in a simple and unaffected style, though sometimes with a brevity which becomes obscure. The work, as we have it, is undoubtedly incomplete, but there is no evidence or reason for concluding that it is a mere compendium or epitome of the book originally published by Apollodorus. The title of *Bibliotheca*, or 'library,' which is given to this treatise in all the manuscripts, was probably not prefixed to it by Apollodorus himself.[2] It seems more probable that this title belonged to a collection of works by Apollodorus, of which we have only the separate names—'concerning the gods,'[3] 'concerning the ships in the second book of the *Iliad*,'[4] 'a chronicle,'[5] in iambic verse, containing the annals of 1040 years from the taking of Troy down to B.C. 143, and a gazetteer in comic verse, like the treatises still extant by Scymnus and Dionysius.[6] The epigram applied by Photius to the *Bibliotheca*, as we have it,[7] would more truly describe this comprehensive collection of treatises. Besides these books, Apollodorus wrote,

---

[1] According to Welcker (*Der Epische Cyclus*, I. p. 92), the following is the succession of the epic poems as they were arranged by Apollodorus. Book I. The Theogony, with the Titanomachy and Gigantomachy, the Heroogony, Thebais, Corinthiaca, Melampodia, Argonautæ. Book II. The Phoronis, Danais, the Heraclea of Peisander, the Minyas, the taking of Œchalia, Ægimius. Book III. Europe, Dionysiaca, Œdipodia, the Epigoni (as distinct from the Thebais), the Hymn to Mercury, the Cypria, the Trojan war as far as the Odyssey, and perhaps the Telogonia, with which Dictys ends. That the book included the adventures of Ulysses we know from I. 3, 4: Σειρῆνες περὶ ὧν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ὀδύσσεως ἐροῦμεν. Photius, *Cod.* CLXXXVI.: ἐπιτρέχων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας πλάνας τινάς, μάλιστα δ' Ὀδυσσέως, εἰς ὃν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἀρχαιολογία καταλήγει.

[2] This is the opinion of Clavier, in the preface to his edition of Apollodorus, and of Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* p. 89. See also Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* pp. XXXVIII. sqq.

[3] περὶ θεῶν, in at least twenty-four books, in which he explained the mythology by means of allegories and etymologies, after the Stoic fashion.

[4] περὶ νεῶν καταλόγου, in twelve books, partly derived from Demetrius of Scepsis (Strabo VIII. p. 522), and Eratosthenes (*id.* p. 457).

[5] χρονικὴ σύνταξις. Scymnus of Chios, v. 16 sqq.

[6] περὶ γῆς, or περιήγησις, in at least two books; see Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄβυλλοι et alibi.

[7] *Cod.* CLXXVI.: ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ βιβλιοδάριον οὐκ ἄκομψον τόδε·

αἰῶνος σπειρήματ' ἀφυσσάμενος ἀπ' ἐμεῖο
παιδείης μύθους γνῶθι παλαιγενέας·

like Aristophanes of Byzantium and Eratosthenes, 'on the courtesans of Athens;'[1] he contributed to the literary history of Sophron[2] and Epicharmus;[3] and showed his connexion with the school of Aristarchus by a treatise 'on etymologies.'[4]

The most valuable characteristic of the historical learning of Alexandria was the attention which these scholars paid to chronology. The Atthidist Philochorus, who was, no doubt, in some sense their model, had set them an example in this respect, and he had been preceded by Timæus.[5] But the first foundation of scientific chronology was laid at Alexandria by the great ERATOSTHENES, whose various labours we shall discuss at the end of this chapter. Besides the works of Philochorus and Timæus, Eratosthenes had before him the chronological computations of his own teacher and countryman Callimachus, and his views were adopted and presented in a metrical form by Apollodorus, the pupil of Aristarchus, in the chronological work dedicated to Attalus, of which we have just spoken. That the chronology of Apollodorus was based entirely on that of Eratosthenes is distinctly stated by Strabo;[6] a Byzantine chronographer of the ninth century A.D., Georgius, who is generally known by his title of *Syncellus* or colleague and associate of the Patriarch Tarasius, in giving the lists of Theban kings which he found in Apollodorus, speaks as if it were merely an extract from Eratosthenes,[7] and modern Egyptologers have so regarded it.[8] The main effort of Eratosthenes was to establish the Trojan æra, which he, and Apollodorus after him, fixed in 1183 or 1184 B.C., and the greatest modern authorities are agreed in regarding this as merely 'a conjectural date origin-

---

μήδ' ἐς Ὁμηρείην σελίδ' ἔμβλεπε, μηδ' ἐλεγείην,
μὴ τραγικὴν μοῦσαν μηδὲ μελογραφίην,
μὴ κυκλίων ζήτει πολύθρουν στίχον· εἰς ἐμὲ δ' ἀθρῶν
εὑρήσεις ἐν ἐμοὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κόσμος ἔχει.

[1] Athen. XIII. p. 567 A, 583 D. [2] *Id.* III. p. 89 A

[3] In at least six books, Suid. s. v. καρδιώττειν. Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν ἕκτῳ περὶ Ἐπιχάρμου.

[4] περὶ ἐτυμολογιῶν or ἐτυμολογουμένων, in at least two books, Athen. II. p. 63 D.

[5] Above, chapter XLIII. § 6; below, chapter XLIX. § 1.

[6] Strabo, VII. p. 298 sqq.

[7] Syncellus, *Chronogr.* p. 91, quoted by Bunsen, *Ægypten*, III. p. 61.

[8] Bunsen, *Ægypten*, I. p. 158.

ally fixed by Eratosthenes, and derived from him to succeeding chronologers.'[1] But, although the actual year of this starting point in Greek chronology may be regarded as approximate only, and resting on probable inference rather than on absolute certainty, we are not the less indebted to Eratosthenes for the laborious studies by which he arrived at his conclusions. And Mr. Clinton, who has reminded us that a conjectural date can never rise to the authority of evidence, has been careful to record his opinion[2] that 'the chronology of Eratosthenes, founded on a careful comparison of circumstances, and approved by those to whom the same stores of information were open, is entitled to our respect.'

§ 5. The want of documentary evidence, which thus qualifies the value of the Greek chronology of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, is not to be alleged in disparagement of the chronological lists of the Egyptian kings which were drawn up by Eratosthenes and Manetho from the copious and authentic records of the wonderful country of which Alexandria had become the capital. The practice of committing to writing the chronicles of their native monarchs which the Egyptians had adopted from the first dawn of their history,[3] the lasting significance of their hieroglyphic symbols, the durability of the material on which they were carved, and the dryness of the climate which rendered these stony archives indestructible,[4] had provided Egypt with records of the past unrivalled in antiquity and genuineness. The Ptolemies, who gladly accepted the flattering homage of the Egyptian priests, and allowed themselves to be addressed as the successors of the ancient Pharaohs,[5] eventually consecrated temples to Ammon, Phre, and Phtha, as well as to the

---

[1] Clinton, *F. H.* I. p. 123; II. p. IV. Böckh, *Corp. Inscr.* II. p. 328. Cf. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* p. 568; Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, II. pp. 47 sqq.

[2] *F. H.* I. p. 138.

[3] It has been shown that the system of hieroglyphic writing was quite complete in Egypt in the fourth dynasty, that is, in the fifth century of the kingdom, and even the names of kings of the third dynasty are written according to this system (Bunsen, I. p. 363).

[4] See the remarks of Lepsius, *Chronologie der Ægypter*, I. pp. 28 sqq.

[5] Thus, on the Rosetta Table, Ptolemy is glorified as ὃν ὁ Ἥφαιστος ἐδοκίμασεν, ᾧ ὁ Ἥλιος ἔδωκεν τὴν νίκην, εἰκὼν ζῶσα τοῦ Διός, υἱὸς τοῦ Ἡλίου, αἰωνόβιος, ἠγαπημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Φθᾶ.

Sarapis of Alexandria, and our clue to the interpretation of the ancient hieroglyphics is derived from a tri-lingual inscription, in which Ptolemy Epiphanes is commemorated, not only in his own Greek, but in hieroglyphic and demotic versions of it.[1] Under these circumstances, it was quite natural that, on the one hand, the Greek scholars of the Museum would make themselves acquainted with the old language of Egypt, and the hieroglyphic system of writing in which the records of the country were locked up; and, on the other hand, that Egyptian priests and scribes would become familiar with the language of the court, and would display their own inherited learning in what had become the general idiom of the civilized world. In regard to the history and chronology of Egypt we have two remarkable examples of these counter processes. For before the great scholar Eratosthenes of Cyrene learned the old Egyptian of the hieroglyphics in order that he might draw up lists of the Pharaohs, and approximate to the chronology of the ancient dynasties, Manetho of Sebennytus, a native Egyptian priest, who flourished in the reigns of the first two of the Ptolemies, had become a master of the Greek language, perhaps under the teaching of Timotheus, the interpreter of Ptolemy Soter, and had written, for the edification of the new masters of his country, on the history and chronology of ancient Egypt, and on the religion and science of the Egyptians.[2] From what sources Dicæarchus, the scholar of Aristotle, had derived his statements with regard to the ancient history and chronology of Egypt, for a knowledge of which we are indebted to the Alexandrine scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes,[3] we have no means of ascertaining; but there is no doubt that the researches of Eratosthenes, which we know through Apollodorus and Georgius Syncellus,[4] rested on a study of the original

[1] The Rosetta table, now in the British Museum, was discovered by the French artillery officer Bouchard, in 1799, and became the property of England when the French were expelled from Egypt.

[2] Euseb. *Præp. Evangel. Procem. ad Lit.* II. p. 44 c. (p. 52 Heinichen): *πᾶσαν μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν ἱστορίαν εἰς πλάτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετείληφε φωνῆς, ἰδίως τε καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς θεολογίας Μανεθὼς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἔν τε ᾧ ἔγραψεν ἱερᾷ βίβλῳ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασιν.*

[3] See the passages quoted in Bunsen, *Ægypten*, III., *Urkundenbuch*, pp. 68.

[4] *Id. ibid.* pp. 61 sqq.

monuments of Egypt, and though they are confined to the Memphito-Thebaic kings, they are still our chief authority for the restoration of the first thirteen dynasties; and all that modern investigation has attempted for the exhibition of a consistent view of old Egyptian chronology is deduced from a comparison between the fragments of Eratosthenes and Manetho, and the names of the kings still preserved in the hieroglyphic tables of Carnak and Abydos.

The illustrious MANETHO, whose name *Ma-n-thôth* or *Thoth-ma*, 'given by Thoth or Mercury,' is a synonym of the Greek Hermodotus or Hermodorus,[1] although belonging to the comparatively late period of Alexandrian literature, has come down to us shrouded in a mist of legend.[2] And while his genuine works exist only in fragments and quotations, or in epitomes of doubtful accuracy, his name has been given to an astronomical poem in six books, called ἀποτελεσματικά, which has been proved to be as late as the fifth century A.D.,[3] and to a book on *Sothis*, or the dog-star, intentionally forged for the purpose of reconciling the old Egyptian chronology with that of the Jews and Christians.[4] There can be no doubt, however, after the elaborate researches of Bunsen and others, that Manetho of Sebennytus was a real, historical personage, who flourished in the reigns of Soter and Philadelphus, and deserved what he obtained, the highest reputation for judgment and learning. An old tradition, 'which is not certain but cannot be refuted,'[5] places him in the

[1] This is Bunsen's opinion (*Ægypten*, I. p. 91). Lepsius (*Chronol.* I. p. 405), with whom Parthey confidently agrees (ad Plutarch. *Is. et Osirid.* p. 180), says that the Egyptian form was *Mai-en-Thoth*, 'beloved by Thoth.' Fruin (*Maneth. reliqu.* 1847, p. XXVIII.) supposes the original form to have been *Ma-net* or *Ma-Neith* = qui Neith (*i.e.*, Minervam) amat.

[2] Böckh (*Manetho und die Hundssternperiode*, Berlin, 1845, p. 394) says: 'namentlich ist mir niemals ein verwirrterer Gegenstand der Betrachtung, als dieser Manetho vorgekommen.'

[3] See Heyne, *Opuscul.* I. 95. Rigler and Axt, *Comment. in Manethonis Apotelesmatica*, Colon. 1832, pp. III. sqq. XXXIV.

[4] Bunsen, *Ægypten*, I. pp. 256 sqq. Lepsius, *Chronologie*, I. p. 413 sqq.

[5] Böckh, *Manetho*, p. 395. This tradition is shown by the dedication of his *Sothis*, which has been fabricated in consequence of the old belief, and by the mention of Ptolemy and Arsinoe in the *Apotelesmatica*. Hengstenberg, who always reasons with a set purpose, and with the one-sidedness of an advocate, contends that Manetho was not an Egyptian, and probably lived under the Roman Emperors (*die Bücher Moses und Ægypten*, pp. 237 sqq. 256, 264).

reign of Philadelphus, and the anecdote about the introduction of the god Sarapis, which is almost our only certain detail about his life, falls, according to Cyril, in Ol. 124 (284—281 B.C.),[1] and may therefore be placed at the very end of Soter's life. This story, which is told by Plutarch in the book *on Isis and Osiris*,[2] mostly taken, as Bunsen thinks,[3] from the theological works of Manetho, is as follows. Ptolemy Soter saw in a dream the Sinopic statue of Pluto, which ordered the king to transfer him with all speed to Alexandria. Ptolemy, who had never seen the image itself, and did not know where it was to be found, was enabled to identify it by the description of a traveller named Sosibius, and got it from Sinope to Egypt. When it arrived it was recognized by Timotheus, the king's interpreter, and Manetho, as Sarapis, the Egyptian Pluto, or the Osiris and Dionysus of the lower world; and this new god was accordingly established at Alexandria, and his worship ultimately superseded that of the older divinities. This circumstantial narrative exhibits Manetho to us in important relations with the king and the Greek religionists of his court,—for Timotheus was an Eumolpid,[4]—and we may infer from it that he not only introduced the Greeks to a knowledge of the Egyptian religion and annals, but conspired with the liberal Timotheus in establishing a form of worship which was not exclusively Greek or Egyptian, but partook of both systems of mythology. The genuine works of Manetho were (1) his 'holy book' (ἱερὰ βίβλος), which discussed the religion of Isis, Osiris, Apis, Sarapis, and other deities, and was probably the basis of Plutarch's well-known treatise, our most valuable authority on the subject;[5] (2) his 'sketch of natural history' (φυσικῶν ἐπιτομή, or φυσιολογικά), which seems to have explained the elementary origin of the Egyptian religion, as it

[1] Cyrillus Alex. *In Julianum*, p. 13 Spanh.

[2] c. 28, p. 361 Xyl. It is also given by Tacit. *Hist.* IV. 83, 84; Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* IV. 48, p. 42 Potter.

[3] Bunsen, *Ægypten*, I. p. 95.

[4] Tac. *Hist.* IV. 83: 'Timotheum Atheniensem, e gente Eumolpidarum, quem ut antistitem cærimoniarum Eleusine exciverat.'

[5] Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* II. p. 44 c. Cf. Theodoret. Serm. II. *De Therapeut.* vol. IV. p. 753: Μανέθως δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἴσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος καὶ Ἄπιδος καὶ Σαράπιδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐμυθολόγησε.

stated, among other things, the identity of Osiris and Isis with the sun and the moon;[1] (3) 'on a love of antiquity and piety' (περὶ ἀρχαϊσμοῦ καὶ εὐσεβείας), which seems to have been a treatise on the old religious usages of the Egyptians;[2] (4) 'on festivals' (περὶ ἑορτῶν), of which we know nothing beyond a short notice in Laurentius Lydus;[3] (5) 'on the fabrication of the different kinds of sacred incense' (περὶ κατασκευῆς τῶν κυφίων), a work having reference to a specialty of Egyptian ritual, for Plutarch tells us[4] that the ingredients of the κῦφι were not mixed at haphazard (ὅπως ἔτυχεν), but according to fixed sacerdotal receipts; (6) 'against Herodotus' (πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον),[5] a criticism apparently of those parts of Herodotus which treated especially of Egypt; but Bunsen supposes[6] that it might have been an extract from the next work, made by those who wished to impugn the accuracy of the Greek historian; (7) 'commentaries on Egypt' (Αἰγυπτιακά or Αἰγυπτιακὰ ὑπομνήματα[7]), in three books. In this book, which has furnished the modern Egyptologers, Rosellini, Wilkinson, Böckh, Bunsen, and Lepsius, with the materials for their criticisms, Manetho, besides dealing with the astronomical periods of the ante-historical mythology, elaborately reckoned up 3555 years, from Menes to the death of the younger Nectanebus, and in doing this formed a chronological canon, which must have influenced the calculations of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus.[8] In drawing up this chronology, it is clear that he did not content himself with adding together the sums of the years in the different reigns, for this would have given a much greater number of years, but that he learned, by an examination of the traditions, that many of the kings in the lists were contemporary rulers, and that the general result was

---

[1] Diog. Laërt. *Proœm.* §§ 10, 11. Suidas calls it φυσιολογικά. It is referred to by Ælian, *Hist. An.* X. 16.

[2] Porphyr. *De Abstinentiâ*, II. 55; Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* IV. 16, 1, p. 164, Heinichen.

[3] p. 91, Bekker.

[4] *De Iside et Osir.* c. 81.

[5] Joseph. *c. Apion.* I. 14; Eustath. *ad Il.* Λ' p. 857; *Etym. M.* s. v. Λεοντοκόμος.

[6] *Ægypten*, I. p. 100.

[7] That the latter is the true title is conjectured by Böckh (*Manetho*, p. 395) from the Latin version of the Armenian Eusebius, which cites it as *Manethi Ægyptiaca Monumenta.*

[8] Bunsen, *Ægypten*, I. p. 122 sqq.

to be estimated on independent grounds. When the Egyptian learning of Manetho had been followed by the scientific chronology of which Eratosthenes was the founder, Greek literature had passed through all the epochs of its dealings with the history of the Pharaohs. In Herodotus, as has been well observed,[1] we have the genial Greek, in Manetho the dry and documentary Egyptian, and in Eratosthenes the critical Alexandrian, and in the combination and intermixture of these three sources of information, we obtain all the reliable information which we can derive from ancient times to aid us in the interpretation of the half understood hieroglyphics.

HECATÆUS of ABDERA, who is often confounded with his older namesake Hecatæus of Miletus, travelled as far as Syria in the train of Alexander the Great, and seems to have acquired the language of the Jews,[2] whose history he wrote. He was also a writer on Egyptian history, and had travelled up the Nile as far as Thebes. A work on the Hyperboreans is attributed to him,[3] but we know little or nothing about it.

A contemporary of Manetho, BEROSUS (*i.e. Bar-Oseas*) of Babylon, performed the same good office for the history of his own countrymen that the Egyptian priest had undertaken in regard to his own sacred archives.[4] It cannot be determined whether this Greek version of Assyrian and Babylonian history was suggested by what had just been done in Egypt, or whether it was a similar result of similar causes. Berosus had the charge of the temple of Belus at Babylon, and, as he had acquired the Greek language, it was quite natural that he should endeavour to recommend himself to the Greek dynasty, which was established in his country, by a version of the archives which were under his care, and which enabled him to show both

---

[1] Bunsen, *Ægypten*, I. p. 176.

[2] Whether the work 'about Abraham and the Egyptians,' from which Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* V. p. 717, Potter) quotes a fragment of Sophocles, was included in the history of the Jews (Joseph. *c. Apion.* I. 22; cf. *Ant.* I. 7), or in the history of Egypt (Diod. I. 47), it seems to presume an acquaintance with *Gen.* XII. 10 sqq., or the document from which that narrative was derived.

[3] Diodor. II. 47; Ælian, *H. A.* XI. 1, alii.

[4] Lepsius, *Chronol.* I. p. 10: 'He dedicated his history to Antiochus Soter of Syria, a little before Manetho had dedicated his Egyptian history to Ptolemy Philadelphus.'

his own learning and the ancient glory of the Babylonians. The work, which he published in three books, and which is known to us only from the fragments preserved by the later writers, is sometimes quoted as his 'Babylonian annals' (Βαβυλωνικά), sometimes as his 'Chaldæan history' (Χαλδαϊκά, Χαλδαϊκαὶ ἱστορίαι).[1] It brought his history down to B.C. 269, and had derived dates from the inscriptions on the bricks, probably cuneiform, which enabled him to carry back his chronology to an astronomical period of 480,000 years; and his work contained an account of the cosmogony and deluge, which are probably reflected in the annals of the Jews.[2] ABYDENUS, who wrote on Assyrian history, has been considered by some to have been a scholar of Berosus, with whose works he was undoubtedly acquainted.[3] He also quotes from MEGASTHENES, a friend of Seleucus Nicator,[4] who wrote a work about India in four books. Whether this work was derived from native documents is unknown. It was regarded as a standard authority by Arrian and other later writers on the subject of India. Pliny[5] mentions that one DIONYSIUS was sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus to pursue his researches in India, while Megasthenes was there; we do not know what were the results of this mission. It is quite uncertain when MENANDER published the Phœnician history from native sources which is quoted by Josephus.[6]

While the Greeks at Alexandria and elsewhere thus gained a knowledge of the annals and religious books of the nations to which the conquests of Alexander the Great had carried their victorious arms, the same curiosity gave birth to a translation which has exercised a more lasting influence on the civilized world than that of any book that has ever appeared in a new tongue. There is a tradition, attributed falsely to

---

[1] Athen. XIV. p. 639; Clemens Alex. *Strom.* I. p. 392, Potter; *Protrept.* p. 57, Potter.

[2] See Niebuhr's *Lectures on Ancient History*, I. p. 18, and compare *Chr. Orthod.* pp. 131, 221.

[3] Cyrill. Alex. *in Julianum*, pp. 8, 9.

[4] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. p. 360, Potter.

[5] *H. N.* VI. 17, 58: 'sicut Megasthenes, et Dionysius a Philadelpho missus ex eâ causâ, vires quoque gentium prodidere.'

[6] *c. Apion.* I. 18; cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. p. 140.

Aristeas, and generally rejected as fabulous,[1] that when Demetrius Phalereus persuaded Ptolemy to get the Jewish books translated into Greek, Aristeas suggested an expedient by means of which the high priest of Jerusalem was induced to send the king seventy-two picked translators, six from each tribe (ten of the tribes having vanished long before this time!); and that in seventy-two days the work was accomplished with miraculous fidelity, each of the translators having been shut up in a separate cell, and each having executed the whole version in the same words and letters![2] There is only one circumstance more wonderful than this story, namely, that any men of sense and learning should have given it a moment's attention.[3] The origin of the Alexandrine version of the Old Testament, and the cause of the name—'that of the seventy,' or *Septuagint*—by which it is still known, can only be inferred from a careful study of the translation, and an examination of the literary history of the Jewish books themselves.[4] The Jewish collection of sacred books was gradually formed, after the return from the captivity, in the three divisions, still recognized by the Jews themselves—namely, (*a*) the Law or Pentateuch, *i.e.* the five books attributed to Moses; (*b*) the historical and prophetical books; and (*c*) the miscellaneous works called *Hagiographa*, sometimes designated from the book of Psalms, itself a miscellaneous collection in five parts,[5] which was placed at the head of this division of the Jewish literature. This collection of the Jewish books themselves was going on from B.C. 446, when the Jews were restored, to B.C. 131, the

[1] It was first doubted by Lud. Vives in a note on August. *C. D.* XVIII. 42, and by the great Scaliger on Eusebius *Chron.* p. 133. The complete rejection of the story is due to Humphry Hody, who wrote a tract on the subject in 1685, and returned to it in his great work, *De Biblior. Textibus Originalibus*, Oxon. 1705, pp. I.—XXXVI.; see also H. G. J. Thiersch, *De Pentateuchi Versione Alexandrina*, Erlang. 1841, pp. 6 sqq.

[2] The statement of the separate cells is Justin Martyr's story; Epiphanius is contented with thirty-six cells, one for every two of the translators.

[3] The fiction is defended by Usher, Voss, Walton, and even to some extent by Valckenaer.

[4] We have discussed this question at length in a book entitled *Christian Orthodoxy reconciled with the Conclusions of Modern Biblical Learning*, London, 1857, pp. 189–261.

[5] See *Jashar*, Berolini, 1854, pp. 315, 333.

thirty-eighth year of Euergetes II., when the son of Sirach speaks of the Greek version as complete.[1] Now, the Greek version of the Pentateuch, which seems to be the work of one writer,[2] corresponds remarkably to the Samaritan text, which was taken from Jerusalem by Manasseh in the reign of Darius Codomannus (B.C. 336—331);[3] and as the name of 'the seventy' may very well refer to the number of members in the Jewish Sanhedrim, it is reasonable to conclude that the renegade priest adopted a text which was at that time formally sanctioned at Jerusalem, and that the same text, with the same sanction, formed the basis of the version made for the use of the numerous Jews whom Alexander settled in Egypt soon after the time of Manasseh and Sanballat. The Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, made by Nathaniel a little before our era, and the Targum of Onkelos, who flourished about the same time, also concur in many points with the Septuagint, where it differs from the Masoretic text, so that this agreement alone would not prove the early date of the Septuagint Pentateuch. But the necessities of the Jews at Alexandria, the step already taken by Manasseh, the natural curiosity of the Greeks of the Museum, stimulated by the labours of Manetho and Berosus, justify the conclusion that there must be a basis of truth in the tradition that the beginning of the Greek version of the Jewish books was made in the reigns of the first two of the Ptolemies. The rest of the translation was of course not undertaken or authorized until the original books had found a place in the Jewish canon. Attention has been directed to marks of time in the separate books. A Gallic word (γαισός) found in *Joshua*[4] has been taken for an evidence that this book was not translated till after the Gallic invasion of B.C. 277. It is inferred from the

[1] Σοφία Σείραχ, *πρόλογος*, vv. 6, 16. He counts from the beginning of the joint sovereignty of Physcon in B.C. 169.

[2] Hody entertained a contrary opinion: 'sed istam Hodii opinionem,' says Thiersch, u.s., p. 12, 'Sturzius quidem, uti dictum est, negavit, qui *Pentateuchi*, inquit, *versio ab uno auctore videtur profecta esse*, nemo autem, quantum novimus, refutavit,' and he proceeds to prove that there is, at all events there was, an uniformity of plan and method in the version of the Pentateuch.

[3] Joseph. *Antiqu.* XI. 7, § 2, 8, § 2, 4, 6. See Gesenius, *De Pentateuch. Samar. origine, indole, et auctoritate.*

[4] *Joshua* VIII. 18: ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐν τῷ γαισῷ τῷ ἐν τῇ χειρί σου ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. Cf. Athen. VI. p. 273, and see Hody, p. 178 sqq.

termination of the book of Esther[1] that it was not translated till the reign of Philometor (B.C. 181—146), and other indications are remarked in others of the later books. The *Pentateuch* and the book of *Proverbs* are the most carefully translated, but, at the best, we find great defects in the version. Its authors reading the Hebrew rolls without vowel points, which were a later invention, and apparently with an imperfect knowledge of Hebrew, which had ceased to be their vernacular language, adopted strange corruptions of the original words,[2] or sometimes indulged in the rashest conjectures.[3] The book of *Job* was translated by a man who was well acquainted with Greek, and had but a smattering of Hebrew; the Psalms and Prophets were rendered by Jews who had no literary merit, and whose knowledge of the sacred language was very imperfect;[4] and the Septuagint translation of the book of Daniel, probably the latest work of the Jewish canon, is so unlike the Masoretic text, that the Christian Church adopted the later version of Theodotion.[5] But with all its inequalities

---

[1] *Esther* X. 43—47.

[2] For example, the common confusion of *resh* and *daleth*, together with the substitution of the ordinary meaning of the preposition עַל for a more refined and idiomatic usage of the word, led them to read הָרִים or הָרִים for הַדָּם in *Levit.* XIX. 26, and to render it *μὴ ἔσθετε ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων*, instead of *ἐπὶ τῷ αἵματι*, which is, after all, a good Greek idiom.

[3] See, for example, the strange confusion which they have made of *Gen.* IV. 7.

[4] Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, § 166.

[5] Jerôme, *Præfat. in Danielem*: 'Dan. juxta LXX. interpretes Dom. Salv. Ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione; et cur hoc acciderit nescio; hoc unum affirmare possum, quod multum a veritate discordat, et recto judicio repudiatur.' The Greek version of Daniel is interesting, as exhibiting to us the process of editorship, while it was still going on, and before the Masoretic texts were fixed in their subsequently unalterable form. It is clear that there were two editions or recensions of the book of Daniel concurring in many points, but differing in a sort of reciprocal avoidance of the most startling impossibilities. That followed by the LXX. omits the strange story about the magi, who were ordered to describe the dream, as well as to interpret it (*Dan.* IV. 3—6); also the speech of Daniel in V. 17—22. On the other hand, the Masoretic text omits the equally improbable prayer of Asariah, and the song of the three intended martyrs in the midst of the flames, where there is a manifest gap after the twenty-third verse of the third chapter. That the LXX. was in this and other additions a *bonâ fide* translation of a Hebrew-Chaldee original, is clear from the reasons given by Rosenmüller (*Proœmium*, § VII.). These indications of the process of literary revision, in the case of one of the latest canonical books, support the infe-

and defects, this Alexandrine translation of the Jewish books exercised a wonderful influence on the world at large.

The Masoretic editorship of the Jewish schools continued in active operation down to the year 506 A.D.; and till the publication of the *Massorah* in that year, the Hebrew text was liable to constant emendation. But the name of the *Septuagint* seems to point to an early canonization by the Sanhedrim, to the exclusion of other books written in Greek, but not translated from the Hebrew, which we now call by their Greek name, the *Apocrypha*.[1] All the references by the earliest Christian writers are to this version rather than to the Hebrew text, and we can conceive that it was regarded with a veneration which was not paid by the Hellenizing Jews to the unknown tongue of the original. It had, in fact, received the *imprimatur* of the Greek Jews of Alexandria, who claimed the same authority as their brethren at Babylon and Tiberias, and spoke and wrote a language intelligible to the civilized world; and it was connected with the general renown of the grammarians of the Museum, and was probably influenced by the contemporary school of Aristarchus, for it can hardly be doubted that the arrangement of the canonical books in *twenty-four* parts, which was completed about the time when Aristarchus similarly divided the Homeric poems according to the number of letters in the Greek alphabet, was suggested by this arbitrary method of the Alexandrian scholar, and that the subsequent change to *twenty-two* parts, according to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet,[2] was merely a correction made by the Masorethæ to accommodate their subdivision to the rationale of the Alexandrian critics, which they had previously adopted without understanding its meaning.

§ 6. It can hardly be said that the Egyptian researches,

---

rence that something of the same kind took place with all the publications of the Jews after their return from exile. The intimate acquaintance which the writer of *Daniel* shows (in the eleventh chapter) with the history of Egypt under the Ptolemies, indicates his connexion with Alexandria. The story about Alexander and the book of Daniel (Josephus, *Antiqu.* XI. 8, § 5, p. 56, l. 9, Bekker) is a transparent fiction.

[1] See below, chapter LIII. § 1.

[2] See the two arrangements as given by Bishop Beveridge, *Works* (*Anglo-Cathol. Libr.*) vol. VII. pp. 202, 209.

which produced such important effects on the historical and chronological knowledge of the scholars of the Museum, led also to the wonderful advance in pure and applied mathematics which took place at Alexandria, or was mainly due to the learned men who settled in that city. Herodotus, indeed, is careful to tell us[1] that in his opinion the Greeks derived their knowledge of geometry from the Egyptians, just as they learned from the Babylonians the concave hemispherical sundial (πόλος), the means of ascertaining the period of noon (γνώμων), and the division of the day into twelve equal parts; a similar belief was entertained by Plato;[2] and Anticleides made Pythagoras only an improver of the geometry of Mœris.[3] Land-surveying was known in Egypt at a very early period,[4] mathematics and their applications were discussed in the sacred books of Hermes,[5] and the hieroglyphics give us some specimens of the geometrical knowledge of the people.[6] On the other hand, we have stories which show that the Greeks were before the Egyptians in many applications of exact science. According to Hieronymus,[7] Thales astonished the Egyptians by the simple method of determining the height of the Pyramids from the measurement of their shadows. The Pythagorean theorem, as it is called, though connected with some mysterious speculations of the Egyptians,[8] may have been discovered geometrically by Pythagoras himself, who undoubtedly may claim the demonstration of the musical intervals;[9] and the quadrature of the *lunula* and the properties of conic sections seem to belong to

---

[1] II. 109.

[2] *Phædrus*, p. 274, C. D.

[3] Diog. Laërt. VIII. 11: τοῦτον καὶ γεωμετρίαν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀγαγεῖν, Μοίριος πρώτου εὑρόντος τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν στοιχείων αὐτῆς, ὡς φησιν Ἀντικλείδης ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

[4] *Genesis* XLVII. 20.

[5] This appears from the remarkable passage in Clemens Alex. *Strom.* VI. pp. 757 sqq. Potter, on which see the remarks of Lepsius, *Chronologie*, I. pp. 45, 46.

[6] See Lepsius, *über eine Hieroglyphische Inschrift am Tempel von Edfu*, Berlin, 1855, who shows how the Greek geometry was expressed in the language of ancient Egypt.

[7] *Apud Diog. Laërt.* I. 27: ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος καὶ ἐκμετρῆσαί φησιν αὐτὸν τὰς πυραμίδας, ἐκ τῆς σκιᾶς παρατηρήσαντα ὅτε ἡμῖν ἰσομεγέθεις εἰσί. Pliny, *H. N.* XXXVI. 12, § 17: 'mensuram altitudinis earum omnemque similem deprehendere invenit Thales Milesius umbram metiendo, quâ horâ par esse corpori solet.'

[8] On the γαμήλιον διάγραμμα, see Plut. *de Iside et Osir.*, p. 373 E, and above, ch. XXXIX. § 9.

[9] Böckh, *Philolaus*, pp. 65—89.

Greek geometers. And although Eudoxus of Cnidus visited Egypt, and is said to have brought his theory of the planets from that country,[1] the respect which was paid to his talents in the land of the Pharaohs[2] shows that he imported at least as much knowledge as he carried away with him. At any rate, the great geometers of the Ptolemaic period owe their reputation to their own original methods of investigation, or to the skill and clearness with which they expounded the doctrines of their predecessors. They rather brought their science to Egypt than found it there.

The greatest mathematicians of antiquity, Euclid, Apollonius of Perga, and at a later period Diophantus, Pappus, Theon, and his daughter Hypatia; the most eminent mechanicians, Archimedes of Syracuse, Ctesibius of Asora, and Hero of Alexandria; the illustrious astronomers, Timochares of Alexandria, Aristyllus of Samos, and Hipparchus of Nicæa; Eratosthenes, the founder of scientific geography, and Claudius Ptolemæus, who systematized his labours, were all connected, either indirectly or immediately, with the school of Alexandria. We must confine ourselves to a notice of those who occupied an initiatory position in regard to specific branches of pure mathematics or their applications.

Eucleides, or, as we call him familiarly, Euclid, the prince of geometers, whose name is almost a synonym for the science he taught so well, and whose classical work is still a manual of instruction in the chief mathematical school of this country, furnishes us with few materials for a literary biography. There is no distinct statement in the Greek authorities respecting the place of his birth. Oriental traditions make him the offspring of Greek parents settled at Tyre, perhaps a confusion with Cyrene, where Theodorus had an eminent school of geometry. Like his namesake Eucleides of Megara, with whom he used to be confounded, he stands in a certain relation to Theætetus,[3]

[1] Seneca, *Quæst. Natur.* VII. 3.

[2] This is implied in the story about the ox Apis licking his garment (Diog. Laërt. VIII. 90, 91.)

[3] It is not at all improbable that the story told by Valerius Maximus (VIII. 12) has substituted the name of Euclid either for that of Theætetus, or for that of Eudoxus, both of whom were pupils of Plato, and both predecessors, and perhaps teachers, of the geometrician of Alexandria.

the hero of Plato's dialogue of that name, which, as we have seen, is supposed to be narrated by the Megaric philosopher about the time of the battle of Corinth, B.C. 395. This Theætetus, who was remarkable for his personal resemblance to Socrates, is said by Plato, and is understood by Diogenes Laërtius,[1] to have had some instructive intercourse with that great philosopher just before his death, when Theætetus was a mere boy; he was a favourite pupil of Theodorus, the great geometrician of Cyrene; and from the language of Proclus,[2] it appears that Euclid, whether or not a Cyrenæan himself, was settled at Athens, and not only became an attached disciple of Plato, but in a certain sense continued and completed the geometrical works of Theætetus, and systematized what had been done by Eudoxus of Cnidus. He came to Alexandria in the reign of the first Ptolemy, and almost the only incident of his life which is known to us is a conversation between him and that king; for Ptolemy having asked if there was no easier method of learning the science, Euclid is said to have replied that 'there was no royal path to geometry' (*μὴ εἶναι βασιλικὴν ἄτραπον πρὸς γεωμετρίαν*).[3] But though we know so little of Euclid's personal history, we cannot doubt that he founded a famous school of geometry at Alexandria, and produced the greatest influence on men like Eratosthenes and Archimedes, the latter of whom refers to him by name.

The work for which Euclid is most famous is his *Elements* (*στοιχεῖα*) *of Pure Mathematics*, which consist of thirteen books written by Euclid himself, and two attributed to Hypsicles of Alexandria in the second century of our era.[4] The want of a

---

[1] II. 29: *ὥσπερ τὸν Θεαίτητον περὶ ἐπιστήμης διαλεχθεὶς ἔνθεον ἀπέπεμψε καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων φησίν.*

[2] Proclus *in Eucl.* II. 4, p. 19, ed. Basil. 1532: *διῆγον δὲ οὗτοι μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ κοινὰς ποιούμενοι τὰς ζητήσεις. Ἑρμότιμος δὲ ὁ Κολοφώνιος τὰ ὑπὲρ Εὐδόξου προηυπορημένα καὶ Θεαιτήτου προήγαγεν ἐπὶ πλέον καὶ τῶν στοιχείων πολλὰ ἀνεῦρε καὶ τῶν τόπων τινὰ συνέγραψεν . . . . . οὐ πολὺ δὲ τούτων νεώτερός ἐστιν Εὐκλείδης, ὁ τὰ στοιχεῖα συναγαγών, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν Εὐδόξου συντάξας, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν Θεαιτήτου τελεωσάμενος, ἔτι δὲ τὰ μαλακώτερον δεικνύμενα τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἰς ἀνελέγκτους ἀπεδείξεις ἀναγαγών . . . . . καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει δὲ Πλατωνικός ἐστι καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ταύτῃ οἰκεῖος.*

[3] Proclus, u.s.

[4] Mr. De Morgan, who concludes that Hypsicles did not write earlier than A.D. 550, makes the following remarks respecting the two books of the Elements

convenient system of arithmetical notation obliged the Greeks to treat many subjects geometrically, which we deal with by means of our Arabic numerals or algebraical symbols; and in all ages it has been a subject of wonder that Euclid and his predecessors should have been able in almost every case to adopt the best method that is open to the geometrician. The first book begins with definitions (ὅροι) and postulates (αἰτήματα), containing all the necessary assumptions to which Plato refers in his well-known distribution of the domains of thought;[1] these are followed by the common notions (κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι), which the translators of Euclid have classed with the first three of the postulates, and distinguished by the name of *axioms*, a common and proper Greek term,[2] but not used by Euclid in this case. We have then forty-eight propositions rising from the simplest constructions to the properties of the right-angled triangle. The second book treats of the properties of rectangles contained by the parts of divided lines, with tacit reference to the doctrine of incommensurables (ἄλογα). The third book treats of the properties of the circle, and the fourth of regular rectilineal figures from the triangle to the quindecagon. And thus the first four books contain the doctrine of plane figures, and may be supposed by a reasonable conjecture to contain an improved exposition of the geometry of Theætetus. The fifth book, which he is said to have derived from Eudoxus,[3] treats of proportion, and the sixth applies this

---

attributed to this mathematician (Smith's *Dictionary*, II. p. 542): 'It is clear enough that Euclid did not write them, because they begin with a preface, a thing which is not found even at the commencement of the Elements, because that preface makes mention of Apollonius, who came after Euclid, and because the author states himself to be the pupil of Isidore,' who, according to Suidas, was the teacher of Hypsicles.

[1] *De Republ.* VI. p. 511 A: τοῦτο τοίνυν νοητὸν μὲν τὸ εἶδος ἔλεγον, ὑποθέσεσι δ' ἀναγκαζομένην ψυχὴν χρῆσθαι περὶ τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ. Μανθάνω, ἔφη, ὅτι τὸ ὑπὸ ταῖς γεωμετρίαις τε καὶ ταῖς ταύταις ἀδελφαῖς τέχναις λέγεις. See Dr. Whewell's paper 'on Plato's survey of the sciences,' *Trans. of the Cambridge Philosoph. Soc.* vol. IX. part IV.

[2] Aristot. *Analyt. Post.* I. 2, § 7: ἦν δ' ἀνάγκη ἔχειν τὸν ὁτιοῦν μαθησόμενον, ἀξίωμα· ἔστι γὰρ ἔνια τοιαῦτα· τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰώθαμεν ὄνομα λέγειν.

[3] It is attributed to Eudoxus in one of the MSS. See Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* IV. p. 12.

theory to the results of the first four books, discussing the doctrine of similar figures, and involving geometrically the rules of quadratic equations. The seventh, eighth, and ninth books treat of the properties of numbers; the tenth considers in detail the question of irrational quantities;[1] the eleventh and twelfth books give us the elements of solid geometry; and the five regular solids are discussed in the last three books, two of which, as we have said, are attributed to Hypsicles. This great work became the subject of special elucidations even in ancient times, and the commentaries of Proclus, with extracts from the lectures of Theon of Alexandria, have often been printed with the Greek editions of the text.

Next in repute to the *Elements* stand the *Data* (δεδομένα) of Euclid, a sort of introduction to analytical geometry, consisting of ninety-five geometrical propositions, showing that, if certain properties or ratios are given, others may be deduced consequentially. Professor De Morgan speaks slightingly of this work,[2] but it was a favourite with Sir Isaac Newton. It is generally published with a preface (*προθεωρία*) by Marinus of Naples.

The *Phænomena* (Φαινόμενα), or *principles of astronomy* (Ἀρχαὶ ἀστρονομίας), discuss some of the geometrical properties of the sphere, especially with reference to the demonstration of the risings and settings of the stars. The work is cited as Euclid's by Pappus, and is highly commended by Delambre.[3]

Two treatises on music, namely, the *introduction to harmonics*

---

[1] There is a passage in Plato's *Theætetus* which might lead us to conjecture that in this part of the work Plato's friend had furnished Euclid with some of his materials. Theætetus is made to say (p. 147 C): *κινδυνεύεις ἐρωτᾶν οἷον καὶ αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐναγχος εἰσῆλθε διαλεγομένοις, ἐμοί τε καὶ τῷ σῷ ὁμωνύμῳ τούτῳ Σωκράτει.* Compare the words which follow with the language of Euclid at the beginning of his tenth book. Proclus (u.s.) attributes to Plato the introduction of the term *προμήκης* (*Theætet.* p. 148 A, *Tim.* p. 73 D), who may, however, have adopted it from Theætetus.

[2] Smith's *Dict.* II. p. 68: 'there is not much more in this book of *Data* than an intelligent student picks up from the *Elements* themselves, on which account we cannot consider it as a great step in geometrical analysis.'

[3] *Hist. de l' Astron. Anc.* I. p. 51: 'ce livre est précieux comme monument historique, et comme un dépôt qui doit être à peu près complet des connaissances qu'on avait en Grèce à cette époque.'

(εἰσαγωγὴ ἁρμονική), and the *division of the scale* (κατατομὴ κανόνος),[1] and two essays on *optics* and *catoptrics* (ὀπτικὰ καὶ κατοπτρικά), are the only other works still extant in Greek which are attributed to Euclid. The first of these is assigned in some of the manuscripts to Cleonidas. The others have been rejected by various editors, either on account of their want of vigour or from other reasons, more or less valid.

The following works attributed to Euclid are either lost or exist only in translations or re-translations from the Arabic. *On the division of surfaces* (περὶ διαιρέσεων), from the Arabic of Mohammed of Bagdad; *de levi et ponderoso*, a Latin fragment only; *four books on conic sections* (κωνικῶν βιβλία δ′) mentioned by Pappus; *three books of corollaries or deductions* (πορισμάτων βιβλία γ′)[2] mentioned by Proclus and Pappus, and discussed in a special essay by Robert Simson, the celebrated translator of the *Elements*;[3] *two books on plane loci* (τόπων ἐπιπέδων β′) mentioned by Pappus; *two books on the relations between loci and a given surface* (τόπων πρὸς ἐπιφάνειαν βιβλία β′) mentioned by Pappus and Eutocius;[4] and a treatise *on fallacies* (περὶ ψευδαρίων) referred to by Proclus.

ARCHIMEDES, who is scarcely less celebrated than Euclid, though much less studied, was a native of Syracuse, and, as it

---

[1] These two works are printed in Meibomius, *Antiquæ Musicæ auctores septem*, Amstel. 1652. Of the κατατομὴ κανόνος, Böckh says (*De Arati Canone*, p. 102): 'constat *canonis sectionem*, canonices musicæ opus, nihil esse aliud nisi musicorum certi alicujus systematis sonorum in monochordo designationem, quæ secundum longitudinem chordarum instituatur.'

[2] Montucla (*Hist. d. Mathem.* I. p. 215) thinks that the *Porismata* must be reckoned as the most profound work of Euclid, and that it would have been most honoured, if it had come down complete to our times.

[3] *Tractatus de Porismm.*; Roberti Simsoni *opera quædam reliqua*, Glasg. 1776, p. 315.

[4] This title is rightly rendered by Commandine *loci ad superficiem*, for ἐπιφάνεια means the upper or illuminated surface of any plane (see Euclid, *Elem.* I. ἑ: ἐπιφάνεια δὲ ἐστι ὃ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος μόνον ἔχει. Cf. Polyb. VI. 23. 3. Aristot. *H. A.* I. 16). Professor De Morgan says (Smith's *Dict.* II. p. 70): 'what these τόποι π. ἑ. were, neither Pappus nor Eutocius informs us; the latter says they derive their name from their own ἰδιότης, which there is no reason to doubt. We suspect that the books and the meaning of the title were as much lost in the time of Eutocius as now.' It appears to us that this treatise differed from that on *plane loci* merely in this, that the former discussed the relations of *loci* in the same plane, this the relations of *loci* to a given plane.

seems, a man of humble origin.[1] He was born, according to Tzetzes, in B.C. 287, for he was seventy-five years old when he lost his life at the storming of Syracuse by Marcellus in B.C. 212.[2] According to Proclus, he travelled to Egypt at an early age, and studied mathematics there in the school of Euclid, or under Conon the Samian. At a later period he constructed an enormous vessel for Hiero, king of Syracuse, which was presented to Ptolemy Euergetes.[3] This ancient *Leviathan* was launched by means of a screw invented by Archimedes,[4] and a water-screw was also contrived by him for pumping the water out of the hold. It seems that he sailed to Alexandria in the ship, and that he taught the Egyptians the application of his water-screw to the annual business of irrigating the Delta.[5] His connexion with the school of Alexandria is farther shown by his sending the problem about the oxen of the sun in a letter to Eratosthenes.[6] The greater part of his life, however, was spent at Syracuse, where he not only distinguished himself as a pure mathematician and astronomer, and as the founder of the theory of Statics, but applied his knowledge to the construction of machines, and not only those which were of use for peaceful purposes, but also and especially of those engines of war, the necessity for which applied the first stimulus to the mechanical ingenuity of the Greeks. The siege of Samos by Pericles is said to have given rise to the first improvement in this artillery;[7] it received a special development under Demetrius Poliorcetes, in whose time Dionysius of Alexandria is said to have contrived for the Rhodians a catapult for shooting volleys of arrows at the same time (πολυβόλος καταπέλτης).[8] But Archimedes has the credit of carrying this application of

[1] Cic. *Tusc.* V. 23, § 64: 'ex eâdem urbe humilem homunculum a pulvere et radio excitabo, Archimedem.' Plutarch seems to have imagined that he was a relation of king Hiero. He says (*Vit. Marcelli*, 14. p. 305 fin.): Ἀρχιμήδης Ἱέρωνι τῷ βασιλεῖ συγγενὴς ὢν καὶ φίλος.

[2] Tzetzes, *Chil.* II. 105. [3] Athên. V. p. 206 D.

[4] Id. p. 207 A: κατασκεύασας γὰρ ἕλικα τὸ τηλικοῦτον σκάφος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήγαγε· πρῶτος δ' Ἀρχιμήδης εὗρε τὴν τῆς ἕλικος κατασκεύην.

[5] Diodor. I. 34. Vitruv. X. 11.

[6] See Hermann, *De Archimedis Problemate Bovino*, Opusc. IV. pp. 228 sqq.

[7] Ephorus (*Fragm.* 117, Müller) apud Plut. Pericl. 27. See, however, Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* VI. p. 38, note.

[8] Diodor. XX. 48. Philo. *in Math. vet.* pp. 73, 76.

ingenuity much farther than any of his predecessors or contemporaries, and his engines were so powerful that he is said to have obliged Marcellus to convert the siege of Syracuse into a blockade.[1] The story about his burning the enemy's ships by reflections from a mirror is probably a fiction.[2]

The great discoveries of Archimedes were the following:— (1) He demonstrated the first principle of Statics by establishing, on true grounds, the general proposition concerning a straight lever, loaded with two heavy bodies, and resting upon a fulcrum.[3] The proposition is, that two bodies, so circumstanced, will balance each other, when the distance of the smaller body from the fulcrum is greater than the distance of the other in exactly the same proportion in which the weight of the body is less.'[4] This theory of the lever, which was the foundation of all that was known of Statics till the seventeenth century, was fully appreciated, in all its consequences, by Archimedes himself, and he is reported to have said: 'Give me a *locus standi*, and I will move the whole world with my stillyard.'[5] (2) He invented the planetarium or orrery; there are many references to his contrivance for representing the movements of the heavenly bodies, but we have no particular description of it.[6] (3) He discovered the ratio ($\frac{1}{4}$) between the area of a great circle and the surface of a sphere, and that ($\frac{2}{3}$) between the volumes and surfaces of the sphere and circumscribing cylinder. To the latter he attached so much importance, that he directed a sphere inscribed in a cylinder to be placed on his tomb, and his wish was attended to; for Cicero, when quæstor in Sicily B.C. 75, found his tomb with this figure upon it, overgrown with briars and unknown to the Syracusans

---

[1] Plut. *Marcell.* 15—18. Liv. XXIV. 34. Polyb. VIII. 5—9.

[2] See the authorities quoted in Smith's *Dictionary*, I. pp. 270, 271. The possibility of the story is discussed by Montucla, *Hist. d. Math.* I. p. 233 sqq.

[3] It is clear that Aristotle did not understand the principle of the lever, for he takes the water as the weight and the rowlock as the fulcrum of the oar (*Mechanica*, c. 4).

[4] Whewell, *History of the Inductive Sciences*, I. p. 97.

[5] Tzetzes *apud Wallis*, III. 537, 545: δὸς ποῦ στῶ καὶ χαριστίωνι τὰν γᾶν κινήσω πᾶσαν.

[6] Cic. *De Nat. Deorum*, II. 35, § 88. *Tusc.* I. 25, § 63. Ovid, *Fast.* VI. 277. Claudian, *Epigr.* XXI. *in sphæram Archimedis*, &c.

themselves, near one of the city gates.[1] (4) He solved the theorem of the centre of gravity of a triangle, of the quadrature of the parabola, and of the dimensions of the circle. (5) He invented the water-organ, the pulley, and the hydraulic screw. (6) He discovered the relation between the weight of bodies and the displacement of the water in which they are immersed. There is a celebrated account of the circumstances which led him to this discovery. Hiero suspected that there was an admixture of silver in a golden crown which he had received from his goldsmith, and Archimedes undertook to ascertain it without interfering with the metal of the crown. The method of investigation was suggested to him by observing, while in the bath, that a body immersed in water loses weight in proportion to the displaced volume of the water. In his joy he rushed, naked as he was, into the street, shouting, 'I have found it, I have found it' (εὕρηκα, εὕρηκα), words which have become proverbial for sudden discoveries.[2]

When Syracuse was taken by surprise Marcellus gave injunctions that Archimedes should be spared. But one of the soldiers, finding him engaged in his studies, and irritated by his request that his mathematical instruments might not be touched, slew him in the heat of the moment. Marcellus regretted his death, and treated his family with kindness and liberality.[3]

The works of Archimedes, written in the Doric dialect, are as follows:[4] (1) on the sphere and the cylinder in two books; (2) on the dimensions of the circle, in which he shows that the ratio of the periphery to the diameter is less than $\frac{22}{7}$ and greater than $\frac{223}{71}$; (3) on the equilibrium of planes and their centres of gravity; (4) on spheroids and conoids, in two books, in which he proves that the surface of the ellipse is to that of the circumscribed circle as the minor axis is to the major, which is

[1] Cic. *Tusc.* V. 23, §§ 64—66. He had some of the underwood cleared away, and prides himself very much on his discovery. 'Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima, sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didicisset.'

[2] Vitruv. IX. 3. Proclus *in Eucl.* II. 3.

[3] Plut. *Marcell.* 19, who gives three accounts of the circumstances of the death of Archimedes.

[4] See Torelli's edition, Oxon. 1792, and Peyrard's French translation, Paris, 1808.

also the diameter of the circle; (5) on spirals; (6) on the quadrature of the parabola; (7) on the number of the sand (ψαμμίτης), in which he shows that it is possible to give a greater number to the grains of sand than would be included in a ball, bounded by the sphere of the fixed stars; (8) the epigram on the number of the oxen of the sun (πρόβλημα βοεικόν).

The most eminent Alexandrian mathematician of the school of Euclid was APOLLONIUS, born at Perga in Pamphylia, in the reign of Euergetes, and distinguished as a writer in the capital of Egypt, under Philopator (B.C. 221—204).[1] His commentator, Eutocius, calls him 'the great geometer,' and he enjoys the reputation of having perfected the doctrine of conic sections.[2] His predecessors considered the cone as cut by a plane perpendicularly to one of its sides, and therefore required three distinct cones, right-angled, acute-angled, and obtuse-angled, in order to obtain the parabola, ellipse, and hyperbola respectively; whereas Apollonius derived these conclusions from the sections of any cone with a circular base by varying the inclination of the cutting plane. Of his great work on the subject, *the conic elements* (κωνικὰ στοιχεῖα) in eight books, only the first four have come down to us in Greek. The eighth is lost altogether, and the fifth, sixth, and seventh were recovered, in the seventeenth century, from two Arabic manuscripts at Leyden and Florence. The eighth has been restored by our countryman, Edward Halley,[3] from the lemmas of Pappus. We are told by Eutocius that Heraclius, in his life of Archimedes, accused Apollonius of appropriating the unpublished conic sections of the great mathematician of Syracuse; but, as Geminus remarked, neither Archimedes nor Apollonius discovered conic sections, and no one can deny to the latter[4] the great improvements in the discussion of this branch of

[1] Eutoc. *Comm. in Apoll. Con.* I. Photius *Cod.* CXC.

[2] Ruhnken, *Oratio de Græcâ artium ac doctrinarum inventrice*, p. 95: 'Archimedi tum alios, si libet, adjicite, tum imprimis præstantem arte suâ hominem, Apollonium Pergæum, qui primus omnium, quantum scimus, latentes antehac et obscuras conicarum sectionum proprietates in lucem protulit et scienter declaravit.'

[3] *Apollonii Pergæi Conicorum, Libr. VIII.*, Oxon, 1710.

[4] Montucla (*Hist. d. Mathem.* I. p. 246) does not hesitate to pronounce the *Conic Sections* of Apollonius 'un des ouvrages les plus précieux de l'antiquité.'

mathematics to which we have already adverted. It was Apollonius, too, who invented the name of *ellipse* and *hyperbola* for the sections of the acute-angled and obtuse-angled cone. The section of the right-angled cone was called *parabola* by Archimedes,[1] who, as we have seen, wrote upon its quadrature. It was Apollonius also, who distinguished the diameters from the axes of the other two conic sections, and restricted the term axis in the parabola to the line which passes through the vertex and the focus.

Besides the conic sections, we are informed by Pappus that the following works were written by Apollonius of Perga: (1) How to cut segments from two given lines in a given ratio (*περὶ λόγου ἀποτομῆς*), and so as to contain a given rectangle (*περὶ χωρίου ἀποτομῆς*); (2) on the determinate section (*περὶ διωρισμένης τομῆς*); (3) on plane loci (*περὶ τόπων ἐπιπέδων*): these subjects have been discussed by R. Simson, the editor of Euclid, who has endeavoured to reproduce the solutions of Apollonius;[2] (4) on tactions (*περὶ ἐπαφῶν*); (5) on inclinations (*περὶ νεύσεων*).

We have already referred in general terms to the diversified labours of Eratosthenes, and to his special merits as a chronologer. Before we attempt to explain what he did in more than one application of mathematical science, it will be right to state what is known of his personal history. ERATOSTHENES, the son of Aglaus[3] of Cyrene, was born B.C. 276, and died about B.C. 196, it is said of voluntary starvation, because his sight was growing dim.[4] He was, therefore, a younger con-

---

[1] Originally *παραβολὴ* was a general term synonymous with *μερισμὸς* and signifying division as opposed to multiplication. It was applied to the division of the cone, when there was only one section for the same cone. In later Greek *παραβολὴ* signifies any excentric curve: thus we have in Plutarch (*Aratus* 22): *διὰ πολλῶν ἐλιγμῶν καὶ παραβολῶν περαίνοντος πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος*. The terms *ἔλλειψις* and *ὑπερβολὴ* are the well known expressions used by Aristotle to denote the two vicious extremes of excess and defect (*Eth. Nic.* II. 6: *τὸ δ' ἴσον μέσον τι ὑπερβολῆς καὶ ἐλλείψεως*), and it was applied to the two conic sections between which the circle was regarded a sort of mean.

[2] *περὶ τόπων ἐπιπέδων*. A treatise in two books on *Plane Loci*. Restored by R. Simson. Glasg. 1749.

[3] According to Suidas some called his father Ambrosius, but the best authorities are in favour of the other name.

[4] Suidas: *ἀποσχόμενος τροφῆς διὰ τὸ ἀμβλυώττειν*.

temporary of Archimedes, who, as we have seen, was his friend and correspondent, and he flourished in the reigns of the third, fourth, and fifth Ptolemies. He studied philosophy at Athens under Ariston of Chios, and the academician Arcesilas, and laid the foundations of his grammatical and critical knowledge under Lysanias of Cyrene and his countryman Callimachus. And he was himself the teacher of Aristophanes of Byzantium, and other less known men of letters. It is stated that Ptolemy Euergetes summoned him from Athens to Alexandria,[1] and he became the successor of Callimachus, and the immediate predecessor of Apollonius of Rhodes, as the head of the library. Of all the Alexandrians whom we have mentioned, Eratosthenes stands decidedly the highest. Comparing him with Callimachus, who alone can vie with him in the versatility of his mind, Strabo says that 'Callimachus indeed was both a poet and a grammarian, but that Eratosthenes was not only these, but attained also to the highest excellence in philosophy and mathematics.'[2] He used to be called the second or new Plato (δεύτερος ἢ νέος Πλάτων), and certainly no one except Aristotle could be compared with him in the compass and accuracy of his knowledge.[3] He was 'the admirable Crichton' of ancient learning, and was called 'the Πένταθλος,' or 'quintuple athlete,' from the name of the champion in the public games who excelled in all the five manifestations of bodily activity. It is said that he was also called βῆτα, because he attained to the second place of excellence in all the sciences,[4] and if this

---

[1] Suidas: μετεπέμφθη ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τρίτου Πτολεμαίου καὶ διέτριψε μέχρι τοῦ πέμπτου.

[2] XVII. p. 838 A: ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς ἅμα καὶ περὶ γραμματικὴν ἐσπουδακώς· ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὰ μαθήματα εἴ τις ἄλλος διαφέρων.

[3] Bernhardy, *Eratosthenica*, Berol. 1822, pp. XIII. XIV.: 'sive enim accuratissimum requiras doctrinarum complexum, sive eruditionem minutissima quæque adhibentem ac suis in locis reponentem, ratione, judicio subtilissimo, sagacitate moderatam, sive humanitatem, quæ in angustiis aut anguli natura concessi aut disquisitionum minime defixa, veritatem unice investiget, et ad justam ac liberalem gentis humanæ sese emergat æstimationem; artiorem harum virtutum consociationem præter Aristotelem nemo ex antiquis auctoribus Eratosthene perfectius instituisse deprehendatur.'

[4] Suidas, as corrected by Meursius; Artemidor. Ephes. *ap. Marc. Heracl. in Geogr. min.* ed. Hudson, I. p. 62: καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον Ἐρατοσθένης ὃν βῆτα ἐκάλεσαν οἱ τοῦ Μουσείου προστάντες. *Chrestom. ex* Strabone, *ibid.* II. p. 5: ὅτι Ἐρατο-

was the concession of his envious rivals, it is an admission of little less value than that of the different Greek states when they agreed to place Themistocles second to their own hero at Salamis.[1] But it is not certain that this was the meaning of the distinctive affix. At any rate, there are two branches of science in which Eratosthenes must be regarded as second to none. 'He founded two sciences,' says one of his modern admirers,[2] 'both of which he found in their infancy—astronomical geography, and chronology. His calculation of the magnitude of the globe was recognized by modern science as the most correct that has ever been made. His investigations into the synchronisms of the Olympiads, and his indication of the leading points in general Greek history, upwards to the return of the Heracleidæ, and downwards to Alexander the Great, became and remained the foundation of all the chronological researches of the ancient world. In geography he was the guide and authority of Strabo and Ptolemy, in chronology of Apollodorus and the later inquirers. He founded the historical criticism of the primitive Greek history.' As Pythagoras was the first who bore the title of 'philosopher,' so Eratosthenes was first honoured with the name of 'philologer,'[3] a name which now includes every application of book knowledge, and which, according to one modern writer,[4] implies the knowledge of the known. But he was also an observer, a collector of facts, an inductive philosopher, and his reputation depends more on his discoveries, which have been duly recorded

---

σθένης οὔτε τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων ἦν, οὔτε τῶν γνησίως φιλοσοφούντων· διὸ καὶ βῆτα ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρειν δοκῶν ἐπὶ πάσῃ παιδείᾳ. Other letters were used as surnames; see Jonsius, *Hist. Phil.* p. 147; Lehrs. *Quæst. ep.* p. 19, quoted by Parthey, *Alex. Mus.* p. 53, who cites from Simon *De Magistris*, p. 563, two explanations of the *βῆτα*: 'potuit enim Eratosthenes dici *βῆτα*, quod Serapei bibliothecæ præesset, quæ secunda habebatur, aut Ægyptio nomine a Græcis delinito, dictus fuit *βαϊῆθ* (*ψυχὴ καὶ καρδία*).' Apollonius of Perga was called ε from his fondness for observing the moon, which, in its crescent form, resembled that letter.

[1] Herodotus, VIII. 123.

[2] Bunsen, *Ægypten*, I. p. 158.

[3] Bernhardy, *Eratosthenica*, p. XIV.; Wyttenbach, *ad Plutarch. de audiendis Poetis*, p. 22 c. [p. 226].

[4] Steinthal, *De pronomine relativo*, p. 5: 'itaque una viri doctissimi atque clarissimi Böckhii definitio mihi videtur recta: *philologiam esse cogniti cognitionem.*'

and transmitted to us, than on his literary labours, which are represented only by a few fragments.

The works of Eratosthenes fell into two main classes, the mathematical and the literary; to the former belonged his geographical and mathematical treatises, his astronomical poem called *Hermes*, and probably also his poem *Erigone*; to the latter, his treatises on the old comedy and on chronology, a dialogue called *Arsinoe*, a book about Ariston, and a treatise on moral philosophy (περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν).[1] His epistles, too, are often mentioned. The historical works ascribed to him, such as the treatise on the Gauls (Γαλατικά), of which the thirty-third book is cited by Stephanus,[2] were probably written by another author of the same name, and the treatises 'on freedom from pain' (περὶ ἀλυπίας), and 'on riches and poverty' (περὶ πλούτου καὶ πενίας), may have been parts of the work on moral philosophy, which we have already mentioned.

The geography of Eratosthenes (γεωγραφικά)[3] was in three books.[4] In the first, after a general survey of the labours of his predecessors, he gave his theories respecting the form of the globe, and the changes which have taken place on its surface. In the second, he discussed mathematical geography. In the third, he collected all that was known of political geography, and all that travellers had stated respecting the different countries. This work was accompanied by a map, in which he introduced for the first time a system of parallels of latitude. The great achievement in this work was the discovery of a correct method of determining the magnitude of the earth.[5] This he effected by a combination of geodæsy with astronomy, namely, by comparing the distance from Alexandria to Syene with the corresponding arc of the meridian. He had ascertained the obliquity of the ecliptic by means of

---

[1] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 496.

[2] s. v. Τδρηλα; see Bernhardy, u. s., p. 109.

[3] See the collected fragments in Bernhardy, pp. 1–109.

[4] 'Geographica Eratosthenes tribus tantum libris complexus est, quorum ultimum, neque eum totum, regionibus per capita describendis addixerat.' Bernhardy, u. s.

[5] Varenius, *Geographia*, ed. Newton, Cambridge, 1681, p. 25.

the *armillæ*, or great circles, which he induced Ptolemy Euergetes to set up in the porch at Alexandria,[1] and had stated that the interval between the tropics was $\frac{11}{83}$ of the circumference.[2] Having learned that deep wells at Syene were illuminated to the bottom at the summer solstice, he concluded that this place was on the tropic,[3] and assuming that Alexandria and Syene were on the same meridian, because the Nile was supposed to flow from south to north, he found that as the zenith of Alexandria was distant from that of Syene by $\frac{1}{50}$ of the circumference, and as the distance of the two places was, in round numbers, 5000 stadia, the circumference of the earth must be, in round numbers, 250,000 stadia. The exact result should have been 216,000 stadia.[4] The error of Eratosthenes, however, was not in his method, which is that still adopted, but in his assumptions, for the longitude of Alexandria differs 3° from that of Syene, and the distance of the two places is not exactly measured. Pliny tells us[5] that Eratosthenes himself altered the result to 252,000 to give an exact number of 700 stadia for the degree, which increased the error, for the degree is $694\frac{4}{7}$ stadia.[6] He made another oversight in neglecting the diameter of the sun's image in the well. But besides hitting on the right method, his results were much nearer the truth than those of Aristotle[7] and Archimedes,[8] who made the periphery 400,000 stadia, and 300,000 stadia respectively.

The mathematical treatises of Eratosthenes are for the most part lost. We have still his letters to Ptolemy, with the accompanying epigram, on the solution of the Delian problem,

---

[1] Whewell, *History of the Inductive Sciences*, I. p. 210.

[2] Dr. Whewell says (u. s. p. 215): 'it is probable that his observation gave him $47\frac{2}{3}$ degrees. The fraction $\frac{47\frac{2}{3}}{360} = \frac{143}{1080} = \frac{11 \cdot 13}{1080} = \frac{11}{83\frac{1}{13}}$ which is very nearly $\frac{11}{83}$.'

[3] The lat. of Syene, the modern Assouan, is 24° 10′ N., and its long. 32° 59′ E. See De Morgan in Smith's *Dictionary* II. p. 45.

[4] Parthey, *Alex. Mus.* p. 193.

[5] *H. N.* II. 108, § 247: 'universum autem circuitum Eratosthenes in omnium quidem litterarum subtilitate, et in hâc utique præter ceteros sollers, quem cunctis probari video CCLII. milium stadiorum prodidit.'

[6] De Morgan, u. s.

[7] *De Cœlo* II. 14 fin.

[8] *Aren.* II. init.

or the duplication of the cube,[1] and Nicomachus[2] has described his ingenious arithmetical contrivance called 'the sieve' (κόσκινον), for detecting the prime numbers.

In the poem called *Hermes,* Eratosthenes used the mythology of this Greek deity, in combination with that of his Egyptian representative *Thoth,* as a convenient vehicle for the exposition of the descriptive astronomy and its bearing on the calculation of time, which were said by the Egyptian priests to have been first taught by that divinity.[3] The work called καταστερισμοί, which is still extant, is a compilation from Hyginus,[4] who probably made use of the *Hermes* of Eratosthenes. *Erigone,* who gave her name to the constellation *Virgo,* was also in all probability the subject of an astronomical poem.

Of the purely literary works, the most important were the *Chronographies,* of which we have already spoken,[5] and the treatise on the old comedy, in twelve books, which, following critically in the steps of Lycophron and Callimachus, not only investigated with the greatest accuracy the history of the authors and the arguments of the plays, but gave details respecting the arrangements of the theatre, the costume of the actors, and the whole *mise en scène,* which we are now obliged to derive from secondary sources.[6] Of his works referring to the philosophy of the Athenian schools, we must regret the loss of the book which he wrote about his own teacher, Ariston of Chios, from which Athenæus[7] quotes the lively expression of Eratosthenes, 'I have already detected this man (the stoic philosopher), who digs a hole in the party-wall between

---

[1] Eutocius *ad Archimedis sphæram et cylindrum,* pp. 21, 22, ed. Basil. Bernhardy, *Eratosthenica,* p. 175 sqq.

[2] *Arithmet.* p. 17, Wechel. Bernhardy, p. 173.

[3] *Catasterism.* c. 20: τὸ πρῶτον στοιχεῖον Ἑρμοῦ θέντος ὃς τὸν διακοσμον τῶν ἄστρων ἐποιήσατο. 'Ex opinione modo memoratâ, quæ non omnino ab Eratosthene conficta esse videtur sed potius secundum Ægyptiorum disciplinam numinis Thot inventa Græcanico deo magnam imposuit partem.' Bernhardy, p. 111.

[4] 'His inter se collatis et perpensis liquere opinor non Hyginum *Catasterismos* expilasse, sed illi hos originem debere.' Bernhardy, p. 129.

[5] Above, p. 483 [323].

[6] Meineke, *Hist. Crit. Com. Gr.* p. 11. Bernhardy, p. 203 sqq.

[7] Athen. VII. p. 281 C.: ἤδη δέ ποτε καὶ τοῦτον πεφώρακα τὸν τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς μεσότοιχον διορύττοντα καὶ ἀναφαινόμενον παρὰ τῇ ἡδονῇ.

pleasure and virtue, and makes his appearance in the abode of the former.'

From the founder of mathematical geography, we pass to the father of exact astronomy, and we have in this case also to repeat the regret that his greatest works are known to us only at second hand. HIPPARCHUS of Nicæa, in Bithynia, who flourished in the middle of the second century B.C., and died about B.C. 125, some seventy years after Eratosthenes,[1] spent the greater part of his life at Rhodes. His connexion with the school of Alexandria, which has been generally taken for granted, and which is not improbable in itself, cannot be established by direct evidence.[2] It is certain that his immediate forerunners, Timochares of Alexandria, and Cōnon of Samos, were connected with the court of the Ptolemies, and this is also surmised with regard to Aristyllus. Hipparchus must have been influenced more or less directly by the works of Eratosthenes,[3] and one of his earliest works, which is still extant, namely, a commentary on the *Phænomena* of Aratus, is a book of the Alexandrian order, and indicates a course of study not unlike that of the Museum.[4] His great work, the catalogue of the fixed stars,[5] may have borne a similar relation to the *Hermes* of Eratosthenes, and the discovery of the precession of the equinoxes, to which it led him, had been anticipated in a rude way by the Egyptian astronomers,[6] from whom the Pythagoreans borrowed it.[7] But if

---

[1] Suidas: Ἵππαρχος, Νικαεύς, φιλόσοφος, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπάτων. On which Reinesius observes: 'melius dixisset, floruisse Perseo Romanis capto et tempore belli Punici 3. et Numantini. Voss. *de Scient. Mathem.* c. 33.' It seems that the text of Suidas omits the names of the consuls (ὕπατοι), by whose year of office his birth was fixed.

[2] See Delambre, *Histoire de l'Astronomie ancienne*, I., *Discours préliminaire*, pp. xxi. xxiv. II., p. 108.

[3] A commentary on Aratus, written neither by Eratosthenes nor by Hipparchus, is attributed by some to the former, by others to the latter. Delambre supposes that it may have been an extract from a work by Eratosthenes (*Hist. de l'Astr. anc.* I. p. 173).

[4] See a full analysis of this commentary in Delambre, *Hist. de l'Astr. anc.* I., pp. 106 sqq.

[5] Delambre u. s., pp. 290—3. He was the first author of the planisphere: *Id.* p. 315.

[6] Lepsius, *Chronologie der Ægypter*, pp. 196 sqq.

[7] *Id. ibid.* p. 206.

we had less reason than we have for numbering Hipparchus among those who derived their training from the school of Alexandria, we owe our acquaintance with his discoveries so entirely to the work of Claudius Ptolemæus, in which they are incorporated, that we can hardly place him in any other connexion. As a question of Greek literature, the system of Hipparchus must be treated in connexion with that of Ptolemy;[1] a full account of his discoveries belongs to the history of mathematics, astronomy, or the inductive sciences in general, and he has been duly honoured by the greatest writers on these subjects, Montucla, Delambre, and Whewell. It will be sufficient in this place to mention briefly what were the general results of his labours.

Hipparchus discovered by his own observations, which extended from B.C. 162,[2] when he first observed the autumnal equinox, to B.C. 127,[3] assisted by those of Aristarchus of Samos, that the ordinary solar year of 365¼ days was five minutes too long, and corrected the period of Callippus by deducting the day of excess from the 304 years. He was the first to observe accurately the anomaly of the sun's motion, and constructed solar tables by means of which the sun's place with respect to the stars could be correctly found at any time. In connexion with this he established the theory of epicycles, or, what is much the same thing, determined the orbit called the eccentric. He made some progress in similar calculations with regard to the path of the moon. By an ingenious contrivance, known as the *Diagramma Hipparchi*, he determined the magnitude and relative distance of the heavenly bodies. It was he, as we have already mentioned, who first undertook a catalogue of the fixed stars.[4] He thus enumerated 1080, and indicated their

---

[1] Below, chapter LVI., § 1.

[2] He observed the autumnal equinox on the 30th of *Mesore* in the 17th year of the third Callippic period = 27th Sept., 162 B.C. Clinton, *F. H.* III. p. 87.

[3] According to Ptolemy (*Syntaxis* III. pp. 111, 112) he took observations at Rhodes on the 22nd March, B.C. 128, on the 4th Aug., B.C. 128, on the 2nd May, B.C. 127, and on the 7th July, B.C. 127. See Clinton, *F. H.* III. p. 119.

[4] Pliny in a remarkable passage (*H. N.* II. 26, § 95) says that Hipparchus was led to form this catalogue from the observation of a new moving star, probably a comet.

places in a καταστερισμὸς, or celestial map.[1] It was in the course of this labour that he determined, what was previously known to the old astronomers,[2] the precession of the equinoxes,[3] and he wrote a special treatise on this subject. At first he confined this movement to the stars in and near the zodiac, but he eventually found that it was general. Having only the imperfect observations of Timochares and Aristyllus to compare with his own,[4] he was obliged to content himself with fixing the minimum of this movement at *36″ per annum*, instead of 50″ 12, at which it is now estimated. He completed the method of determining the latitude and longitude of places, to which Eratosthenes had made a first approximation; he calculated longitude by the eclipses of the moon, and gave rules for predicting the eclipses both of the moon and of the sun. Of the instruments with which he performed all these observations, Ptolemy gives us no account. But it is clear that he had few, if any, of the resources of a modern observatory,[5] and the Greek system of arithmetical notation must have increased his difficulties in no slight measure. What steps he took to obviate this inconvenience is not known, but it may be inferred from an incidental notice in Plutarch that he had drawn up a system of arithmetic, or had written on the subject.[6] The operations undertaken by Hipparchus show that he was acquainted with stereographic projections, and with the methods of plane and spherical trigo-

[1] He intended that his celestial map should represent the concavity of the sphere. Delambre (*Hist. de l'Astr. anc.* I. p. 111) says: 'Attalus a voulu disculper Aratus, en disant que le *Dragon* était peint tel qu'on le verrait de dehors. Hipparque rejette cette excuse, en disant qu'on dessine les constellations pour notre usage, telles que nous les voyons et tournées vers nous, ce qui est à remarquer.'

[2] Lepsius, *Chronologie der Ægypten*, pp. 196—209.

[3] Delambre u. s. I. 175, II. 103.

[4] Ptolem. *Synt.* VII. c. 1—4. Ideler, *Handbuch*, I. pp. 27, 193.

[5] Ruhnen (*de Græcia*, &c., p. 96): 'erudita illa Græcorum gens ultra, quo progrederetur, vix habuit, tum aliis caussis impedita, tum omni fere supellectile, quæ sideribus observandis inserviat,' destituta.' And he adds: 'quo magis sæpenumero veterum sagacitatem admiror, qui, quæ recentiores tuborum ope cognorint, eadem, tanquam divini, rarâ et singulari ingenii vi conjecerint.'

[6] *De repugnantiis Stoicis*, p. 1047 D, V. I. p. 269, Wyttenb.: Χρύσιππον δὲ πάντες ἐλέγχουσιν οἱ ἀριθμητικοί, ὧν καὶ Ἵππαρχός ἐστιν, ἀποδεικνύων τὸ διάπτωμα τοῦ λογισμοῦ παμμέγεθες αὐτῷ γεγονός.

nometry;[1] and as no mention is made of these branches of pure mathematics before his time, he must have the honour of the discovery.

The only extant works of Hipparchus are his juvenile commentary on Aratus and Eudoxus (*τῶν Ἀράτου καὶ Εὐδόξου Φαινομένων ἐξηγήσεων βιβλία γ'*), to which we have already referred, and which may be compared, in some respects, with Newton's first publication—the reprint of the *Geography* of Varenius:[2] and the catalogue of the fixed stars (*ἔκθεσις ἀστερισμῶν*, or *περὶ τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀναγραφαί*), which is quoted *verbatim* in Ptolemy's *Syntaxis*.[3] The following works are mentioned, but are entirely lost: (1) on the magnitude and distances of the sun and moon (*περὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ ἀποστημάτων*):[4] we know that he fixed the sun's distance from the earth at 1200 radii of the earth; that of the moon at 59 radii; the diameter of the sun was $5\frac{1}{2}$ diameters of the earth, and the diameter of the earth was $3\frac{8}{3}$ diameters of the moon; (2) on the movement of the moon in latitude (*περὶ τῆς κατὰ πλάτος μηνιαίας τῆς σελήνης κινήσεως*);[5] (3) on the length of the month (*περὶ μηνιαίου χρόνου*);[6] (4) on the length of the year (*περὶ ἐνιαυσίου μεγέθους*);[7] (5) on the retrogradation of the solstitial and equinoctial points (*περὶ τῆς μεταπτώσεως τῶν τροπικῶν καὶ ἰσημερινῶν σημείων*);[8] (6) on intercalated months and days (*περὶ ἐμβολίμων μηνῶν τε καὶ ἡμερῶν*);[9] (7) on the theory of the straight lines in a circle (*περὶ τῆς πραγματείας τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ εὐθειῶν*), probably a treatise on plane trigonometry;[10] (8) on gravitation (*περὶ τῶν διὰ βάρος κάτω φερομένων*);[11] (9) on eclipses of the sun (*περὶ ἐκλείψεων ἡλίου κατὰ τὰ ἕπτα κλίματα*);[12] (10) a criticism on the geography of Eratosthenes, of which Strabo quotes the second

---

[1] See Delambre, *Hist. de l'Astr. anc.* I. p. 117.

[2] *Berhn. Vareni Geographia generalis*, ab Isaaco Newtono, Math. Prof. Lucas. apud Cantabrigienses, ed. II. Cantabr. 1681.

[3] Ptolemy, VII. 5. Perhaps this work included the two mentioned by Suidas as: *περὶ τῆς τ. ἀ. συντάξεως καὶ κατασερισμοῦ.*

[4] Ptolemy, *ibid.* [5] Mentioned by Suidas and Eudocia.

[6] Mentioned by Galen. [7] Ptolemy, III. 2. [8] *Id.*

[9] Ptolemy, *Syntaxis*, III. 2, p. 63, quoted by Clinton, *F. H.* II. p. 339, note v., who has shown how nearly Hipparchus approximated to the true time.

[10] Theon, *Comment. in Almagest.* I. 9.

[11] Simplicius, *de Cœlo*, I. p. 61 B.

[12] Achilles Tatius, *Isagog. in Arat. Phænom.* 19. p. 139. Cf. Plin. *H. N.* II. 12.

book.[1] The diligence and accuracy of this review are highly commended by Pliny,[2] but Strabo thinks that Hipparchus was somewhat unfair in bringing his accurate geometry to bear on the rough and general views of his illustrious predecessor.[3]

Such was the great Hipparchus, of whom Pliny says that he is never sufficiently praised,[4] and whom he places by the side of Thales, as a man of more than human ability;[5] whom even the fastidious Delambre considers 'one of the most extraordinary men of antiquity, the *very greatest* in the sciences which require a combination of observation with geometry.'[6] If the patronage of the Ptolemies had produced no result beyond the encouragement which it afforded to labours like his and those of Eratosthenes, we must regard it as the best bestowed munificence that ever graced the throne of a military sovereign. And Alexandria may thus claim, in addition to its services in furnishing warehouse-room for the literature of Greece, and mustering a troop of careful editors and commentators, the distinction of having encouraged the first beginnings of the greatest of inductive sciences. It is only to be regretted that we have so often saved from the ruins of the library the results of scholastic industry and ingenuity, instead of those efforts of original genius which have left their impress on the intellectual world.

---

[1] II. p. 69.

[2] *H. N.* II. 108, § 247: 'Hipparchus et in coarguendo eo et in reliquâ omni diligentiâ mirus.'

[3] II. p. 79: ἀγνωμονεῖν δὴ δόξειεν ἂν ὁ Ἵππαρχος πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ὀλοσχέρειαν γεωμετρικῶς ἀντιλέγων.

[4] *H. N.* II. 26, § 95: 'idem Hipparchus, nunquam satis laudatus, ut quo nemo magis adprobaverit cognationem cum homine siderum animasque nostras partem esse cœli.' For the sentiment, cf. II. 12, §§ 54, 55, and 11, § 49.

[5] *H. N.* 12, §§ 53—55.

[6] The words of Delambre deserve to be quoted in the original (*Hist. de l'Ast.* I. pp. 185, 6): 'quand on réunit tout ce qu'il a inventé ou perfectionné, songe au nombre de ses ouvrages, à la quantité de calculs qu'ils supposent, ave dans Hipparque un des hommes les plus étonnans de l'antiquité, et le rand de tous dans les sciences qui ne sont pas purement spéculatives, et qui it qu'aux connaissances géométriques on réunisse des connaissances de liers et de phénomènes dont l'obse- tion exige beaucoup d'assiduité umens perfectionnés.' For the value of this praise, see Whewell's *Inductive Sciences*, I. p. 191.

END OF VOL. II.

00066473

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 04 April, 2016